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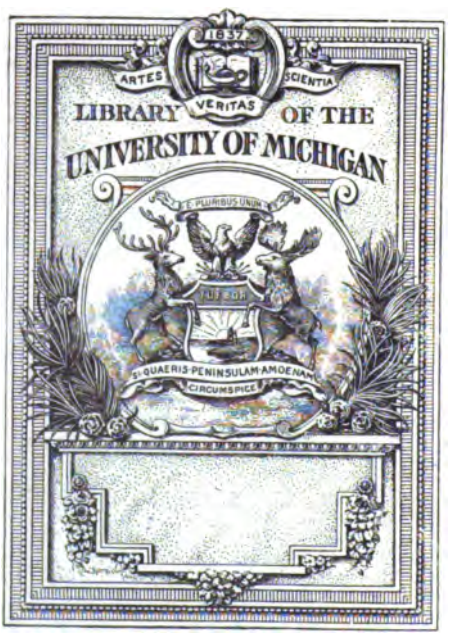
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THE

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JULY, 1846.

ART. I.—ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: *A General Survey of the Physical Phenomena of the Universe.* By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Vol. I. London: Hippolyte Baillière, Regent Street. 1845.

IT is a true, though trite, remark, that the influence of philosophical speculations on the actions and characters of the mass, must be looked for in the age succeeding that which witnessed their first promulgation. The animating spirit spreads slowly, though surely, over the dull, inert matter on which it is directed; and the actions of the sons supply the proper commentary to the studies of the fathers. The observation has been generally made with reference to the theories of moral philosophy; and to them, of course, as more directly conversant with the springs of action, it more particularly applies. It may, however, be extended to the physical sciences; for in these, too, the views which have been elicited by the esoteric controversies of the philosophers of one generation, become, in the next, the common property of the multitude: and so far forth as opinions concerning the world which we inhabit, and the laws which govern it, can influence manners, or direct practice, they become elements of the general character. Such views, when once fairly established in the popular mind, appear so obvious and simple, as to challenge for themselves almost an axiomatic dignity, and to claim, as it were, a seat within the very framework of the mind itself; yet it is commonly with much of toil and difficulty, feebly and gradually emerging from the mists of stubborn prejudices and formless fancies, that they have won their way to this station of undisputed eminence. While the conflict is raging, few can venture to predict on which side victory will at length declare; when it is over, we wonder that any could have ever doubted. Shadowy forms and ill-defined theories flit around; potent arguments rise up with obstinate pertinacity in our path: we listen to the 'unmingling shout' of controversy till our head is weary and our ears are deafened.

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It is on a border-land of this description that we are now standing. The professed votaries of knowledge are said to have penetrated far along her paths within the last half century; and the results of their labours have of late begun to be widely felt. Vigorous efforts have been made to diffuse their new acquisitions over a wider surface, and impress them on the general mind; and the attempt has roused its wonted opposition. We see before us a disputed territory, eagerly contested by the belligerent powers, and incessantly harassed by incursions from the scientific and unscientific realms, to which it supplies a field for fierce battle or suspicious overture. Penny magazines, and cabinet cyclopædias, chemical lectures, optical exhibitions, mechanical models, have been the various weapons with which the one party has sought to reach the various classes and sexes of the community; while ample reprisals have been made by the other through the medium of ethical lectures, scientific sermons, reviews, and declamations. Perhaps the present is a wider battle-field than former ages have witnessed; certainly the increased mental and material means of communication have given more publicity to the combat. In former times, some few philosophers, some masters of established reputation, or, perchance, the strong arm of the magistrate, maintained the cause of received opinions; and when these passed away from the scene, or acknowledged the superiority of their opponents, the newly-asserted truth reached the unlearned public naturally and easily by the usual channels, and stamped with the wonted impress of authority. Now, however, there is nothing, great or small, which can escape the Argus scrutiny of the public; and the columns of *The Times* supply an arena in which the whole world may watch in breathless interest a political encounter between the Premier and the Member for Shrewsbury, and then refresh their over-wrought spirits by the spectacle of a scientific joust between the Deans of York and Westminster.

It is a scene of turmoil and confusion; half-irritating, and half absurd, it fixes our reluctant gaze by the magnitude and importance of its results. For it is amidst this tumult of petty contention, this angry shock of personal attack and retort, that the ideas of the coming age assume their permanent distinctness: it is the noisy workshop in which creaking wheels and whirring cords are fashioning the formal being of admitted science. Truth, indeed, is strong, and will prevail; we may retard or advance, we cannot prevent, its ultimate triumph: yet it does greatly depend on human agency whether it issues from the alembic in its native purity, or suspended in a solution more or less deleterious. Truth will triumph, but Error often

clings to her chariot; nay, often Truth herself is clad in the fantastical garb of Falsehood. For truth is like some multiform crystal, reflecting from its many faces the variously coloured rays of light; and error, for the most part, is nothing more than the pertinacious contemplation of some one of these faces, or of a selected few, to the exclusion of the rest, and the destruction of the general unity. For this reason it becomes most important to watch the character of the works which undertake to transfer new truths from the private laboratories of science to the open gaze of the admiring crowd. We may require to be very certain of the truth of their assertions (though this belongs rather to the province of the masters of science themselves); we should confine them within the proper limits of the truths they promulgate, and restrain their course if they attempt to push them into foreign subjects, or attach them by doubtful links to suspicious theories. We may demand from them a careful attention to the due subordination of Truth, that her fair proportions be not injured, or her higher lineaments obscured by the ungraceful prominence of some inferior feature.

But with many it is not so much the mode of treatment, as the thing itself, which is obnoxious. The whole range of natural science is viewed by them with distrust, as an injurious, or, at best, an useless study, and one which requires not so much watchful attention as general discouragement. Why should man, they ask,—the imperishable, the divine—waste his energies on the material, lifeless forms around him? If practice be his end, how mean the office of the mere minister to utility! how doubtful the very utility of art, equally available for evil as for good! If knowledge only be his object, what is the universe to him but a Chinese puzzle, whose intractable segments often baffle his most ingenious efforts at adjustment? And supposing the riddle solved to his satisfaction, with what support, they ask in trouble, what resource in difficulty, what consolation in distress, will this barren knowledge furnish its possessor? Nay, is it not a fact, whatever be the explanation of it, that this study is found to remove the great safeguards of human action, the stay of human hope, by cutting away the idea of a creating and preserving Providence, and impugning the sacred records of the Volume of Revelation? That such disastrous results (however we may be constrained occasionally to admit them) are not the necessary concomitants of physical science, that Volume itself will teach us, where we read that one, whose wisdom was a miraculous gift, 'spake of trees, from the cedar-'tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out 'of the wall; he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creep-'ing things, and of fishes.' (1 Kings iv. 33.) Nor can we doubt

that Moses, 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' was well versed in all that astronomy had yet achieved in that seat of her early cultivation. Its very classification and nomenclature is, as it were, sanctioned in its birth by the divine use of it in the book of Job (xxxviii. 31, 32). And the eloquent language of Sir John Herschel may be adduced to vindicate and describe the Christian attributes of true philosophy. 'The character of the true philosopher,' he writes, 'is to 'hope all things not impossible, and to believe all things not 'unreasonable. He who has seen obscurities which appeared 'impenetrable in physical and mathematical science sud-'denly dispelled, and the most barren and unpromising fields 'of inquiry converted, as if by inspiration, into rich and inex-'haustible springs of knowledge and power, on a simple change 'in our point of view, or by merely bringing to bear on them 'some principle which it never occurred before to try, will surely 'be the very last to acquiesce in any dispiriting prospects of 'either the present or future destinies of mankind; while, on the 'other hand, the boundless views of intellectual and moral, as 'well as material, relations which open on him on all hands in 'the course of these pursuits, the knowledge of the trivial place 'he occupies in the scale of creation, and the sense continually 'pressed upon him of his own weakness and incapacity to suspend 'or modify the slightest movement of the vast machinery he sees 'in action around him, must effectually convince him that humi-'lity of pretension, no less than confidence of hope, is what best 'becomes his character.' (Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, p. 8.) And we may quote the following passage from the same writer, as an effectual answer to the merely utilitarian objections which are sometimes urged from such opposite quarters:—'But if science may be vilified by repre-'senting it as opposed to religion, or trammelled by mistaken 'notions of the danger of free inquiry, there is yet another mode 'by which it may be degraded from its native dignity, and that 'is by placing it in the light of a mere appendage to, and caterer 'for, our pampered appetites. The question "*cui bono,*" to what 'practical end and advantage do your researches tend? is one 'which the speculative philosopher, who loves knowledge for its 'own sake, and enjoys, as a rational being should enjoy, the mere 'contemplation of harmonious and mutually dependent truths, 'can seldom hear without a sense of humiliation. He feels that 'there is a lofty and disinterested pleasure in his speculations 'which ought to exempt them from such questionings, commu-'nicating, as they do to his own mind, the purest happiness (after 'the exercise of the benevolent and moral feelings) of which 'human nature is susceptible, and tending to the injury of no

'one, he might surely allege *this* as a sufficient and direct reply to 'those who, having themselves little capacity, and less relish for 'intellectual pursuits, are constantly repeating upon him this 'inquiry.' (Ibid. p. 10.) That study is not without its use, even as a moral engine, which occasionally draws off our minds from the petty concerns of daily life to contemplate the great phenomena of the universe. Distracted, as we are, amid the ever-changing currents of particulars, it is no light benefit if we can turn our heads to gaze for a time on the universal; the grand, undeviating laws of the material world, the unfathomable depths of space, the infinitude of creation, excite and foster ideas of the Boundless and Unchanging, and possess the mind with something of their own majestic calmness. It is well thus to turn aside sometimes from 'the loud stunning tide of human care and crime,' to commune, as it were, with Nature in the wilderness.

And if there seems, as has sometimes been alleged, a sort of natural hostility between the Church and the philosophy of nature, a kind of instinctive antipathy, which impelled her rulers to reject and condemn at first, and scarcely to admit, after long conflict, even the well-supported theories of speculators on these subjects—so that even now the Jesuit editors of Newton 'prefix to the third book of the Principia a declaration that they 'admit the motion of the earth only as a hypothesis, professing 'to obey the decrees of the Popes against the motion of the 'earth: "Latis a summis pontificibus contra telluris motum decretis nos obsequi profitemur:"' (Whewell's Hist. of Ind. Sciences, vol. i. p. 378)—yet the true explanation of this will perhaps reverse its apparent inference, and lead us to the conclusion that the speculations of the present day are a fit subject for the Church's watchful guidance. We grant then, that the physical sciences do not appear to have been studied by the early professors of Christianity, and that we should strive in vain to invest them with the recommendation of patristic authority. But several causes conspired to produce this effect. In the first place, the ages which witnessed the first growth of Christianity were not periods of advancement of physical learning. From Archimedes to Stevinus and Galileo, the few great principles which patient thought had as yet wrought out, barely maintained an unproductive existence. Cicero, Seneca, and even Pliny, content with retailing and extolling the physical knowledge of their predecessors, did not attempt to advance its boundaries. The study of nature awakened no ambitious hopes, held out no prospect of grand, indefinite discoveries; its most firmly established truths scarce ventured beyond the sacred verge of the philosophical arena, and the mass of mankind were still allowed to please themselves with the image of a vast terraqueous plane,

and descant, unmolested, on the absurdities involved in a belief of the antipodes. The study of nature was not the bent of the age; and we can scarcely wonder if even the near spectacle of the Alexandrian school of mathematics, which had degenerated into little more than a nursery of commentators—a race of little value in a science whose records are written in the unfailing characters of nature—failed to excite the emulation of their Christian fellow-citizens. Engaged in an unceasing conflict, which taxed their utmost powers, and demanded their undivided strength, they cared little for the cultivation of an abstract truth, which had no direct bearing on religion, and conferred on its successful votary but little influence over the popular mind. 'It is not through ignorance of the things admired by them,' says Eusebius, 'but through contempt of their useless labour, 'that we think little of these matters, turning our souls to the 'exercise of better things.' 'To search,' says Lactantius, 'for 'the causes of natural things; to inquire whether the sun be as 'large as he seems, whether the moon is convex or concave; 'whether the stars are fixed in the sky, or float freely in the 'air; of what size, and of what material, are the heavens; 'whether they be at rest or in motion; what is the magnitude of 'the earth; on what foundations it is suspended and balanced;— 'to dispute and conjecture on such matters, is just as if we chose 'to discuss what we think of a city in a remote country, of which 'we never heard but the name.'[1] The argument from Scripture was certainly employed by St. Augustine, and afterwards by Bishop Boniface of Mentz, against the opinion of the existence of antipodes; but whatever aversion to physical science existed, appears to have mainly arisen rather from contempt for its inutility or uncertainty, than from any dread of its tendencies, or persuasion of its impiety. Nor in truth was the study in those times of sufficient importance to attract the serious notice, or require the guiding hand of the Church. Ethical and logical speculations were the field in which the human intellect then most loved to expatiate; and these were at once inclosed within her pale, as the acknowledged handmaidens of her theology. Far from retarding the progress of the age, or shrinking from her appointed task of watching, ruling, and moderating the plans, the hopes, the interests of her sons, she boldly led the van of human knowledge, along the only road on which it then chose to march. That universal influence which presided at the council-boards of Europe, and disdained not to rule the tournament of feudal war, penetrated into the quiet

[1] Euseb. Prop. Ev. xv. 61. Lact. I. iii. init. as cited by Dr. Whewell, Hist. of Ind. Sciences, vol. i. p. 253, from whose pages the materials of this sketch are derived.

chamber of the philosopher, who recognised in it both an arm to control, and an aim to elevate, his studies.

Yet the physical sciences themselves were not wholly without their representatives or their patrons; the Arabian astronomy was not infrequently cultivated in the monasteries: as early as the third century, St. Patricius is recorded as the first assertor of the Plutonic theory, (Kosmos, p. 234); and Europe was indebted for an astrolabe of peculiar construction to the skilful workmanship of Pope Sylvester II. But the circumstances are widely altered now: no longer the objects of contempt or doubt, the physical sciences open a road to fame and advancement, increase the power, and minister to the luxury of mankind, and confer wealth and honour, with all the thousand influences that attend them. This too is perhaps at present the most stirring scene of the world of intellect; here is the field in which the acutest reasoning loves to toil, and the boldest imagination to expatiate; this is the region of the horizon towards which many eyes are straining in all the ardour of anticipatory vision. Day after day exacter instruments, more watchful observation, more accurate experiment, bring fresh truths to light, or confirm or modify admitted theories. Unsatisfied with his own domain, the natural philosopher is for ever trying his principles on the outworks of moral science, and thus bringing his mysterious studies within the verge of popular discussion, and vulgar judgment: so that this is becoming the very theatre on which the ever-recurring cycle of intellectual contention is once again to be represented. Dry, hard, and material as this subject is wont to be considered, it is yet drawing our very poets within its vortex:

> 'Science moves, but slowly, slowly, creeping on from point to point;
> Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.—
> Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range.
> Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.'

The course of a pursuit so long dormant, so rapidly advancing, and so widely spreading, is a moral phenomenon well worth a serious consideration. Its existence as a social element may call for the more particular attention of the clergy. It is their peculiar province to watch the varying phases of the public mind, and to be ready at every turn to meet the exigencies of the moment. Supported by civil authority, and fenced in with penal laws, they could perhaps in other times afford to neglect an unpleasing task; but now that their position is more and more reduced to one of merely moral power, they can maintain it only by moral superiority. They who are to direct the lives, must know the feelings, of mankind; they who are to solve their difficulties, must first understand them; above all, they who undertake to

sway the mind, and lead the spiritual progress of their generation, must show themselves (unless they would wholly dispense with ordinary means) its superiors in mental culture. Humility is the basis of all virtue, but it is one which can be taught only by the presence of a superior. The ready-spoken member of an Institute, the Encyclopædiacally-educated artizans can only be convinced of their ignorance, by one who excels them in their own acquirements; or, if they are really well versed in what they profess, they will listen with more ready and serious attention to one whose abilities they can themselves appreciate. The conviction of his knowledge, where they can test it, will induce them to submit to it where they cannot. Such has been the invariable policy of missionaries; such was the conduct of the mediæval Church. Ethical, verbal, and metaphysical studies were the mental occupations, war and oratory the active business, of the age; its amusements the tournament and the chase. She boldly assumed the reins of all, and made her influence felt through every joint of the mighty fabric. If we would truly imitate those ages, it must be by a bold adoption of their spirit, rather than by a timid adherence to their form. Energy, resolution, and the turbulence of real life, are stamped on the pages of their history; if our imitations seem cold and lifeless, alien to the wants of men, and as it were, a representation, or a play, it is time for distrust and re-examination. The character of ancient days will gain much efficiency, and need lose nothing of its integrity, by hiding its gigantic limbs beneath the unpretending exterior of a modern garb. As years wear on, the same principles speak in an altered language, the same relations are represented in a fresh calculus. We cannot, if we would, change the facts before us, nor would the ability to do so be of much avail. Man is set to work through his allotted period of life, but it does not greatly matter what is the subject of his labour. The manner of its execution, the motives which impel him to it, these perfect his character, and constitute his trial; and for these the varying circumstances of successive ages afford, probably, nearly equal scope. The Church's object is not so much to fashion upon one fixed mould the material relations of society, or the scarcely less obstinate configurations of the general will, as to restrain it within due bounds, to check its wandering propensities, supply its motives, spur its indolence, or moderate its intensity. She boasts no philosopher's stone, by which to turn all things into gold, though she teaches the true chemistry which derives from every work of nature its peculiar good.

With these general views on the study of natural philosophy, readers will perhaps accompany us with interest in the ination of the work before us. We have in it the first

volume of the result of the life-long labours of an aged scientific traveller. 'In the evening of a long and active life,' he tells us in the Preface, 'I present the public with a work, the in-'definite outlines of which have floated in my mind for almost 'half a century.' Its object is no less than to embrace in one wide survey the varied contents of the Universe. From the unimaginable depths of space, through all the diversities of nebula and star, we enter the confines of the solar system, and are at last landed on the surface of our native globe, there to commence anew a fresh series of most varied observation. To present to the imagination one great picture of an ordered whole, vast as a Christian cathedral, but symmetrical as a Grecian temple, is the grand object of the author. It is not, we are repeatedly told, a congeries of unarranged facts, or a merely mechanical juxtaposition of phenomena; no encyclopædia of the sciences, following one another in an arbitrary and unconnected sequence; but a living picture, in its bold, though mutually dependent, masses of light and shade; a bright focus into which the rays of every science converge in undistinguishable light. Ambitious of more than the wish of Archimedes, he strives to win for himself an intellectual station beyond 'the flaming bounds of space and time,' from whence to contemplate the co-operation of all matter and all life, from the revolving spheres of heaven down to the lichen-clad rock, and the animalcule-peopled ocean, in the production of one harmonious whole, the Kosmos of the Universe. Sad and humbling it is, that one who sees so much should look no further; that beholding the mighty picture in its accordant beauty, he should turn away in unbelief or indifference from the contemplation of the Hand that limned it; that he should find it easier to the intellect, more satisfying to the affections, to acquiesce in a Self-productive, than to venerate a Creator.

The accuracy of the facts or the correctness of the theories of this work are of course beyond the reach of ordinary criticism. The adepts of the particular sciences, the practised astronomer, or the professed geologist, may possibly find materials for well-grounded complaint in a work which embraces the whole cycle of physical learning; but the assertions of Alexander von Humboldt must be allowed to pass current with the amateur. Devoted to nature from his earliest youth, and qualified by patient study for the steady contemplation of her awful features, he has wandered amidst the untrodden forests of South America, and the trackless steppes of Central Asia, and admired her varying form from the Andes to the Himalaya: while a personal acquaintance, or frequent correspondence with the greatest names of living science, have afforded him the oppor-

tunity of weighing and testing every fresh theory, by which philosophers have attempted to explain the hidden action of her mysterious powers. Whatever may be his scientific errors, we leave them to the judgment of Professors, confident that the calm repose of philosophic investigation will not disqualify or disincline them from the task. It is enough for us to mark those salient points, which appeal to the ordinary judgment of mankind. Though we may not venture to commit ourselves to a recorded verdict on the nebular hypothesis, and may hesitate to decide between the Plutonic and Neptunian theory; the general tone of the work, the effort at picturesque delineation, or perspicuous statement, its bearings upon ethical or religious subjects, are matters of wide-spread interest, and fall within the range of common information.

But is this work, it will be asked, intended for the general reader, or the man of science? Is it couched in a form intelligible by the habits of a general education, or does it presuppose a peculiar and professional study? The author himself shall supply an answer to this question.

'In the multiplicity of objects which I have thus cursorily enumerated, the question presents itself; whether general views of nature can be brought to any thing like precision, without deep and earnest study of the several departments of natural science—natural history, natural philosophy, and physical astronomy? Here it is proper to distinguish carefully betwixt the teacher, who makes selections, and delivers an account of results, and the pupil, who receives the account as something presented to him, not investigated for himself. For the former, the most intimate knowledge of specialities is indispensably necessary; he must have long familiarized his mind with the several sciences, he must himself have taken the length and the breadth of things, observed and made experiments, before he can, with any confidence or propriety, venture on a picture of nature as a whole. The entire bearings of the problems, whose investigation lends such attractions to the physical history of the world, are perhaps scarcely to be comprehended in all their clearness, where special preliminary knowledge is wanting; although, without it, the greater number of the propositions can still be satisfactorily discussed. If the great picture of nature be not presented with its outlines equally clear and sharp in every part, it will still be found sufficiently true and attractive to enrich the mind with ideas, and to arouse and fructify the imagination.'—Pp. 29, 30.

We fear, however, that the author will scarce satisfy his unprofessional readers, and procure for himself an entire exemption from the charge of Goëthe, which he quotes against his countrymen, that 'the Germans possess the faculty of making the sciences inaccessible.' We feel it a kind of challenge, like a direct personal affront, or an avowed intention of incivility, when an author strings together such words as goniatites, polyalamians, and bryozoa, scales of planulites, and stems of adeæ, (p. 29); diorite, phonolite, dolerite, and oligoglastic rphyry, (pp. 267, 268); yet if the sight of these catalogues,

sufficiently plentiful, it must be owned, to be likely enough to catch the eye of a random leaf-turner, were to induce him to close the volume in disgust, he would have a very false idea of its contents. This specification of details is perhaps necessarily inserted, to fix the attention of the scientific reader; though it may be doubted whether their obscurity lies wholly beyond the reach of a liberal education,—at least, if we may plead the authority of Aristotle, for extending that word a little beyond the boundaries of school and college, so as to include within its signification that mental cultivation in after-life, which the possession of even a little leisure renders an imperative duty. It might, we suspect, take in much of that terminology,—which, like the shadowy terrors in the vestibule of Orcus, guards with an imaginary difficulty the threshold of physical science,—without surrendering any proportionate amount of those studies, which are justly deemed to reveal to us a knowledge of more deep concernment, and to unite us more closely with the common stream of humanity. Perhaps the admission, according to Dr. Whewell's suggestion, of a single classificatory science, such as Botany, within the range of direct education, might be of great service in opening the way to a wider acquaintance with natural philosophy, by means of the habituation to one form of its technical language; thus exhibiting an useful application of Master Slender's well-known principle, that 'upon familiarity will grow more contempt.' There is, however, much in Kosmos that may be appreciated without even this amount of preparation; it is to the strong reasonings of our inner life, to our common enjoyment of outward nature, that such passages as the following speak.

'When, in the first place, we reflect on the different degrees of enjoyment which the contemplation of nature affords, we find that the first or lowest are independent of all insight into the operation of her forces, yea, almost of the special character of the objects that are surveyed. When, for instance, the eye rests upon the surface of some mighty plain, covered with a monotonous vegetation, or loses itself in the horizon of a boundless ocean, whose waves are rippling softly to the shore, and strewing the beach with sea-weed, the feeling of free nature penetrates the mind, and an obscure intimation of her endurance in conformity with inherent everlasting laws, takes possession of the soul. In such emotions there dwells a mysterious power; they are exciting, yet composing; they strengthen and quicken the jaded intellect; they soothe the spirit, painfully commoved by the wild impulses of passion. All of earnest and of solemn that dwells with us, is derived from the almost unconscious sentiment of the exalted order and sublime regularity of nature; from the perception of unity of plan, amidst eternally recurring variety of form—for in the most exceptional forms of organization, the general is still faithfully reflected: and from the contrast betwixt the sensuous infinite, and the particular finite, from which we seek to escape. In every climate of the globe, wherever the varying forms of animal and vegetable life present themselves, in every grade of intellectual eminence are these beneficent influences vouchsafed to man.'—Pp. 6, 7.

He passes on to a different character of beauty.

'If I might here, for a moment, yield to my own recollections of grand natural scenery, I would revert to the ocean, under the softness of a tropical night, with the vault of heaven pouring down its planetary and steady, not twinkling, starlight upon the heaving surface of the world of waters; or I would call to mind the wooded vallies of the Cordilleras, where, instinct with power, the lofty palm-trees break through the dark canopy of foliage below, and rising like columns, support "another wood above the woods," or, I transport myself to the Peake of Teneriffe, and see the cone cut off from the earth beneath by a dense mass of clouds, suddenly becoming visible through an opening pierced by an upward current of air, and the edge of the crater looking down upon the vine-clad hills of Orotava, and the Hesperidian gardens that line the shore. In scenes like these it is no longer the still creative life of nature, her peaceful strivings and doings that address us; it is the individual character of the landscape, a combination of the outlines of cloud and sky, and sea and coast, sleeping in the morning or the evening light; it is the beauty of the forms of the vegetable world, and their groupings, that appeal to us; for the immeasurable, and even the awful in nature—all that surpasses our powers of comprehension—becomes a source of enjoyment in a romantic country. Fancy brings into play her creative powers upon all that cannot be fully attained by the senses, and her workings take a new direction with each varying emotion in the mind of the observer. Deceived, we imagine that we receive from the external world what we ourselves bestow.'—Pp. 8, 9.

Many curious facts, elicited by the accuracy of modern observation, will probably meet the unscientific reader for the first time in Humboldt's pages. Such, for instance, are the exact distances from the earth of the two fixed stars, whose parallax has been lately determined. From a star in the constellation of the Centaur in the Southern hemisphere, and another in Cygnus, high above our heads in the milky way, light passes to the earth in about three years, and nine years and a quarter respectively. The representation of the Zodiacal light, as a great luminous ring revolving in its proper course around the sun,—of the periodical autumnal phenomenon of shooting stars, as the passage of the earth across the orbit of a stream of countless asteroids, which ignite as they cleave the atmosphere of our planet, and are sometimes actually drawn within its attraction, and fall upon its surface in thunderbolts, or meteors, or showers of stones, thus subjecting to our touch, our measurement, our chemical analysis, the production of a world beyond us, a stranger from the realms of space,—the marvellous recurrence of comets, whose enormous orbits (one of which requires a period of 8,800 years for its accomplishment) are yet checked and controlled in their remotest distances by the pervading power of the sun, and ·refore even in those distant regions, approach not the systems d by the attraction of other stars:—these, and many similar ctions, gratify the mind by the acquisition, or stimulate it ıe enjoyment of knowledge. There is a striking passage elation to these last-mentioned phenomena, the Comets,

—a race of beings, according to Kepler, more numerous in the depths of space than fishes in the bosom of the ocean, (p. 107,)—exhibiting the mutual action and reaction of science and popular feeling; the contemptuous air of the former, and the ingenuity with which the latter contrives to extract its favourite food even from the theories of its adversary.

'Since scientific acquirements, some solid, by the side of much superficial learning, have penetrated in wider circles into social life, the fears of the possible evils wherewith comets threaten us have increased in weight, and their direction has become more definite. The certainty of there being several periodical comets within the known planetary orbits, visiting us at short intervals; the considerable perturbations which Jupiter and Saturn cause in their paths, whereby apparently harmless wanderers of the sky may be converted into peril-fraught bodies; the orbit of Biela's comet passing through that of the earth; the existence of a cosmical æther, that resisting and retarding fluid which tends to contract the orbits of all the planetary bodies; the individual differences in the bodies of comets which permit us to suspect considerable gradations in the quantity of the mass of the nucleus; all these circumstances amply replace, in multiplicity of grounds, the dread which, in former centuries, was entertained of flaming swords, and an universal conflagration to be lighted up by fiery stars.

'As the grounds for confidence derivable from the doctrine of probabilities only operate on the understanding, are only of avail among the reflecting, and produce no effect on gloomy apprehension and imagination, modern science has been charged, not altogether without reason, with seeking to allay the fears which it has itself created. It is a principle laid deeply in the desponding nature of man, in his inherent disposition to view things on the dark rather than on the bright side, that the unexpected, the extraordinary, excites fear, not hope or joy. The strange aspect of a mighty comet, its pale nebulous gleam, its sudden appearance in the heavens, have in all countries, and almost at all times, been held as portentous indications of change or dissolution of the old-established order of things. And then, as the apparition is never more than short-lived, arises the belief that its significance must be reflected in contemporaneous or immediately succeeding events. And such is the enchainment of events, that some particular incident scarcely fails to turn up which can be fixed upon as the calamity prognosticated. It is only in these times that a spirit of greater hopefulness, in connexion with the appearance of comets, has shown itself among the people. In the beautiful valleys of the Rhine, and the Moselle, ever since the appearance of the brilliant comet of 1811, comets have been regarded as exerting a favourable influence on the ripening of the grape; nor have various years of indifferent vintage, along with the appearance of other comets, instances of which have not been wanting, been able to shake the faith of the wine-growers of the north of Germany in their beneficial influences.'—Pp. 121, 122.

He subjoins in a note;

'A not very fortunate argument for the beneficent nature of comets occurs in Seneca, who speaks (Nat. Quæst. vii. 17 & 21) of the comet, "Quem nos Neronis principatu lætissimo vidimus, *et qui cometis dextrait infamiam.*"'

The nebular theory, which supposes the bright mists, discernible only by the aid of the telescope, to be primordial world-ether, not yet consolidated into astral systems, is already familiar to many through the adventurous speculations of the

'Vestiges of Creation.' Humboldt unhesitatingly assumes this theory, which is, we believe, rather deficient in proof, than improbable.

'As in our woods,' he writes, 'we observe the same kind of tree in every stage of growth at the same time, and from this view, this co-existence, derive the impression of progressive vital development; so do we, in the mighty garden of the universe, recognise different stages in the progressive formation of stars.'—P. 89.

This view requires, however, to be modified in a very striking manner. Alluding to the time required for the passage of light from the distant bodies of the heavens to our own planet, which renders it impossible for us to obtain, so to speak, a view of their contemporary condition, he proceeds:

'Such incidents in the universe belong, however, in their historical reality, to other times than those in which the phenomenon of light notify their commencement to the inhabitants of the earth; they are the voices of the past which reach us. It has been well said, that with our mighty telescopes, we penetrate at once into space, and into time. We measure the former by the latter, the latter by the former; an hour of travel for the ray of light is one hundred and forty-eight millions of geographical miles passed through. Whilst the dimensions of the universe are expressed in the theogony of Hesiod, by the fall of heavy bodies—"the brazen anvil falls in no more than nine days and nine nights from heaven to earth."—Herschel, the Father, believed "that the light of the farthest nebulæ, which his forty-feet reflector showed him, took about two millions of years to reach the earth." Much, therefore, has long disappeared, much has already been otherwise arranged, before it becomes visible to us. The aspect of the starry heavens presents us with evidences of diversity in point of time; and diminish as we will the millions, or even thousands of years, which serve us as measures for the distance of the unresolvable nebulæ with their soft lustre, and of the resolvable nebulæ with their twilight gleamings, bring them as close to us as we may, it still remains more than probable, from the knowledge we have of the velocity of light, that the light of the remote celestial bodies offers the oldest sensible evidence of the existence of matter. So rises reflecting man, from his stance on simple premises, to solemn and noble views of natural formations, to the deep fields of space, where flooded with everlasting light—"Myriads of worlds spring up like the grass of the night."'—Pp. 163, 164.

The nebulæ, which our telescopes disclose to us as formless masses, are now, it may be, rolling in their perfect course, systems of worlds organized and orderly as that which we inhabit, as those starry heavens which rivet the gaze of our unassisted sight. We see them, not as they *are*, but as they were when we were chaos. Engaged in the contemplation of them, we are as it were placed 'in the Beginning,' before the Spirit moved upon the face of the waters. In the weary age of the world, after the silent lapse of uncounted cycles, we may still travel back along the vistas of time, and in them behold with our eyes first rude matter, fresh from its Maker's fiat, the contemporary records of our own creation.

It must be confessed that the details become less intelligible, and therefore less interesting, when we descend from the celestial phenomena to the terraqueous globe. *There* all is grand and simple, *here* we are plunged into a whirl of multifarious forces.

'The exclusion of every appreciable circumstance referrible to diversity of material, simplifies the mechanism of the heavens in a remarkable manner; it brings the infinite realms of space under the sole dominion of the laws of motion.' (P. 60.) 'But where our dynamic views, which are based on figurative atomic premises, no longer suffice us, because the specific nature of matter, and its heterogeneousness come into play; we find ourselves striking suddenly upon reefs that rise from fathomless depths, when we strive after unity of comprehension.' (P. 68.) 'It is only in our own earth that immediate vicinity brings us into contact with the various elements of organic and inorganic creation. Here the garner of matter, in its multifarious diversity, in its endlessness of admixture, and modification, and change, in the ever-varying play of forces evoked, presents the spirit with its proper food; the joys of investigation, the unbounded field of observation, which, cultivating and strengthening the faculty of thought, gives to the intellectual sphere of man's existence a portion of its grandeur, of its sublimity. The world of sensible phenomena reflects itself in the deeps of the ideal world; the abundance of nature, the mass of things discernible, passes gradually into the domain of knowledge approved by reason.'—P. 168.

But the same abundance of material which provides variety, entails also difficulty and obscurity. The language of geology and meteorology, sciences too young as yet to have won their way by metaphor or illustration into the dialect of common life, sounds more strange to our ears than the comparatively familiar terms of astronomy. Isothermal and isochimenal lines convey less vivid ideas than orbits and ecliptics: the telescope is a more intelligible instrument than the psychrometer. Perhaps the most remarkable fact we can select from this department is that of the luminous nature of the earth. We are prepared to admit the capability of all the planetary masses to reflect the light of the sun; but many of us will probably be startled by the intimation that these are self-luminous bodies, shining not only with a reflected, but with a proper light; and that among them the earth itself, dull, dark mass as it seems to us who tread its surface, emits a splendour of its own, which we may sometimes admire in the northern lights, or yet more frequently in the flashes of summer lightning.

'What gives this phenomenon [the Northern Light] its greatest importance is the fact which it reveals, viz. that the earth is luminous; that our planet, besides the light which it receives from the central body, the sun, shows itself capable of a proper luminous act or process. The intensity of the earth-light, or rather the degree of luminosity which it diffuses, exceeds by a little, in the case of the brightest coloured rays that shoot up to the zenith, the light of the moon in her first quarter. Occasionally, as on the

7th of January, 1831, a printed page can be read without straining the sight. This light-process of the earth, which the Polar regions exhibit almost incessantly, leads us by analogy to the remarkable phenomenon which the planet Venus presents. The portion of this planet which is not illuminated by the sun, glows occasionally with a proper phosphorescent gleam. It is not improbable that the Moon, Jupiter, and Comets, besides the reflected sun-light recogniseable by the polariscope, also emit light produced by themselves. Without insisting on the problematical but very common phenomenon of *sheet-lightning*, in which the whole of a deep massy cloud is flickeringly illuminated for several minutes at a time, we find other examples of terrestrial evolutions of light. To this head belong the celebrated *dry fogs* of 1783 and 1831, which were luminous by night; the steady luminousness of large clouds, perfectly free from all flickering, observed by Rosier and Beccaria; and even the pale, diffused light, as Arago has well observed, which serves to guide us in the open air, in thickly clouded autumn and wintry nights, when there is neither moon nor star in the firmament, nor snow upon the ground. As in the phenomenon of the Polar lights occurring in high northern latitudes, in other words, in electro-magnetic storms, floods of flickering and often parti-coloured light stream through the air, so, in the hotter zones of the earth, between the tropics, are there many thousand square miles of ocean which are similarly light-engendering. Here, however, the magic of the light belongs to the organic forces of nature. Light-foaming flashes the bursting wave, the wide level glows with lustrous sparks, and every spark is the vital motion of an invisible animal world. So manifold is the source of terrestrial light. And shall we conceive it latent, not yet set free in vapours, as a means of explaining Moser's *pictures*,—a discovery in which reality still presents itself to us as a vision shrouded in mystery?'—Pp. 210, 211.

We have lingered over Humboldt's amusing details, and glowing descriptions, loth to enter on the unpleasing but necessary task of marking with unequivocal distinctness that spirit of error, which, alas! it requires no other learning than a Christian education to detect. Confident in that, no false modesty should restrain our censure; nurtured in the Divine testimonies, we may not shrink from seeming 'wiser than the aged,' from claiming 'more understanding than our teachers.' The writer who has so clearly traced the laws, so keenly felt, and so vividly portrayed the sweet influences and the magnificent expansions of creation, refuses the aid of his powerful voice to swell the hymn of gratitude to the Creator. Mankind, he consistently tells us, (p. 391,) 'exists for the accomplishment of this single end, THE 'FREE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL POWER. This is the ex-'treme, the ultimate purpose of the social state.' With him the universe itself is a living, self-existent, eternal Being, a mighty, indestructible monster, whose gigantic limbs reach out on every side, and ramify into the ten thousand times ten thousand forms of organic and inorganic existence. So heavy an accusation ought to be supported by sufficient proof: and though, from the nature of the work, which professes to be a Picture, rather than a History—a delineation of the existing, rather than of the coming into existence—of that which *is*,

rather than of that which caused it to be—such views are more often occasionally revealed, than determinately stated, yet we fear the few passages we are about to quote will leave no doubt on the reader's mind:—

'Nature is no dead aggregate; she is "to the inspired inquirer," (as Schelling grandly expresses himself, in his admirable Discourse on the Fine Arts,) "the holy, the eternally creative prime mover of the universe, engendering and evolving all things out of her pregnant self!" '—P. 41.

Nor is this notion limited by the boundaries of the material world:—

'The unity attainable in such a history of creation as I propose to exhibit, is no more than that which historical representations in general can hope to achieve. Details, whether as to the form or arrangement of natural things, no more than in reference to the struggles of man with the elements, or the wars of one nation against another—all, in short, that falls within the sphere of mutability and true accident, cannot be derived or built up from *à priori* conceptions. The natural history of the earth, and universal history, consequently, stand on the same grade of the empirical ladder; but a luminous treatment of either, a rational arrangement of natural phenomena, and of historical incidents, impresses us deeply with a belief in an [illegible] inherent necessity, which rules all the operations both of the spiritual and material forces within circles eternally reproduced, and only periodically contracted or enlarged. This necessity, indeed, is the very essence of nature; it is nature herself, in the two spheres of her being—the material and the spiritual—and it leads to clearness and simplicity of view, to the discovery of laws which, in experimental science, present themselves as the ultimate term in human inquiries.'—P. 33.

Creation can be allowed only as a figurative expression:—

'In the narrowness of our knowledge of original productions, in the figurative language with which this circumscription of view is concealed, we designate as *new creations* the historical phenomena of change in the organisms, as in the tenancy of the primeval waters, and of the uplifted dry land.'—P. 289.

As a reality it is unphilosophical to contemplate it; we may not venture to suppose a time when the world was not.

'That which, in the circles of life, and in all the internal impulsive forces of the universe, fetters us so unspeakably, is less the recognition of Being, than of what is about to be; even though the latter be nothing more than a new condition of matter already extant; for of proper creation as an efficient act, of a protogenesis of matter, of entity succeeding nonentity, we have neither conception nor experience.'—P. 89.

It is true that these expressions may perhaps admit of an explanation; that it is possible, though we think scarcely likely, for these and similar passages to have issued from a religious and Christian mind. Assuredly, however, such a mind would have left its impress too vividly on other pages of the work to allow a doubt to remain concerning the character of its author: or if one selection of sentences seemed to condemn him, we should be able to produce another set, which would, at least as strongly

demand his acquittal. If the circumstantial evidence of particular pages seemed strong against him, we might summon the general tone of the volume to speak to his character. But what favourable construction can be allowed, where this is wanting? What shall be said of the author, who can write passages like those we have just cited, while he has carefully suppressed every allusion to a Divine Ruler, on a theme so pregnant with His Presence? Endowed beyond his fellow-men with an eye to behold the order and symmetry of the world, and a heart vibrating to its sympathies, he treads as it were in solemn procession from scene to scene of its glories; yet we listen in vain for the involuntary burst of awe, of wonder, of love, which should issue from a Christian's lips. Is not silence itself, in such a case, too clear a witness? could any one who felt, refrain from giving vent to the conclusion:—

> 'These are Thy glorious works, Parent of Good,
> Almighty! Thine this universal frame
> So wondrous fair! Thyself how wondrous then!'

As a logical sequence of the same debasing views, we find life itself materialized. 'All myths,' he writes (p. 69,) 'about imponderable matters, and special vital forces inherent in organized beings, only render views of nature perplexed and indistinct;' and again, (p. 86,) 'the life which in both [sea and land] is evolved as cellular tissue in plants and animals.' If we may trust Dr. Whewell (Philosophy of Inductive Sciences, vol. ii.) Humboldt is, in this instance, even behind the existing state of science. He has chosen to adhere to an effete dogma, rather than allow the progress of knowledge to lead him into the presence of the Immaterial. For Dr. Whewell labours to secure to the Idea of Life the same distinctness and peculiarity, the same simple, unresolvable mode of conception, as that which is acknowledged to belong to the other leading ideas of Statical force, of Chemical composition, or of Polarity. The theories which represent Life as a mechanical or chemical action, or as the result of a pervading vital fluid, are severally discussed by him and dismissed as the inadequate efforts through which the human mind struggles to embrace a conception as yet unapprehended. These are the steps by which the new Idea is reached; the scaffolding by means of which Philosophy has striven to build up its definition. Yet it is, apparently, in one of these expiring theories that the author of Kosmos has determined to repose. This is the final resting-place of the leader in the vanguard of science, the earliest herald of each successive triumph,

> 'The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time.'

Fair, candid, and open to conviction in every minor detail, he fuses to admit those ideas alone, which give life and meaning

to the material universe, which alone confer upon it that 'Order' which he would fain delineate.

We are sometimes apt to be dissatisfied with our own natural philosophers. Their words sound to our ears harsh and irreverent; their theories seem to hover too carelessly upon the frontiers of Holy Writ: but if we turn to them from some of the continental speculators, we must acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to that Christian education, which happily still pervades our seminaries, and regulates in some measure the tone of the public mind. The burst of popular indignation that every now and then lights on the head of some ill-fated theory, drawn forth from the comparative obscurity of philosophical discussion by the attractions of a popular writer, or the patronage of a distinguished name, is a healthy symptom, though often singularly misdirected. It discloses, at least, a substratum of Christian feeling, a consciousness that there are Truths more precious than those which are shrined in the material universe, Laws more sacred than those which regulate the visible phenomena of earth and sky. And with us the popular will is equally omnipotent and perverse, alike for good and for evil. Woe to the unhappy author, whose vagaries chance to awaken the slumbering lion: like the stricken deer, he will meet with no shelter among the yet unwounded herd. Far from venturing to oppose the popular outcry, our physical writers are themselves forced to disclaim and denounce their luckless comrade. Within the last few months the author of the 'Vestiges of Creation' found his most formidable and most bitter adversaries among the ranks of those, whose geological theories had but recently drawn down on themselves a similar storm of public indignation. We scarcely wish to deprecate these freaks of our despotic Demus; in the strength, and, on the whole, the soundness of public opinion lies our safeguard: even the philosophic circles are influenced by it, and in some measure follow its lead in the general direction of their pursuits. To this we probably owe the perpetual struggle to avert in this country that dissociation between Religion and Science, which has so unhappily prevailed in many cases on the continent.

The cause of Natural Religion, already familiar to the public notice through Paley's well-known work, has received more lately its full tribute at the hands of Science, in the entertaining volumes of the Bridgewater Treatises. So complete, indeed, has been the union, as to risk the absorption of one of the contracting parties; for it has suggested a temptation to repose the whole proof upon this single argument; a mode of procedure by which the ally is converted into the master: for we should never overlook the intellectual and moral necessity for some

species of natural theology, to which our hearts bear a clearer testimony than the surrounding wonders of creation: a necessity which even the great German metaphysician was compelled to acknowledge when he proclaimed, as the three primary realities, God, the World, and the Soul. Or, if the clearness and completeness of the argument from design (which, however, the same great authority renounces as inadequate), seem to supersede the necessity of laboriously collecting these other threads, we have but to cast an eye on the work which has given rise to these observations, to recollect and amend our error. With such an example of infidelity before us, in a case where both the material of the argument has been so much enlarged, and the connexion of its parts so fully appreciated, there is no need to evoke the schools of pagan ages; to observe that the philosopher whose physical theories have been most often verified by the researches of modern science, was an Epicurean; or that the same premises—this visible world, arched over by the varying canopy of heaven, and adorned by the mutually dependent tribes of plants and animals—but too often failed to establish those conclusions in the minds of heathen multitudes, which, to the Christian moralist, appear inevitable. Surely, when the Apostle argued that 'the invisible things of Him from the 'creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the 'things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead,' he meant not to exclude from the argument those moral wants, those yearnings after truth and rectitude, which stir the soul of man like the dim recollections of a happier clime. For if the Power, the Wisdom, and the Benevolence of the Creator, may be surely traced in His material workmanship, marred though it be by the intruding will of Man, yet how can we gather from this alone the lesson of His spotless Holiness, His unerring Justice, His ineffable Mercy? Far be it from us to depreciate the true value of the evidences furnished by the visible creation; but we must not measure their intrinsic worth by the effect produced by them on our minds, predisposed as we are in their favour, and already imbued with the conclusion they profess to prove. They afford much collateral assistance, spread over a field of indefinite extent, and might, we think, be made a valuable means of supplying continual and stimulating sustenance to a devotional frame of mind. It is only when removed from their true position, and arrogating to themselves the sole championship of Religion, that we look upon them with distrust. mit this claim, and the inferences which follow are only too ar and consecutive. If these be the sole grounds of Religion, can allow none but Natural Religion; and even that must shorn of its moral attributes, and pared down to a barren and

cheerless assent to the naked existence of a Creative Intelligence, or a mere Architect of pre-existent matter.

But while Natural Religion has received so ample an acknowledgment from the inferior sciences, the same homage has not been accorded, or at least not in the same systematic form, to Revelation. To its proof, of course, they cannot be directed; to its elucidation and illustration, they may afford valuable assistance. The Inspired Records, though in their general tenour directed to far other ends than the enunciation of scientific truths, yet sometimes, from the very construction of language, seem unavoidably to imply—occasionally, by the substance of the narrative, directly to assert—some fact or theory of physics. What are these facts and theories? How do they accord with the results of recent investigation?—are the anxious questions which have doubtless occurred to many a mind whose sensitive devotion has shrunk from embodying in words these intruding and alarming thoughts. A suspicious ignorance, or a paradoxical denial, are the dangerous resources of a determination to avoid the unwelcome discussion. From the consideration of the many points of greater or less importance, in which the course of the Inspired Narrative intersects the paths of the physical sciences, some have been led to reject the one, or refuse to entertain the other,—in neither case without serious injury to that pure love of Truth, which burns but dimly in the atmosphere of an uncandid or a prejudiced mind; while others have acquiesced in some vague but impossible notion of a double range of knowledge, by which two distinct spheres of thought may pursue within the same breast their independent orbits. With a subtle distinction, they pretend to analyse their minds, and claim to hold one set of opinions as philosophers, while they believe another as Christians. Such a view, not, we fear, uncommon, though evidently unable to endure for a single moment the searching glance of dispassionate reflection, is as destructive, ultimately, of all practical honesty, as it is incompatible with any deep feeling of the reality of Revealed Truth. The mind that dares not turn its gaze upon its own action, has lost the very compass of life, and, by the refusal to take cognizance of its subject, has, as it were, virtually abdicated its throne. If reason can still maintain a fancied sovereignty, it is only by declining to issue her commands. Where a difficulty is felt, it is essential that it should be—not vanquished, for that may, perhaps, require higher powers than are producible—but acknowledged. This is, at least, the first step—the remark is true to a proverb—towards overcoming it. If this be neglected, it lies upon the system with the perpetual pressure of an intellectual nightmare, clogging every effort with the dead weight of conscious insincerity.

The only popular work in which any general discussion of the particular difficulty that has led to these remarks has been attempted, is, we believe, Sharon Turner's Sacred History of the World. This is a work full of pleasing information, and one which will probably be often read, or at least glanced over, with interest and amusement: but we do not think it supplies the special deficiency on which we have been insisting: for, in order to have any real satisfaction in the result of an investigation, we must have reason to believe that it has been conducted on independent grounds. We cannot but distrust an argument in which the premises are evidently selected with a view to the predetermined conclusion. A ratiocination of this description reminds us too forcibly of the oracular citizen in Mr. Taylor's Isaac Comnenus:—'Then having come to the conclusion, which 'is with us, as it were, the ground and beginning of the argu-'ment, it behoves us to look to the reasons, which are, as I may 'say, the ways and means of coming to the conclusion. For if 'you fall to without knowing the reasons, you'll be held for no 'better than brute beasts; since all your wise men, look ye, 'when they are resolved upon a thing, have ever sought out the 'reasons before they began.' An author who is sure of his conclusion upon other grounds than those which he produces, may be in the possession of the truth, and may be justified in his own acceptance of it; but we feel that he has no right to endeavour to convince *us* by reasons which have plainly had no share in satisfying *him*. We do not doubt his conclusion; we only deny the sufficiency of the erections he has thrown up to support it. Mr. Turner's volumes appear to us to lie open to this objection. He commences with the first chapter of Genesis, and grafts on every sentence of it, verse after verse, just so much science as he thinks the text will bear. As a certain measure of water will only hold in solution a definite quantity of salt, refusing to admit into its composition whatever is attempted to be infused beyond this quantum; so we seem to see this author pouring out gradually and cautiously the stream of knowledge, till verse after verse is saturated with science, and dismissed. The work which results from this process may be amusing as a piece of popular physics, edifying as a series of religious thoughts, valuable, perhaps, as a scientific commentary; but as an endeavour to adjust and reconcile the conflicting claims of Science and Revelation it must be nearly useless. This end can only be effected by a complete collection of the admitted results or general tendencies of each particular science, and a careful comparison with the passages of Scripture which seem to bear upon the same range of subjects.

This has been in part most ably performed by Dr. Wiseman,

in his 'Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion;' and some portions, as Ethnography, and the Natural History of the Human Race, have probably received from him as full a discussion as the existing state of science either demands, or indeed allows of. But so rapid is the advance of knowledge in the present day, so versatile and so indefatigable her votaries, that such a work would be more fitly discharged in the recurring pages of a periodical, or by the continuous labours of a special professor, than by the publication of a single book. Ten years only have elapsed since Dr. Wiseman wrote; but they are enough to make us sensible of several blanks in his work. Geology still looks for its expositor; the old rage for constructing theories of the earth has revived on a wider scale, and is supported by more specious reasonings. And the too evident causes, which are likely (now, more than ever) to prevent any very general circulation of Dr. Wiseman's book in England, make us very desirous to see a fresh work on this subject, from a member of our own communion. A fair and calm survey of the results hitherto attained by science in its several departments, not culled with a partial hand to adorn the brow of Religion, but giving an honest picture of its actual claims, and boldly confronted with the seemingly hostile truths of Revelation, is a work that yet remains to be done, and one that well deserves the attention of the Christian philosopher of the nineteenth century.

The general principles on which such an inquiry must proceed, are gradually working their way to the surface. The prejudices, which have too often weakened the defence of Religion, by raising the cry of infidelity on insufficient grounds, are wearing away; the ground is cleared for the erection of an adequate theory. The shock and conflict of opinion, which has been raging so fiercely of late years, has at least opened the way to the reception of wider and more general views than were wont to be entertained. The illiterate or unpractised intellect is apt to identify its own impressions with the objects they represent; and to resent any attempt to modify the former, as if it were a direct attack upon the latter. Its own conceptions are thus invested with the sanctity of Inspiration: and a new theory is measured, not so much by the words of Holy Writ, as by the notions, often vague and indistinct, which each man has fashioned to himself from his own perusal of it, or passively received at the hands of some favourite preacher or commentator, or unconsciously imbibed from the circumambient atmosphere of prevalent opinion. Thus the illimitable universality of Divine Truth is circumscribed within the narrow horizon of the particular mind. It is in fact the received popular ideas of the time for which

opponents of this description are contending. Dr. Whewell has well observed in his History of the Inductive Sciences, (vol. i. p. 402,) that 'the meaning which any generation puts upon the 'phrases of Scripture, depends, more than is at first sight supposed, 'upon the received philosophy of the time. Hence, while men 'imagine that they are contending for revelation, they are, in fact, 'contending for their own interpretation of revelation, unconsci-'ously adapted to what they believe to be rationally probable. And 'the new interpretation, which the new philosophy requires, and 'which appears to the older school to be a fatal violence done to 'the authority of religion, is accepted by their successors with-'out the dangerous results which were apprehended. When 'the language of Scripture, invested with its new meaning, has 'become familiar to men, it is found that the ideas which it calls 'up, are quite as reconcileable as the former ones were, with 'the soundest religious views.' And Dr. Wiseman has remarked that the very phraseology of Scripture will be sometimes found to countenance a view, which at first sight seemed rather to be opposed to it. Thus, in reference to the geological theory, which considers the earth as a burning mass, crusted over with a cooler surface, which is occasionally upheaved in some parts into mountain-ridges, while it subsides in others into ocean-basins, through the unquiet tossings of the boiling matter within, he observes, (vol. i. p. 314,) 'that from the sacred words 'themselves we learn, that, to limit the ocean within its bed, '"the *mountains ascend*, and the valleys descend, into the place 'which God has founded for them; He has placed (them) as a 'barrier which they (the waters) shall not pass, nor return to 'cover the earth."[1] Again, the formation of mountains is 'spoken of as distinct from that of the earth. "Before the 'mountains were brought forth, or the earth was born."[2] 'Another remarkable passage seems graphically to describe the 'effects of this consuming principle: "Fire shall be kindled in 'my wrath, and it shall burn into the lowest abyss (grave or 'hell); it shall eat the earth and its produce, and shall burn up 'the foundations of the mountains."'[3] Another instance of the same kind is found in the general accordance of the progressive series of organized remains furnished by the several strata, with the successive operations of the six days' creation: while the long period which the view suggested by this accordance requires us to assign to each day of creation, finds an analogy in the length of time already elapsed since its completion—a cyclical Sabbath, during which the Creative Power has even now 'rested all His work which He had made,' for nearly six thousand

[1] Ps. civ. 8, 9. [2] Ps. xc. 2. [3] Deut. xxxi. 22.

years, albeit in another sense 'hitherto working,' (John v. 17) in the constant labour of conservation.

The first point, then, which in every new dispute requires most careful and dispassionate consideration, is the question of fact, whether there be any real opposition to the words of Holy Writ. This is most necessary, but it is far from being the whole. We shall be disappointed, if we flatter ourselves that every apparent verbal opposition will melt away into nothing on examination. For it cannot be denied, that at least one important science speaks a language at variance with the phrase of Scripture. The Copernican theory, forming, as it does, the basis of our modern astronomy—a science which claims to itself a certainty and precision scarcely second to that of the pure mathematics,—is opposed to the whole system of that phraseology, which represents the sun and stars as circling around our stable planet. 'The sun stood still in the midst of heaven,' (Josh. x. 13.)—'It goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and runneth about unto the end of it again,' (Ps. xix.) —are phrases which the modern astronomer cannot receive as *literally* true, though he may admit that they express substantial facts. What if they are not scientifically correct? is the obvious and natural reply. These are words which even now the historian or the poet would employ in similar descriptions; they are cast in the only mould which could *then* have been at all intelligible. Had the inspired writer spoken of the temporary arrest of the earth's diurnal revolution, how meaningless would his words have fallen on the ears of his Hebrew comrades! how strangely would they have sounded for three thousand years! how foreign would they seem even now to the large masses of uneducated poor, how comparatively powerless to stir the heart, and kindle the imagination, even of those who could acknowledge their scientific accuracy! It is the language of men, not of astronomers, that the Bible utters. All this is most true, and to many, most satisfactory; but though it admits of no refutation, it may, perhaps, require analysis. For it amounts to an admission, that all language is but the vehicle of thought, the channel, uncostly in itself, which derives its value and honour from the precious liquid it conveys. Again we seem to be stating a truism; but are all its consequences so unhesitatingly admitted, as to render the enumeration of them a needless task? Does it not entail on us the necessity of a most hazardous distinction between sense and word, spirit and letter, which, by admitting, even in a single instance, we are never again at liberty to withhold? Or is the guiding rule, so impossible to be expressed in theory, not difficult to be applied in practice? Let us consider for a moment the general position of the contingent

value of all language; the uncertainty and want of precision which necessarily attends it. We are familiar with the difficulty of transferring thoughts from one language to another by the process of translation: but this difficulty would be indefinitely reduced, if the precise meaning of each word, the conception for which it stands, were somewhat clear and defined, possessing a distinct position, and exact outline, wholly irrespective of the peculiar qualities of the mind in which it happened to be localised. If the verbal expression were so transparent as to allow us (so to speak,) to *see* the thought beneath it, as plainly as we discern near objects by our bodily eyesight, we could at once select the words which our own tongue had provided for the same ideas, or confidently pronounce its deficiency, if they were wanting. Such, however, is far from being the case; and that we may not ascribe it to the mere power of habit entangling us with the fetters of a peculiar grammar, and preventing the ready appreciation of an unfamiliar sound, we may observe that a similar difficulty occurs, whenever the conversation is between persons, who, though natives of the same land, have been educated in any considerable difference of principle or belief. How different are the images which the same words conjure up in different minds! how various (to use a phrase familiar to many of our readers) their connotations! Language, like a semi-opaque glass, shows us the scene beyond, mingled with the reflection of our own features. We look on the printed page, we contemplate the sharp outline and certain form of the letters, and congratulate ourselves on the invention which has stereotyped knowledge for all generations, and transfused the sentiments of individuals into a thousand breasts. Yet who will venture to predict the absolute identity of the thoughts conveyed to any two readers through the medium of the same page? How cold and meaningless on the ear of one will fall the words that kindle another with the glow of enthusiasm! Nay, how differently will the same man read them in his different moods! In a more limited sense we may transfer to language what the poet sings of nature:—

> 'But any man that walks the mead,
> In bud, or blade, or bloom may find,
> According as his humours lead,
> A meaning suited to his mind.'

How often do we find that a loose inaccurate conversation will convey a far more correct transcript of the mind, than the selected phrase of the most carefully-worded composition! Language answers its end, if it conveys the required idea; if this be effected, the verbal truth of the expression is absolutely indifferent. Alike to us and to the Jews of old, the words in

Joshua speak of a great miracle—a suspension of the ordinary laws of nature—an arrest of the great bodies of our system in the accomplishment of their wonted courses. That this should be expressed in a calculus not precisely our own, but capable of an easy transference to it, is no more a matter of wonder, than that the narrative should have been related in the language of Shem rather than of Japhet. If the Hebrew race were chosen for the material on which the Divine attributes were to be displayed, it is surely no strange thing, if the medium of communication with the gentile world, whether contemporary or of later date, be tinctured with the mind, as well as expressed in the language, of that highly-favoured people. If *we* had been the chosen depositories of the sacred oracles, doubtless their form and language would have been different, though their substance *must* have been the same.

Some such view as this, which we are compelled to adopt in explanation of the passages we have been considering, may be applied with equal justice to more litigated questions. It is a double-edged weapon; and they who grasp it, will do well to guard against its recoil. If the geological requisitions for periods of many thousand years before the creation of man be deemed inconsistent with the words of Genesis,—though we are far from admitting this to be the case,—the description of the miracle of Joshua is not less incompatible with the generally admitted notions of astronomy. The creation of the sun upon the *fourth* day is scarcely more opposed to the nebular hypothesis, than it is to the theory of the world-sustaining force of gravity. The conception of the earth's motion, under the idea of a body launched forth into space, but constrained by a counter force to move in its elliptic orbit, demands the pre-existence, or at least the simultaneous creation, of a central mass, scarcely less urgently than the theory which represents the planets as the condensed fragments of the rings from time to time thrown off from the cooling surface of a revolving world-ether. To assign to the earth the rank of the first-born of created things is alike fatal to either view. For we must not forget that if the sun be younger than the earth, the fixed stars can on the same grounds claim no priority. This text, in its literal construction, will crush with impartial foot the laws of gravity and the vortices of Descartes. There is often great unfairness in the way in which Revelation is turned upon Science. With the calm assurance of unconscious inconsistency, the same consideration is extended as a protecting mantle over some favoured propositions, while it becomes a wall of fire to exclude their kindred. When the bold speculators in the æras of Geology, and the mysteries of pre-Adamite death, hurl the anathemas of

Scripture upon some rash, unauthorized intruder on their realm, we may be allowed to marvel at the sudden kindling of so much latent zeal. Wielded by such hands, the spear of Ithuriel becomes a Lesbian rule. Any fair application of the principle of the absolute universality of Scripture teaching would crush the Copernican theory and the Newtonian system as effectually as the nebular hypothesis. It is a consistent and intelligible view,—though one, which, we think, involves its defender in difficulties at least as great as those he flies from,—which would boldly reject both alike as unscriptural, and restore the earth to its ancient place on the central throne of the universe: but to employ against new propositions arguments which are equally fatal to those in which we are willing to acquiesce, is an absurd and untenable position. We are far from asserting that Scripture can throw no light on the paths of Science, or furnish no check or limit to its speculations. Some positions there are, which seem incompatible not merely with the words, but with the very heart and kernel of Revelation, some directly or indirectly appear to sap the whole structure of Christianity. Such is that idea of the eternity of the universe which we had to notice in Humboldt; such perhaps are those speculations on the identity of the human race, which, if they tend to a denial of our common descent from the first Adam, must also sever us from the Second. Where there is a plain contrariety in meaning, we must condemn; where the opposition is only verbal, we should do well to hesitate.

Time changes all things in his noiseless march; and the generations of men,—fading like the leaves in rapid succession,—will speak each in their own language, and think in their own thought. We refuse not to regard and allow for the distinctions of clime, and tongue, and race, which diversify the contemporary picture of mankind; but we feel it difficult to lengthen out the same distinctions into the perspective of bygone ages. The far produced lines converge and run together in the undistinguishable distance. Time from its very nature presents a peculiar difficulty to the effort at simultaneous conception. We can scarcely even by a conscious exertion put ourselves in relation with remote centuries, or make due allowance for the interval which must separate the structures of thought most proper to enshrine the same idea for the benefit of such widely-differing recipients. More refreshing is it to turn from the varying temple to its enduring habitants, from the changing matter to the permanent impression; and to contemplate the same great truths, the guides, and hopes, and safeguards of life, shining with undiminished lustre through the accumulated mists of ages. Be our philosophy of creation what it may, we know as clearly as

the Israelites, to whom Moses spoke, that it rose into gradual existence at the Creator's word. History may read the general course of empires, and science demonstrate the universal laws of matter, without impairing our conviction of the essential truths —that He is the Judge, who putteth down one, and setteth up another—that without Him not a sparrow falls to the ground, and that the very hairs of our head are all numbered. Still less can the lapse of time affect those more awful and yet more intimate Truths, which it is enough in these pages to have hinted at. To shrink from the inevitable progress of Science were a needless cowardice, the fruit of distrust, rather than of faith. Let Truth pursue her various course along a thousand different paths; they must at last converge to the same august temple. She cannot be at variance with herself; and from her the Divine Word can never be disjoined. We cannot watch her steps too carefully, or shun too anxiously the devious paths of error; but where she seems to lead, we may not hesitate to follow, warily indeed, but yet with confidence.

ART. II.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Mortmain, together with the Minutes of Evidence.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 24th July, 1844.

2. *A Bill to alter and amend the Laws relating to the Disposition of Property for Pious and Charitable Purposes.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Manners, Viscount Clive, and Mr. Charles Buller. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1846.

3. *Debate on the Mortmain Laws in the House of Commons,* March, 1846.

IN the year 1736, just at the full swing of the Walpole administration, a great revolution took place in the laws affecting the dedication of property to charity. Nobody knows why. We have nothing now but the fact. The present law is the result of that change. No one seems able to give a satisfactory account of its origin and circumstances;—but a revolution it undoubtedly was. Even incorporated charities were, before that time, in respect of the acquisition and alienation of property, almost as unfettered as private individuals. A royal license, which by the 7th and 8th Will. III. c. 37, had been made matter of no very difficult acquisition,—was the only ceremony required. Unincorporated charities, or, in other words, charities committed to a succession of private trustees, were, provided they were really 'Charities' within the legal definition of the term, perfectly without restraint. Any body might give or bequeath any amount of land or money to their use. And this had been the law, with no very important variation, since the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. But all of a sudden, in the year of grace 1736, and in the 9th of the second prince of the House of Hanover, it was discovered that the Commonwealth was in peril, that 'great public mischief' was going on, had been going on, and ought to be put a stop to, all owing to this most 'improvident' state of the law of Charities. All gifts of *land,* or of any property that arose from, or was directed to be vested in land, to any charitable purpose, were forthwith put under a 'heavy discouragement,' which amounted to all but a prohibition. All such gifts, when made *by will,* were, indeed, expressly negatived—and when made by deed, they were incumbered with conditions necessarily difficult and distasteful, and possibly fatal. Pure money gifts alone were left untouched.

But nobody, as we have said, seems to know how or why so great a change was made. Antiquarians are puzzled at it. Jurists shake their wigs. Sir Francis Palgrave thinks the Act marked the 'turn of the tide;' but why the tide turned then, or why at all, he offers no account. Mr. Burge says plainly, that if asked the origin of the Act, he should be 'exceedingly puzzled to state it.' And, when we look into what is by courtesy called 'the debate' on the bill,—a curiosity embalmed in the Parliamentary History,—certainly there is very much to justify some considerable slowness of discernment. The discussion is assigned to the House of Lords, but the speeches, such as they are, are all anonymous. 'No names,' appears to have been the very safe and charitable maxim of the Parliamentary reporter; our only hope is, for the sake of the reputation of King George's peers, that as much liberty has been taken with the arguments, as with the names, of these noble lords. Certainly the 'reasons' that have been allowed to remain on record, as those on which the change of law was made, would not only fully account for any amount of bewilderment on the part of posterity, but would even go far to justify the hypothesis that the whole debate is a hoax.

Before going further we will give our readers a few specimens of the 'considerations,' that are said to have led to our present law against Charities; they will conduce, better than any statement we could make, to the right understanding of the policy and operation of the law itself; and they will form an apt introduction to an inquiry into its merits.

In the first place, then, a sort of discovery seems to have been made,—noble Lords seem to have become suddenly alive to the fact,—that there was, in 1736, such a thing known to the law as a devise to charitable uses. Ever since the Statutes of Wills, (32d and 34th of Henry VIII.) people had indeed had free power to leave land by will away from their heirs. Ever since the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth, when a technical definition of charitable uses was first adopted, and those uses thus recognised by our law, every body might have exercised that power in the creation by will of any such charitable uses. Nay, even in favour of a corporation, so that it had license to hold in Mortmain, the devise was, by a liberal construction put upon the 43rd of Elizabeth, c. 4, perfectly valid.[1] Yet what says 'the argument for the bill,' in the debates of the 9th year of King George II.? 'A *new* sort of Mortmain,' the advocates of the measure argued, (it was no *mortmain* at all,) 'a *new* sort of Mortmain has *lately* sprung up, a new gulph without bottom, and without bounds, which will certainly swallow up whatever is left by the

[1] See 1 Jarman on Wills, p. 196.

others.' And this new bottomless gulph, it was then explained, was the power of devising to uses in favour of Charities or charitable purposes. The discovery appears to have been made, then for the first time, that such devises, if they did not happen to be made to corporations, but were only effected through individual trustees, were not within the ordinary mortmain laws, and did not require any mortmain license from the Crown. A wonderful mare's nest, truly! For what was the fact? Why; this very power had existed in full operation, unheeded and unharmful, for just two hundred rolling years! This was the '*new* bottomless gulph!'—For two hundred long years these devises of land had been going on,—interfered with not at all by the mortmain laws, because they were devises to trustees, and not to corporations, and therefore quite independent of all 'Royal licence,' or other form or condition whatsoever; and yet even an inconvenience had never been so much as felt from them. The land in the kingdom was *not* locked up. People had *not* found out that heirs were wantonly disinherited, nor had any other mischief been discovered. But at the end of the two hundred years, the *prospective, not the past* operation of these laws, became the great bugbear of the day!—And it was urged as a reason for a summary restriction,—for a revolutionary change in the whole law of charitable property, that the law which had been so long harmless, would inevitably endanger the whole fabric of society, if it existed another year. This was one of the 'reasons' for the law of the 9th of George II.

What was the next? Why; it was further gravely argued, that 'it is certain, that a man who has in his own person a right to a 'landed estate, will be more daring and active in the defence of 'that right against a foreign enemy,—*and more jealous of any* '*arbitrary power* by which that right may be made precarious, 'than any man who has a right only as a lessee, or as a member 'of a corporation.'—*Therefore,* no land whatever should be vested in charitable corporations, or given upon charitable trusts. And upon the same reasoning, we would beg to add, all the land in the kingdom ought to be jealously watched, and carefully directed by the public into the hands of the best fighting proprietors. Of course, there must be no women-tenants; no dowager ladies or wealthy coheiresses,—no turtle-fed aldermen,—no, not so much even as any *very* quiet shopkeeper, to encumber the land with their unwarlike apathies! No, in the magnanimous days of King George II. a man was not fit to be a landowner at all, who was not a very game-cock for his own dunghill. The poor, and the feeble, and the defenceless, the widow, and the orphan, would fight neither against the Pope nor the Pretender, *therefore*—neither let them eat! Such was the charitable conclusion of the Walpoles and the Pulteneys:—such were the charitable prin-

ciples on which was based the law against charities, of the ninth year of King George II.

But the grand 'reason' of the whole seems to have been a fear, real or fictitious, lest 'the established Church' should prove, forsooth! too powerful for the Government, and, as the phrase went, 'swallow every thing up.' All the Clergy,—it was with most sapient and most profound inaccuracy remarked,—already formed one vast corporation. Learned lawyers appear to have become suddenly awake to the alarming fact that the Clergy were all 'members of one and the same society or corporate body:' and it was thence inferred, (most fallaciously,) that they formed a corporation in the legal sense of the term, with a unity of action and unity of property. And by one of not the least among the great legal luminaries of that (or any other) day,—Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Chief Justice,—the following extraordinary piece of extravagance, relating to this part of the 'argument,' is, though, like all the other speeches, anonymous in the report, supposed to have been uttered:

'But, my Lords, suppose a weak Prince on the throne,—'guided by a favourite,—that favourite a prelate, who had the 'Clergy under his entire direction,—could we suppose such a 'King or Minister would ever refuse a license (to hold land in 'mortmain)? The certain consequence would be, that, if such an 'administration should continue, the temporal power of the 'Church would become as much superior to the state as it ever 'was in the times of popery and superstition; . . . *and a 'persecution, or perhaps an inquisition be set up, under the banners 'of the Church of England, as bloody and cruel as any that was ever 'set up under the banners of the Church of Rome.*'

Nor was this all.—The Act for establishing and incorporating the Charity known as Queen Anne's Bounty, had passed about thirty years before; and by that act a special power was conferred on the Bounty Commissioners, of taking and holding gifts of land, houses, tithes, and other real property in perpetual succession. This Act supplied a happy climax to the alarmists. An appeal to the awful capacity of swallow already existing in the Bounty Commissioners, capped most conclusively and triumphantly the whole of their extraordinary 'argument.' 'Our 'Church,' it was continued, 'must necessarily at last, by means 'of that corporation, (the Queen Anne's Bounty,) become 'mistress *of all the landed estates in England.* And when we 'consider the many and powerful solicitors they have about 'dying persons, and the present prevailing madness of per-'petuating one's memory, by leaving a large estate to some body 'politic, we must conclude, that unless a stop be put to it, the 'event is not so distant as some may imagine!' Alas! for the

sagacity even of a Hardwicke,—when speaking in the heat of debate, and under the excitement of party prejudices. By the evidence now before us, it appears that in the year 1844, just 140 years, and no less, after this formidable corporation was established,—the annual value of its landed possessions acquired during all that time, was exactly (in present currency) 160,000*l.*, or enough to endow with a bare sufficiency, just 1,600 poor curacies,—*i. e.* to find sufficient curates for about one-twentieth of the populous and neglected parishes now destitute throughout England. Yet this was the corporation that was to swallow up, not merely an amount of land sufficient for the whole endowment, liberal or otherwise, of the Church,—but 'all the landed estates in England!'

This dread of the Church and the Clergy, however, appears to us, after all, to furnish no very improbable solution of the enigma as to the origin of the law. It was the Church of England which presented the most formidable and dreaded obstacle to the then progressing subjugation of the kingdom to Hanoverian principles. The bill was meant for a blow at that Church,—and it was so. It *was* 'a heavy blow and a great discouragement' to the expansion of that Church with the wants and numbers of the people. We feel its effects to this day. Can we doubt that Walpole and Hardwicke knew what they were doing, and intended it?

The bill was, indeed, originally a lawyer's bill. It was moved in the House of Commons by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls; but Jekyll appears to have been a keen politician; he was certainly a thorough Whig and Hanoverian. He is described, indeed, in a contemporary letter,[1] as 'a gentleman who, '*—though strongly attached to the Royal Family and Constitution,*—'does, through a particular turn of mind, seldom vote with the 'Court party.' Yet he seems to have taken a prominent part in almost all the political conflicts of the time; and though standing aloof at other times, yet, whenever the interest of the reigning Royal family, or of the Whig party was concerned, to have acted zealously and efficiently in their support, without reference to other considerations.[2] He supported Walpole's

[1] Lord Harrington to Lord Essex, March 15, 1733. Printed from the Harrington Collection in the Appendix to the second Volume of Lord Mahon's History.

[2] Another instance of the very convenient results, for Walpole, of Sir Joseph Jekyll's 'independent' services is to be found, as it seems to us, in the 'Gin Act;' measure passed in this very same session of 1736. The bill was *in its nature* ministerial affair,—being in fact a question of revenue,—a proposal to tax on the consumption of gin and other spirituous liquors. Yet it forward by Jekyll as a matter of pure and 'independent' benevolence, f his own,—and it was 'received' by Walpole 'coldly,' but of course osition. It is needless to say that the bill was carried. But 'Sir Sir Joseph' were coupled together in the cry against the measure; and

most unpopular Excise Bill through thick and thin. And this was a matter in which the Court, and especially the Queen, took a most lively and personal interest.

But what is more to the purpose at present, we find this same Sir J. Jekyll, in the year 1704,[1] attempting to defeat, by a plausible stratagem, the very bill for establishing Queen Anne's Bounty, which was so urged as a reason for passing the Act of King George the Second. He was then unsuccessful; but the Bounty, being erected into a regular Corporation, fell under the Mortmain laws,—and even the slight relaxation, Burnet tells us, which was necessitated in those laws in order to exempt the Bounty from their operation, 'occasioned a great debate in the House of Lords,' and was only carried by the suggestion that (since '88) people 'had not the arts of affrighting (dying) men by visions of purgatory, or fables of apparitions,' as was the case in popish times. Jekyll, in short, was a consistent political opponent of the Church; and that, because the Church was at that time what Ireland is now, — the 'great difficulty' of prime ministers. That the Bill against Charitable Gifts should have originated in such a quarter as this, of itself goes a long way to show its real design and policy.

The ministers of George had indeed much reason for seeking to diminish the influence of the Church. It was the stronghold of the great antagonist principle. The Church could not swallow Hanoverianism quite so quickly as the courtiers did. The member for the University of Oxford, Lord Cornbury, the heir of the house of Clarendon, was a leading and an avowed Jacobite; and the pamphlets and letters of the time show that, throughout that University, Jacobitism was undisguisedly the order of the day both with high and low. 'We drink James's health here openly every day,' was the undergraduate's boast to his friend in London; and Heads of Houses were equally enthusiastic. The country clergy, as a body, were no less impregnated with a confident belief in the righteousness of the exiled cause, and with the certain expectation that, as a Restoration had taken place in Charles's case,—the only precedent then existing in English history for the banishment of the prince entitled to the throne on principles of hereditary succession,—so it would in James's case also. Nor did the corruption and low latitudinarianism of the Court and ministerial party at all tend to reconcile the Clergy to the existing dynasty and order of things. The Church pre-

it seems to have been pretty well understood at the time, that Sir Joseph did not act quite so much on his own unassisted judgment as was pretended. We cannot resist the inference, that the Act against charitable uses was, like the rest, Sir Joseph's in name, the Minister's in reality.

[1] 2 Burnet, 371. Folio Edition.

sented a hard impenetrable mass of material, upon which all the current flimsinesses about compacts and abdications made very little impression indeed;—and which the Minister could neither break nor swallow. It was not so much an active restlessness for change, though that to a certain extent existed; but generally speaking, political intrigue and conspiracy were as alien to the temper of the Clergy on the one hand, as the fashionable Hanoverian philosophy was on the other. Meddling with state matters was not the part of quiet Christian men. Treason was a crime. The constituted authorities were to them the authorities that were to be accepted as the real ones. Submission was therefore a duty. But there was nevertheless a quiet unconvinceable dead-weight sort of persuasion that the Government of the day was, if matters were sifted, an usurpation and a wrong; and nowhere was this feeling more prevalent than among the Clergy of the Church. There it was; a 'great fact,' as we should say now,—and a very uncomfortable one. Walpole had every reason for wishing to pull down its power: and just at the time in question,—1736,—he was furnished with a personal reason for pressing on any measure that might be unpalatable to the Church; for he was in that same year defeated in his Quakers' Tithe Bill, which he had pressed forward for his own electioneering purposes, chiefly by the influence of Gibson, Bishop of London. What wonder, then, if, on an opportunity presenting itself to Walpole, so tempting as the suggestion, by his *independent* friend the Master of the Rolls, of a great 'public mischief' having occurred, which imperatively demanded, and might be used as a pretext for, the clipping any increase of the temporalities of the Church,—what wonder if Sir Robert eagerly caught at it? That the bill *was*, as a matter of fact, supported, in great part, if not entirely, from a dread of the anti-ministerial influence of the Church and the Clergy,—the extracts which we have made from the debates do, we conceive, most abundantly show. To infer that it originated, at all events in great measure, in the same dread, seems no great stretch of probability. The bequest to Guy's Hospital, which took place about that time,—with the statue and the inscription in golden letters,—may possibly, as Sir F. Palgrave suggests in his Evidence, have been the pretext, or one of the pretexts, for first originating such a measure;—but we can ourselves have but little doubt that, what really matured and *carried* the bill was, a feeling of hostility to the Church,—an prehension of her influence, and an eagerness to prevent its rease.

The bill, it may also be observed, is limited so as not xtend to Scotland. Why so? Why was there more appre-

hension of land being locked up in England than in Scotland? Why was it more prejudicial to the community that English land should be held in charity than Scottish? How was it that there was such excessive jealousy of English charities, when Scotch were left to luxuriate as they would? Is it not obvious? The Scotch Presbyterian Establishment was decidedly ministerial, —the Church of England was not. That was the difference; and a very intelligible difference it is. Devises and gifts to Scotch 'religious' purposes were to be encouraged; in England, the same liberality was by all means to be extinguished. We cannot escape from the conclusion that the bill was intended as a blow to the Church of England.

Having established, then, as we conceive, the origin of the change, we will proceed to state, with as much clearness and brevity as we can, the particulars of the alteration which was thus introduced, and the actual state and operation of the law affecting charitable property at this present moment. We then purpose to examine the policy of that law, and the grounds on which it is based, as that policy, and those reasons *are now understood.* And this we do chiefly with the view of inquiring whether any, or what change in the law in question, or even its total abolition, according to the views of a considerable and increasing party both in and out of Parliament, and to the reasons urged by persons of great weight and eminence in the volume of evidence now before us, would be really beneficial or desirable.

To come then to the law itself. And first, whoever wishes to acquire an accurate knowledge of the present state and operation of the laws affecting the dedication of property to charitable purposes, must begin by banishing completely from his mind and memory the word MORTMAIN, both name and thing, with all its attendant associations. The Act of the 9th of George II. c. 36, is sometimes, indeed, in loose writing and conversation, most inaccurately termed a (or perhaps *the*) Mortmain Act; but though directed against the vesting of land in charity, *Mortmain* it certainly is not. Nothing can be more fatal to a clear understanding of the laws we are now discussing, especially by a person not versed in legal history or investigation, than the confounding the proper laws of MORTMAIN, with the laws prohibiting devises, and fettering gifts to charities and charitable uses. The one are directed against the tenure, the other against the object. The first are a simple remnant of feudalism, and are, in fact, of very little practical importance at the present day. We believe their real effect is little more than to add a few shillings to the expense of every conveyance to or by a corporation. The last are matter, *not of ancient policy at all,* but

modern precaution, and rest upon reasons appealing entirely to the modern constitution of society. And it is among these last that we are to rank the Act of the 9th of Geo. II.

MORTMAIN, in short, is not the subject on which we are writing. It is a totally distinct question. The Mortmain laws, properly so called, are a series of statutes, beginning from Magna Charta, and continuing downwards to the 7th and 8th Will. III. c. 37, the last Act on the subject, and said to be declaratory only of the common law of the land; whereby any and every regularly constituted *corporation*, (to which bodies alone they apply,) whether secular or spiritual, is prohibited from *holding* lands, whether given or purchased, without a license from the Crown. The policy of these laws was not a religious or moral question at all. It was simply a matter of public police,—scarcely more, growing necessarily out of the peculiar legal *accidents*, so to say, attendant upon corporations. Bodies corporate, or aggregate of many, in the eye of the law, never die. Their lands never have occasion to descend, or be devised. They presented in feudal times no one individual tenant upon whom the legal burdens of feudalism could attach. Their lands, in fact, enjoyed an immunity from almost every feudal burden; and if the corporation were a religious body, the immunity was more complete. Not only military service, reliefs, wardships, marriages, escheats, and other incidents of the kind, were in such case escaped, but so also were all civil burdens whatever, such as view of frank-pledge, attendance at assize, and the like. By religious corporations all these burdens were avoided, and cast entirely upon the neighbouring tenants. The Mortmain statutes, therefore, prohibited land from being held, first by any religious brotherhoods, then by any guild, fraternity, or corporation whatever, without license from the lord, the party primarily injured. This license, in the end, became in all cases the license of the Crown, the Crown being ultimate lord of the soil every where. The principle of *these* laws, it will be therefore observed, is wholly irrespective of any jealousy of death-bed devises, or of any fear of charity, as such, when weighed in competition with the interests of relations; their simple principle is the prevention of *corporation* tenure. Religious houses might be more within their mischief than secular, but it was only a question of degree. In principle they applied to the Corporation of the City of London, as fully as to the monks of Bolton or Glastonbury, and in practice they extend accordingly to lay corporations as well as to spiritual. But
v apply to a state of things now long past. With the
tion of personal services, the reason of these laws has past
also. The license is now the only remnant of them; and

that license, which by the 37th of William and Mary, before referred to, has been made matter of ordinary legal form, is now, we believe, as a matter of course, granted to every body corporate applying for it, and paying the requisite fees. This, then, disposes of the laws of *Mortmain*. Whoever wishes to understand the general subject of our charity laws, should, we repeat, keep this branch of the subject, viz. *Mortmain*, quite distinct, and by itself, and should proceed without reference to it, and as though it did not exist.

We pass on to the laws of charitable uses, and trusts. And here let our 'unlearned' readers understand once for all, that, as is the case in some other instances, charity in law is not precisely coincident with charity in fact. Charity has been defined by a great legal authority[1] to be 'a gift to a *general public use*.' By the common or unwritten law of England, any public purpose whatever, so that it were really of public benefit, and not frivolous or unreasonable, was recognised as a legitimate subject of individual bounty. Religious services, the support of the poor, and the maintenance of bridges and roads, were all classed together, and considered as 'charitable' purposes, and as soon as the power was acknowledged of devising lands by will at all,[2] these public purposes were as capable of being supported by devises as any other. Shortly afterwards a special exception was made against what were defined to be 'superstitious uses,' or uses for the maintenance of certain Romish peculiarities, as, for instance, the praying of souls out of purgatory, and a few other (all now well specified) similar purposes. But the general power remained. And if the donor or testator chose to interpose the machinery of trustees, and thus, as far as possible, to perpetuate his bounty, the Court of Chancery enforced the application, and, in fact, gave permanency to the gift.

Not very long after the creation by statute of this testamentary power, another statute, the 43d Eliz. c. 4, gave colour and consistency to its application to charity, by specifying and enumerating many various kinds of that extensive legal 'charity' which we have mentioned. Among these we find, not only the relief of the poor, and cure of the sick, but the diffusion of education, the repair of churches, bridges,[3] roads; *the maintenance of houses of correction; the marriage of poor maids;* the redemption of prisoners; the help of young tradesmen, and persons decayed; and the aid of poor inhabitants towards payment

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[1] Lord Chancellor Camden. Ambl. 651.

[2] 32 and 34 Henry VIII.

[3] Maidenhead Bridge, over the Thames; Pont de Gard, over the Rhone; and the Bridge of Taro; are instances of bridges built by alms collected as for religious purposes.—*Palgrave's Evidence*, p. 12.

of taxes. And this statute is construed, not as exhausting, but merely selecting from, the multitudinous objects of individual bounty, which the law recognises and protects under the broad shield of its doctrine of charitable uses. All gifts to like purposes—all gifts within the spirit of the statute, are recognised by the Courts, and enforced. Without such a recognition, of course, any gift, whether by deed or will, would be valueless. No trustee need observe the trust. It was necessary, therefore, for the law to draw a line, to say what gifts should be enforced and what not; what purposes were, and what were not, of sufficient public utility, or sufficiently conducive to the good either of society at large, or of any particular portion of it, to demand that they should be maintained by the solemn decision and process of the judicature. Gifts to waterworks have been held a charitable use; so has a donation to establish a life-boat; and the foundation of lighthouses, it is said, is a charity within the Act of Elizabeth. In case the object is not of that public benefit or importance which would justify the Court of Chancery in recognising it, and holding the trustee bound in conscience to fulfil the direction in its favour, the money or land is then considered as a trust for the next of kin or the heir-at-law of the donor.

This then was the state of the law in the beginning of the year 1736. Anybody might dedicate his land or money, or both, in any way that was most convenient to him, to such purposes of charity or religion as the law, then expounded with a wise liberality, admitted truly to deserve the appellation. Private caprice or ill-humour was not allowed to mark out for itself any wayward or frivolous disposition of money that it might choose, and then palm off upon the public the burden and odium of keeping up the monument of its folly. But gifts to any *real* 'public purpose' were allowed and encouraged. The machinery of a Court of Equity was placed at the disposal of exery private person who might be willing thus to serve the public. Powers were thrown open to him of perpetuation and security from abuse. The law had defined beforehand the objects which she would thus support. Charity, so defined, was considered as a public benefaction. A gift to charity was a favour conferred on society; it relieved the people from their burdens; it supplied their wants; it was a sacrifice for the general good. It was therefore encouraged both by the Parliament and the Judges.

Such was the light in which, up to the 9th year of George II., the law of England regarded a gift to religious or charitable uses. Since that time the tide, as Sir F. Palgrave observes, has turned. Charity has, from that time forth, been regarded

in all courts of law and equity, pretty much as a fraud upon the heir-at-law or next of kin. We believe this to be not an over-statement of the truth.

The Act of Parliament itself, passed under the circumstances we have above attempted to sketch out, commenced the change. It was not intended, probably, to work so complete a revolution as, through the zealous cooperation of the Judges, it has in fact effected; but the dry sweep of the Act is of itself pretty extensive in its range. It seems, indeed, at first sight, to be directed solely against investments in land: and its object appears to be simply to impose upon gifts to charitable uses no more than the same or an analogous restriction to that which the Mortmain laws enforced upon gifts to incorporated bodies, whether charitable or general. And some of the arguments urged in support of the measure do, in some sort, as our readers will have seen, strengthen the supposition.

But whatever was the specific object which the framer of the Act presented to himself, or the general views which were entertained by the Minister and Parliament that carried it,—certain it is that its restrictions, in fact, go much further than any Mortmain Act ever did;—and that it has given rise in the Courts of law to a policy almost entirely fatal,—certainly most destructive, — to all charitable donations and investments whatever.

The Act provided that, from thenceforth, no land, or money, or other personal estate to be laid out in land, should be given or charged, in trust for, or for the benefit of, any charitable uses whatsoever,—*unless* such gift or charge were made by deed before witnesses; *executed twelve months at least before the death of the donor; enrolled in Chancery six months after execution;* to take effect immediately; and without power of revocation. And if the property to be so laid out in land consisted of stocks in the public funds, the stocks were to be transferred six months before the death of the donor. It was provided, however, that the Act should not extend to purchases for a *full* and valuable consideration; and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, were exempted (partially) from its operation.

It will thus be observed that, *by will*, neither land, nor money to be laid out in land, can be given *at all* to any charitable purpose. Gifts of land, or money to be laid out in land, must be made, if at all, by deed *inter vivos:* and that deed must be,—1st, executed before witnesses; 2dly, enrolled; 3dly, absolute, irrevocable, and immediate in its effect; 4thly, a year must elapse before it can be pronounced valid or invalid.

Now these restrictions, of themselves, go very far to preven[t]

altogether any donation of land, or of money directed to be laid out in land, to charitable purposes. They discourage, if they do not prohibit. Few people like to wait a year to see whether a solemn alienation of their property is to stand or not; and, if it fail by the death of the donor, the property is undisposed of. This, of course, no one willingly contemplates. Enrolment, too, is a serious expense. But the Courts of Law have gone much further even than the Act does.

It has been decided by the Court of Chancery [1] that, if land be directed to be sold, and converted into money, and *that money* be given to a charity, it is within the Act; and if the gift be made by will, it is, accordingly, in all cases void; and if by deed, it must comply with the formalities of the Act.

Again: Courts of Equity, in the ordinary administration of the property of a deceased person, will, if the general fund from which legacies are payable falls short, by reason of any mortgage debt or any payment which can be claimed also out of any specific fund, having been paid, not out of that specific fund, but out of the general one;—Courts of Equity, we say, will in such case, to use the technical phrase, 'marshal the assets' in favour of the legatees; *i. e.* they will throw the mortgage debt, or other payment, on its own fund; and so enable the legatees to receive their legacies in full out of the general one.[2] But it is a rule that *legacies to charities* are specially excepted from this favour. If there is not enough 'personalty' to pay in full the charity legacy, *and also* all the other claims which might, though this might not, be paid also out of the landed property,—these other claims shall, in this case only, *not* be thrown upon the landed property, so as to allow the charity legacy to be paid in full out of the monied property; but the charity legacy shall, so far as the monied property is deficient for all, fail altogether. The text of the Act is applied rigorously. The charity has no help. It is first thrown back upon the land, and then defeated in consequence.

Again: under the wide words of the Act,—which include not only land, but all property relating to or arising from land;—canal shares, money on mortgage, railway shares, tolls, money secured on the poor rates, and, in short, every conceivable modification of property arising in any shape from land, are held to

[1] First by Lord Hardwicke, in Attorney-General *v.* Lord Weymouth; Ambler, 20;—which case has been followed in several later instances, and is now the established rule. See Curtis *v.* Hutton, 14 Vesey 537. Trustees of British Museum White, 2 S. & St. 595. In this last case Vice-Chancellor Leach said that any gift any public or general purpose was within the Statute of George II.;—thus cognising the operation of that Act as co-extensive with the whole subject-matter charitable uses,—as described in the Act of Elizabeth.

[2] See 1 Jarman on Wills, 207, &c.

be intended; and any gift of these, if by will, is void, and if by deed, is required to conform to the statutory provisions. This construction of itself goes far to vitiate a large number of charity legacies: for few estates are not made up in great part of property coming under this wide and sweeping definition of real property. But in its consequences it does more. Taken in conjunction with the practice of Courts of Equity already mentioned, of refusing to marshal assets for a charity, but consenting to do so in all other cases,—it produces so inextricable a confusion in the administration of estates, as to render a Chancery suit necessary in nearly every case where there are charitable legacies. The distinction between this mixed sort of property, and purely monied property, prevails, as between legatees, in no other case, and for no other purpose than this.—A new element of difficulty is therefore introduced in this case, and this case only; and where there are many legacies, some charitable, others not, and an estate of various descriptions of property, a Chancery suit is in consequence almost inevitable.[1]

Thus the law has been carried, in its effects, far beyond both its letter and its spirit, and beyond, we conceive, also, the intention of its framers. It has now brought matters to this;—that a gift to charity of whatever kind is looked upon, not as a public benefit, but as a private fraud. It is thought to be against policy,—a matter by all means to be discouraged,—a sort of folly that is to be defeated and put down wherever it is met with. A perpetually recurring trap seems to be set to catch charitable bequests, and to restore them to the petty frivolities, or narrow speculations of individual extravagance or cupidity. All consecration of property of whatever kind, to any public or national promotion of God's service, or man's welfare, is put under a ban and a discouragement. Land it seems ought not to be given at all: money as little as possible. Gifts by will are distinguished from gifts *inter vivos*. The latter are clogged with prohibitory conditions; the former are to be applicable only to donations of money. A gift of pure money by a person in his lifetime, is the only mode of charitable donation that is left wholly without interference. An arbitrary and oppressive restriction is placed upon every other form of charitable gift.

Now what is the policy of this interference? What are the reasons upon which it is still supported? The reasons upon which it was first introduced have now long since passed away. The struggle between Hanoverian and Jacobite is now happily extinct. It is no longer necessary to keep the Church helpless and inefficient, in order that a Minister may retain office. Are there any other reasons then—any reasons of general policy

[1] See the Evidence of E. W. Field, Esq. Minutes, question 405.

and present application, sufficient to justify the maintenance of this law? For as every body must see, and as we certainly admit, there is abroad even now a strong and general feeling in favour of what is popularly called a Mortmain law. And though this is not perhaps any very deeply-rooted sentiment, yet we find that even amongst persons of accurate information, and impartial judgment, the precise restrictions that now exist, however unreasonable they may appear in the abstract, do find very strong favour. What is the meaning of this?

First, then; a leading feature of this law is a discouragement or prohibition of investment in *land*. Secondly, its other leading feature is a discouragement of *dying* dispositions,—of gifts by will. Both these provisions are in principle probably coincident with the views of the vast majority of persons, who take the trouble to inquire into this subject at all. This we take to be the answer to the above question. The ulterior effects of this law, the policy to which it has given rise, the extent to which, in practice, the operation of its provisions has been carried, and the consequent interruption of the exercise of voluntary agency in support of public religious or charitable purposes,—these are points which the superficial inquirers we allude to take no trouble to investigate.

But what, on the other hand, are the facts that are now before us,—that are before every man in this country,—patent to the world at large,—written in characters not to be overlooked?—Simply these. A population swarming in myriads, increasing by thousands per diem. Employment getting proportionably scarce. Labour a drug. Destitution increasing. Cure of souls a visionary dream. And to meet all this—what? A Church with means stationary at what they were one hundred years ago. A State with tariffs and importation bills,—workhouse tests and discipline,—trying to compel a starving 'surplus' to feed itself,—yet unable to solve the problem. A people divided on religious questions, and unable to agree to any common *public* support of any one line of religious action. But in this state of things where are we to find help? It is surely, in plain truth, mere madness, mere unreasonable folly, to expect the Government or the Legislature to do any thing for it. Laws may ultimately improve the condition of the people; emigration may in the end give them room to live; but in the meanwhile who or what is to give them the bare necessaries of life, to teach them patience, to administer to them consolation? Whence is to come the free gift that is to heal their sickness, or support their health? Whence are they to get so much as may keep even life and soul together, until economists work out their promised (temporal) salvation? And whence, above all,—whence is to come their

Christianity? Are they to have such a commodity at all? Or are they to live and die like heathens, with the Gospel unpreached to them, unbaptized, untaught, unshrived, unburied? And if not, how and whence is it to come to pass? There is not a man in England, we undertake to say, who would venture to affirm that any Government, at this time of day, be it Whig, or be it Tory, would venture to apply the public money for any such purposes as these. People talk about the manufacturing population, its spiritual destitution, its temporal miseries, its evils and its remedies; and they give, perhaps, a guinea to the general education fund, or otherwise, according to their abilities, — perhaps to the extent of a real and costly self-sacrifice,—do their small part to mitigate the mischief; but if a public or national act is talked of, it becomes a very different question. We do not say that it could be otherwise. Perhaps it is impossible. But of the fact there can be no manner of doubt, that for the Government to come forward at this moment and provide in the manner in which it should be provided, for the pressing and immediate wants, temporal as well as spiritual, of the entire population of these realms, is a total impossibility. Can the Government found colleges, or establish hospitals? Can the Government endow schools, plant churches, organize clergy, dispense alms, set apart money for bishoprics? Can it even feed those who are out of work, until work is restored? And if it *can*, will it do so? And if it cannot, or will not do so, who else can? Can societies do it? Can subscriptions?—A little, it may be said, *is* done in this way; and so it is. Perhaps more is done than is known; but still nothing at all adequate to the occasion.

No; surely this at least is clear, that voluntary agency, the free gifts of private men, individual munificence, is still, as it was of old, the only channel from which these things can come. Nay, in these times, individual bounty is the *only* practicable, almost the only permitted means of supplying the great religious wants of the poor. It is the only means which modern politics or opinion will so much as tolerate, for witnessing, by public and permanent consecration of labour, or time, or substance, to the truth of God. It is the only means, that modern public opinion will tolerate, of increasing the efficiency of the Church. It is the only means, which public opinion will allow to be practised, of meeting those great exigencies which we have above so faintly shadowed out. Even to relieve, efficiently, the temporal necessities of those multitudes of persons who, from no fault of their own, find themselves suddenly left stranded in the ebbs and flows of commerce, where are we to look but to voluntary gifts, to the great deeds of private charity? Poor-laws are, of a truth, all that can even be expected from a

Government of this day; and without charity, to follow or prevent them, what and how much are they?

And that those great deeds, if disabilities were removed, would not be wanting, have we not abundant evidence, both in the many gifts that even now are successful, and the many more that fail, through our impolitic regulations?

But be this as it may; what we ask is this:—with such pressing exigencies as these, and in such a state of public opinion as to Government assistance, what must be said of the policy of that law which puts an extinguisher precisely on the very source and mode of action by which alone those exigencies can possibly be supplied, and these evils dealt with? If voluntary gifts are all we can hope for, is it not now absolutely imperative, is it not a plain, unavoidable duty, to inquire whether we really have or have not any sufficient reasons for discouraging them? Why, it comes to be asked, and for what possible reason of public policy that can be given, is it, that Dean Ireland's munificent bequest of £5,000, to build a church in that nest of misery and sin that lay over against his gate, or Lord Westminster's still more munificent devise of land for a similar purpose on his estate at Chelsea—why are these gifts to be stopped and sent back, when the public and the politicians are, notoriously, not unwilling only, but unable to stir a finger themselves to help the evils which they thus forbid to be mitigated? Why is it, that in such a place as Manchester, when a rich, benevolent inhabitant leaves £70,000, to found a blue coat school to educate the poor, and an asylum to cure the blind,—why do we find it necessary to detain this property for ten long years, for diminution, in Chancery and Doctors' Commons, to determine whether such a donation is or is not detrimental to the best interests of society; is or is not contrary to sound and well understood policy?

The ragged destitution of Westminster and Chelsea, the multiplying myriads of Manchester, make these questions—questions in earnest! What answer have we to give for such a policy as this? It works a mischief. It stands between the poor man and his bread;—between the child and his teacher;—between the people and the priest;—between the ignorant unbeliever and the truth;—between man and his Maker. What answer has it to give for itself? It is now put upon its trial,—what has it to say?

We have already suggested the answers which it *does* give. We have now, we think, shown, further, that it is imperative upon all who would receive, and all who would use them, to sift those reasons thoroughly and well.

What, then, are they? First, it is said to be impolitic to 'lock up' land. This is the reason urged in defence of the

distinction made by the 9th Geo. II. c. 36, between money and land, on which has been founded that wide construction which we have seen to be so sweepingly destructive of charitable gifts, even though not gifts of land, and which has led to that vexatious intricacy that, in almost every case, brings, as we have seen, charitable bequests into the long litigation of the Court of Chancery. To what does this reason amount? And is it a justification of the very arbitrary and gratuitous provisions of the 9th of Geo. II.?

A holding of lands in perpetuity, it is said, takes them out of the market, and diminishes, by so much, the floating amount of land which it is always desirable, on public grounds, to have available, at any time, for any purposes which may arise, and which purposes are, in fact, represented by the demand for the time being. Most true. We quite admit that it *is* desirable to have land in the market. We admit that to vest land in perpetual and *inalienable* fixity does, *pro tanto*, diminish that quantity of land. The question is, supposing the tenure of all charity lands to be *necessarily* perpetual, (which is not, however, the case,) what is the amount of inconvenience produced by this particular withdrawal, and to what does this withdrawal actually amount?

Now that inconvenience at worst amounts to no more than this: that the land cannot be purchased out and out. It cannot change the recipient of its ultimate residuum of rent. But any thing short of this it *can* do. It can change its occupants. It can, to all practical intents and purposes, change its owners. Charity trustees can lease their property, and farm their property, and bear the burdens now attendant upon their property,—as well or better than any other landholders in England. They are found to be as good landlords, as good economists, and better rate-payers, we will be bound to add, than any landowners in England. This is all the inconvenience that arises. Admitting that they cannot sell, yet this is not found to impede their dealing with the property, or managing it to advantage. They can lease for any length of time that is consistent with the advantage of the trust. The fear of being land-locked seems to us, in short, to be, at the present day, a very foolish bugbear; and one even strangely at variance with the tone of thought and prejudice now most prevalent amongst us. Charity trustees can *buy* now; how could a power of *receiving* land *as a gift* make any difference? The individual speculator is quite able to take care of himself. *He*, surely, wants no protection.

However, the real reply to this fear of locking-up land, we take to lie, not so much in the weakness of the policy itself, which seeks by artificial means to keep land always in the

market; as in the actual failure of the Act of Geo. II. to meet its requirements, and in the absence of all conceivable necessity for charitable gifts of land being locked up at all. The objection, even if valid, is simply beside the purpose. For the evil complained of is that so much land should be *inalienable*. Now the Act of Geo. II. does not prevent, or apply to, the perpetual *retention* of land by charities at all; it applies to *the act of gift* only; and there is no reason in the world, either in the nature of things or in that Act, why trustees should not be allowed to convey away their property and buy other lands every day of their lives. The Act of George II. applies only to the first *gifts* of land to the charitable purposes. This it clogs with all manner of impediments and prohibitions. But let the land once get there, and it is, for aught the Act says to the contrary, locked-up most effectually and permanently. The objection, in short, that land is locked up by charities, cuts *against* the Act of Geo. II. and the existing law, as much as for it; it holds as good now as it would if that Act were repealed. The Act does not prevent 'locking up' at all. *Purchases*, too, by charities may now be made to any extent. A purchase is excepted from the Act. By this means, any land whatever may get into trust hands. How is it, then, that we are not already afflicted with the inconvenience of having had all our lands locked up? The Act does not prohibit it; it interferes not with *perpetuities*, but *gifts*. It does not compel sales or prevent perpetual holdings. Perpetuity is not the mischief against which it directs itself. If it were repealed to-morrow, the practice of locking up land would have exactly as much law against it as it has now. Yet upon this, amongst other reasons, has been based the absurd and unreasonable distinction between land and money, which produces so much complication, and is so fatal to charitable gifts of every kind in the Act of Geo. II.

The real reason why charity lands, are, as a matter of fact, inalienable, so far at least as they are inalienable, lies simply in the practice of the Court of Chancery. It is held a breach of trust to part with charity lands in fee simple.[1] Why this, abstractedly speaking, should be so, we are really unable with perfect satisfaction to make out. But however, be it right or be it

[1] 'It is a general rule that trustees of charities have no authority to make an absolute disposition of the charity estates. But there is no positive rule that in *no* instance shall an absolute disposition be made, for then the Court itself could authorize such an act, a jurisdiction which, it is acknowledged, has frequently exercised; the true principle is, that an absolute disposition is then only to sidered a breach of trust when the proceeding is inconsistent with the at administration of the estate for the benefit of the charity. And the ion will be assumed to be improvident, as against a purchaser, until he has ied the contrary.'—*Lewin on Trusts*, pp. 398, 399.

wrong, the doctrine that this very land, and no other, should be applied to the purposes of the charity, is the only cause of anything like a perpetuity. If it were not for this doctrine, perpetuity there would be none, and the objection would fall to the ground. However, be this as it may, the question of the repeal or the continuance of the vexatious restrictions, and still more vexatious distinctions established with respect to the mode of *giving* by the Act of Geo. II. will be seen to be independent of this point of perpetuity.

Simplicity then is surely the best rule. It prevents litigation. It avoids mistake. Repeal at once the whole of this Act of the 9th of Geo. II. Let land and money at least stand on the same footing. There can be no more evil in the *gift* of the one than of the other. It is not pretended that there is. It is said only that the *tenure*, the perpetual tenure of land after it has been given, creates an inconvenience. But if so the remedy is easy. Either introduce an act enabling trustees of charities to sell in all but certain specified cases, such as the chief buildings of the charity, the schoolhouse, the hospital, or the like; or, if even that exception is thought too much, enable them, with the leave of the Court of Chancery, to be given on petition, and to be granted upon the same footing as to discretion as any private landowner would exercise in his own case, but not without such leave, in every case to sell. The impediments thrown in the way of gifts, it may certainly be said, by the Act of Geo. II. do virtually prevent perpetuities, because less land is likely to get into charity. But surely this is very clumsy legislation. It is not the gift but the perpetuity that is wrong. Unfetter the perpetuity, but at least enable the gift; and at all events do away with the absurd distinctions now imposed between the giving of land and that of money. It is surely not about the manner of giving that the controversy lies, but about the necessity of retaining the gift, and the power of disposing of it. Facilitate this, if you will; but at least do not encumber that.

And now we confidently ask any one of our readers, whether there is enough in this apprehension about perpetuities, being such, and so easily remedied as we have shown it to be, to justify the prevention of the free course of charity, and the forcible damming up of the only source from which we can expect help in our present pressing wants. We confidently anticipate the reply which every one must give, and we pass on to the other reason urged in defence of the policy of Sir Robert Walpole's act of parliament.

It is necessary, it is said, as a matter of justice, as well as of policy, to see that these gifts to charitable purposes, however much you may want them on public or any other grounds,

are not made on the bed of death, or in the hour of weakness, to the disinheritance of heirs and kindred, or to the defrauding of relatives.

We really believe that there never was a more impudent excuse than this made for the retention of any existing abuse. The law of England allows relations to be disinherited for any purpose of vice, or caprice, or folly, but for charity,—oh! no. Take care what you are about; here we must be cautious. Charity is a seductive virtue, and must be put under watch and ward. Supposing, however, that charity ought to be thus postponed *by law*, though nothing else is, yet, is this a reason for prohibiting all charity by will whatsoever? How many testators are there, we would ask, after all, who in fact put off the disposition of their property until their last sickness? How many of those that do so are really influenced by their position, to give more of their property to public purposes, or even to the poor, or to the Church, than they would otherwise have done? How many even of those who would be likely to be thus influenced, are persons who would not prefer the claims of any poor and deserving relative, to those of any, however poor and deserving, strangers? We are no advocates, certainly, of death-bed charities. Let a man give in his lifetime. And in order that he may do this, *let the Act of Geo. II. be at once repealed.* We have shown that he cannot do it now, at least not as far as land is concerned, without both difficulty and peril. But, because a man ought, *for his own sake*, to give in his lifetime, is this a reason why, on grounds of public policy, his gift, if made to take effect after his death, should be taken from those who so infinitely need it—being the persons for whom it was intended—and distributed among perhaps the cousins-german and cousins removed of the testator of the 4th and 5th degree, persons whom probably he never saw in his life, and never wished to see? Because a testator is selfish, is this a reason why his donees are to be defrauded?

But surely this doctrine of justice to relations is only an idle pretext; and one which lies particularly ill in the mouth of that State which allows in every thing an absolute freedom of devise:—which permits a man, in favour of his mistress or his hounds, but *not* in favour of the Church of God, to disinherit his wife and children,—in anger or mistake, but *not* in charity, to cut off his sons penniless,—and for a whim or a caprice, but *not* for a real and noble project, to turn his daughters to starve upon the world. And mark the inconsistency! *money* a man may leave by will to any amount, to the starvation, may be, of wife and family, to any 'charitable purpose,' *i.e.* to ld a new room for geologies in the British Museum, or to

set up a Mechanics' Institute, or build a House of Correction; but if he give *land* he is within the law. Be the purpose ever so righteous or necessary,—the gift fails; and if you complain, you are met—with what? Why with reasons about disinheriting relations, with talk of the greater magnanimity of giving during life, and the like. All very undeniable, no doubt; but singularly applicable to the gentleman of your acquaintance, who has left his 20,000*l.* balance at the bankers, and other monies, to the Museum; and perhaps even quite wide of the case of your present friend, who, being a bachelor of benevolent disposition, without a relation in the world, has left a piece of ground for a school-house or an hospital, in the densest population in the metropolis. The truth is, that the consideration about justice to relations is not only a bugbear, *but it is not provided for by the present law.* The 9th George II. does not touch it. That Act *allows* charitable wills in the case of money. It admits the principle. It only prevents *landed* gifts by will. Yet if any one can see why gifts of land are more likely to be made in fraud of relations, than gifts of money, we, at least, are not that person. The pretext is absurd,—the real truth of course is evident. Landed endowments give weight. Walpole and the Hanoverian Whigs were afraid of the Church. They wished to deprive her of weight. This was all their object. So they provided against endowments by land. We at this day are not the slaves either of the circumstances, or of the prejudices, of the reign of King George II.

But to return: the real question now before us is, whether the power of disposition by will, perfectly unfettered, according to the law of England, in every ordinary case, and for every ordinary purpose, excepting this one of 'charitable purposes,' ought, or ought not, to be set free here also,—whether, in this single case, artificial restrictions ought, or ought not, to be kept up,—and, as against this purpose only, the protection of relatives ought, or ought not, to be maintained. Now the ruling principle of the modern English testamentary law is, 'no artificial protection.' The 'Legitim,' or compulsory provision for relatives, of the French and other codes is unknown here. Dower, thirds, freebench, are all now subject to the testator's general power of disposition by will. He may cut off his relatives without a farthing, for any purpose he pleases, so that that purpose be otherwise legal. The Act of Geo. II. itself does not go at all upon the ground of protecting relatives. It goes entirely upon the positive demerits of giving to 'charitable purposes.' It discourages gifts to charity, not encourages gifts to relatives. Its excepted cases—all bequests of pure money—are absolutely unimpeachable as against relatives. The argument

therefore, that relatives ought to be protected, is, strictly speaking, beside the purpose. But, at any rate, it proves too much. It cuts against the present law of charitable gifts, quite as much as it tells for it.

Is it right, then, that 'charitable gifts' by will should *in all cases* be proscribed in favour of relatives? For if the argument that relatives should be protected is good for any thing, it is good to show that testamentary dispositions of money, as well as those of land, ought invariably to be prohibited; and that the present law, instead of being altered, as we would have it, by enabling the disposition of land, ought to be changed the other way, by prohibiting the disposition of money. Are the advocates of restriction prepared for this?

And here the consideration recurs with increased force,—if a man is allowed to disinherit his wife and children, from any frivolous or even wicked motive, or from no motive at all, why should he not be trusted to make a fit provision for them, when the only competing object is one which appeals to liberal and generous feelings—viz. charity?

But it is urged, however, and certainly with truth, that 'charity,' as understood by the law of England, is *not* to be assumed as being thus invariably a matter of liberality and generosity. Legal charity, it is said, and with truth, now embraces not only really public and valuable purposes, but also, in many cases, matters of less general, at any rate of controverted, utility. Such, for instance, are trusts for the support of Dissenters' worship, for the support of societies professing peculiar and narrow objects and principles, and the like. Real charity, it might be conceded, gifts for purposes of *real* good, might well take their place and chance with other devises, and might be perhaps rightly exempted from proscription. Or if all men could agree as to what was, or what was not, really a religious and charitable purpose, it might be very well to place a gift to such a purpose on a fair and even footing with all other testamentary donations. But this is not the case. Sectarian animosity, or party prejudice, dictates the gift as often as real charity; and though we would allow this last to take preference, if so it chanced, just as we would any other purpose of the testator, yet we would not indulge him in the first.

This is, of course, very undeniable. But the answer really seems to us to be perfectly clear. Only carry out your own principle. If free competition is to be trusted to for excluding foolish, or unjust, or wicked bequests, we may surely trust it to protect us also from vain or narrow-minded ones. If we are not afraid of allowing a man to disinherit his younger children, to gratify the uncertain vanity of perpetuating his family, we need not fear the

consequence of allowing him in the still more uncertain vanity of perpetuating his prejudices. The law of England trusts to individual probity, or affection, as the best safeguafd against every other hostile influence;—why should such motives be insufficient in this case also? Such motives do indeed fail;—there are exceptions to their power; people do occasionally disinherit their relatives, for purposes miscalled charitable, as well as for purposes of mere pride, or anger, or malevolence; but depend upon it, that no positive legal restrictions can prevent such anomalies as these. They do *not* prevent them now as a matter of fact.

Besides, we have our remedy. Undue influence, if proved, invalidates a will at once; so does mental incompetency. Doctors' Commons and the Court of Chancery take very good care that no man shall leave his property away from his relatives, for whatever purpose, unless he does so willingly and knowingly, in his sound mind, and unbiassed by any undue solicitation or corruption. This is as it should be, and this is enough. It is seldom that pecuniary bequests to charities, made in improper derogation of the rights of relatives, are not, or might not be, set aside through these means;—devises of land would be in no worse case, if the Act of George II. were repealed, than bequests of money thus are now.

And for party spirit,—if the danger of encouraging gifts to sectarian purposes be urged as a reason for prohibiting gifts to charity altogether,—it can only be said that our faith in the cause of truth must indeed be weak, if we are obliged, in order to bolster it up, *not* indeed to have recourse to penal restrictions and disabilities directed exclusively against error, but (something even worse than this) actually to give up and proscribe with the error all support of truth itself. For the sake of truth, we proscribe truth; and that we may not maintain error, we give up the support of its triumphant and ever-enduring antagonist.

Another reason, however, against death-bed gifts, is slightly touched upon in the debates of 1736, and also in the evidence now before us. It is wrong, so it is said, to permit death-bed gifts to be encouraged, for they are apt to be made on a mistaken principle of their saving and inherent merit. Now here again we must remind our readers that gifts by will are not *necessarily* gifts made on the point of death; and therefore that this argument, even if there be any thing really in it, does not justify us in ruling that *all testamentary* gifts to charity are necessarily to be proscribed. But suppose it did;—what then? Is it, or is it not to be justified, that when our poor are starving, and there is no one to help,—and when the one only permitted source of assistance is individual bounty;—that if a man mix up with such an

act of bounty, hopes or fears, which are, so far as he is concerned, wrong and unfounded, we should therefore fling back his gifts in the face of him or his representatives, because he trusted, peradventure, that he was doing over-righteously, and thereby, perhaps, perilled his own soul? What is it to us that the donor hoped, as it is phrased, superstitiously? Is it for us to pry into his motives? Let it be enough that there was no personal advantage, no solicitation, no corruption. Doctors' Commons, and the Court of Chancery, generally look pretty well to this. If a testator is not in his sound mind, or is under undue influence, his will is, and always would be, invalid. What more can be wanted than this? Surely all the rest is between the donor and his own conscience. The lawgiver looks not to the dead, but to the living. The sincerity of the alms-giving can be known only to Him who knows the sincerity of the repentance whereof those alms purport to be the fruits. Who shall decide on the sincerity or efficacy of a death-bed repentance? We repeat that we are no advocates of a death-bed charity. But surely it is unwise, surely it is cruel, surely it is wrong, that cold and deadening legislation, which is to proscribe altogether acts of testamentary charity, lest peradventure they may not have been pure from every stain of self;—and is to cut off from the dying man all power of giving at all, lest perchance he may dream that his gift, even then, is not too late, and that it is as real a token of denial, as if it had been made when he was in life and strength.

'Charity,' says Bishop Taylor, 'with its twin daughters, alms, 'and forgiveness, is especially effectual for the procuring God's 'mercies in the day and the manner of our death. "Alms deliver 'from death," said old Tobias; and, "alms make an atonement for 'sins," said the son of Sirach. And so said Daniel; and so say 'all the wise men of the world. And in this sense also is that of 'St. Peter. "Love covers a multitude of sins;" and St. Clement 'in his Constitutions gives this counsel, "If you have any thing 'in your hands, give it, that it may work to the remission of thy 'sins: for by faith and alms sins are purged."

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'Now alms are therefore effective to the abolition and pardon 'of our sins, because they are preparatory to, and impetratory of, 'the grace of repentance; and are fruits of repentance; and 'therefore St. Chrysostom affirms, that repentance without alms 'is dead, and without wings, and can never soar upwards to the 'element of love. But because they are a part of repentance, 'd hugely pleasing to Almighty God, therefore they deliver 'om the evils of an unhappy and accursed death; for so 'it delivered his disciples from the sea, when He appeased

'the storm, though they still sailed in the channel: and this St. 'Jerome verifies with all his reading and experience, saying, "I 'do not remember to have read, that ever any charitable person 'died an evil death." And although a long experience hath ob- 'served God's mercies to descend upon charitable people, like 'the dew upon Gideon's fleece, when all the world was dry; yet 'for this also we have a promise, which is not only an argument 'of a certain number of years, (as experience is,) but a security 'for eternal ages. "Make ye friends of the mammon of un- 'righteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into 'everlasting habitations." When faith fails, and chastity is 'useless, and temperance shall be no more, then charity shall 'bear you upon wings of cherubim to the eternal mountain of 'the Lord!

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'*I do not mean, this should only be a death-bed charity, any more 'than a death-bed repentance;* but it ought to be the charity of our 'life and healthful years; a parting with portions of our goods 'then, when we can keep them; we must not first kindle our 'lights when we are to descend into our houses of darkness, or 'bring a glaring torch suddenly to a dark room, that will amaze 'the eye, and not delight it, or instruct the body; *but if our tapers 'have, in their constant course, descended into their grave, crowned 'all the way with light, then let the death-bed charity be doubled, 'and the light burn brightest, when it is to deck our hearse!*'[1]

And this is the charity that we are to fling back in the face of the giver! This is the charity which we, with a fourth of our population almost in a state of heathenism, and without hope of help except from it, are expected to probe and to test in its secret springs and motives, lest, perchance, we should find anything there that may taint the gift,—and having found, or fancied, the plague-spot, may cut off from the living the bounty of the dead! Again we ask, is there anything in such a reason as this that can justify us in putting disabilities and discouragements upon free and voluntary beneficence?

On the whole, then, the case is this. We have a great want, an admitted one; an appalling, imminent, and most overpowering evil. One means alone of meeting that evil falls in with the temper of the times, or presents the slightest prospect of being practically successful. We find that means and source of succour hemmed in and fettered round by legal restrictions and disabilities, the growth of other times and the creatures of other circumstances. We find individual bounty discouraged and proscribed by law. We find it subjected to subtle and refined distinctions,

[1] Holy Living and Dying, vol. iv. p. 382.—Heber's Edition.

to intricate conditions, to heavy disabilities. We find one subject of its action, viz. land, marked out for peculiar prohibition. We find one mode of its operation, viz. the testamentary one, with respect to land, proscribed. We find this; and we find no reason that can be alleged for these restrictions, save these two—viz.: 1. That land ought to be constantly capable of alienation,—and, 2. That testamentary gifts ought not to be made to the detriment of relatives. We find that the first of these reasons is beside the purpose; for that land may, by will, be made the object of private bounty, and yet be perfectly capable of alienation. We find that the second cannot be supported, for that the law of England *does*, as a matter of fact, allow testamentary gifts to be made every day, with perfect freedom, and without any reference whatever to the rights of relatives, who are constantly disinherited for strangers.

Can we resist the conclusion? Can the Act of the 9th of George II. maintain its ground? Sooner or later it must surely go; and, for our part, we cannot help thinking that simple repeal would be most beneficial. An Act 'to enable charity trustees, 'with the consent of the Court of Chancery, to sell or exchange 'their lands in certain cases,' might accompany this repeal; but we are persuaded that simple repeal would be both abstractedly the best course, and the one most likely to succeed. Let Lord John Manners try it. His noble efforts, already made in this cause, are worthy of every sympathy, and of every success, and we feel convinced that he must ultimately succeed. But simple repeal, we are persuaded, has the best chance. Sir James Graham, and the other opponents of this most necessary reform, confine themselves, for the most part, to objections to the form and mode of the proposed alteration. Let Lord John Manners then avoid these objections, by proposing a simple repeal. No provisions could probably be framed for effectually securing relations against disinheritance,—and there is, indeed, no more reason why this should be attempted in the present case than in any other. Relatives may be disinherited now, and whatever conditions and provisions might be introduced for preventing such a consummation in this one single case, would only give a handle to the opponents of charity. Sir James Graham has, even now, no more to urge for the Act of Geo. II. than that it is better to give in life than on the point of death—a conclusion which everybody will grant to him. But in order that charity, even in life, may flow unimpeded, this law must be repealed. We repeat, that it cannot last long. It cannot stand against the accumulating

ssure of our religious and temporal destitution. Let its

'ş then persevere. Its days are numbered!—Sooner must fall!

ART. III.—1. *Die Reformatorischen Bestrebungen in der Katholischen Kirche. Von* DR. ANTON THEINER. Altenburg. 1846. *(The Reforming Tendencies in the Catholic Church. By* DR. ANTON THEINER.)

2. *Zur Rechtfertigung der Deutsch-Katholischen gegen Klagen Römischgläubiger. Von* DR. H. E. G. PAULUS. Karlruhe. 1846. *(Defence of the German Catholics against the Accusations of those who hold Romish Doctrines. By* DR. PAULUS.)

3. *Die Mission der Deutsch-Katholiken. Von* G. G. GERVINUS. Heidelberg. 1846. *(The Mission of the German Catholics. By* G. G. GERVINUS. Translated from the German. London. 1846.)

4. *Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome called the German Catholic Church. By* SAMUEL LAING, Esq. Second Edition. London. 1846.

ON the 6th of July, 1844, a circular notice was issued by the Bishop of Treves, Dr. Arnoldi, stating, that in consequence of the urgent request of the Clergy and believers in the diocese, the holy relic preserved in the cathedral, being the coat without seam worn by our Saviour, would be exhibited for six weeks from the 18th of the following August, in order 'that the wish 'of all who have the pious intention of making a pilgrimage to 'Treves, to behold and venerate the holy garment of our Divine 'Redeemer, may be fulfilled, and each may gain the entire 'remission of his sins, granted by Pope Leo X. under date of '26th January 1514.'

Mr. Laing has very justly observed, that 'the veneration for 'relics springs from a nobler source than ignorance or super-'stition;' and accordingly it has been the common practice in all ages, and among the followers of all religions, to preserve memorials of past events, or relics of those whom we have loved and lost, and to contemplate them from time to time, with pious veneration. Indeed, it would be difficult to believe that man to have a faithful and affectionate disposition who does not treasure up some such memorials, however worthless in themselves, and make them the means of bringing more sensibly before him every circumstance connected with the departed, and of strengthening and renewing the love and reverence which he feels. Such, too, was the custom which Christians in very early times adopted with respect to relics of saints and martyrs, and which

doubtless supplied them with a holy joy, and led to a lively, humble, and affectionate faith.

We need not trace the steps by which this beautiful and holy practice was gradually turned into an occasion of the grossest superstition, and even of positive idolatry; the fact, that it had been so corrupted, was deemed sufficient to necessitate its discontinuance in the reformed Anglican Church; and we are not disposed, in this case, to doubt the wisdom of our Reformers. But still there can be nothing unchristian in the simple custom itself, and we are glad to find that even so zealous a Protestant as Mr. Laing coincides with us in this judgment.

The genuineness of the relic has in this case occasioned a controversy worthy of a more important cause. A History of the Holy Coat was first published with the Bishop's sanction by Professor Marx, of Treves, in which its genuineness is attempted to be proved, and the seeming inconsistencies in the accounts given, reconciled. Numerous replies appeared on the Protestant side, and the controversy was maintained with great vigour, until at last a ponderous volume appeared, produced by the united wisdom, ingenuity, and research of two Professors of the University at Bonn, which gives a very clear, but rather ludicrous notion of the astonishing patience and perseverance of the learned men of Germany. Mr. Laing justly observes, that 'the 'learning, research, and reading bestowed on examining the Holy 'Coat by Dr. Gildermeister and Dr. Von Sybel, of Bonn, have 'not been equalled, perhaps, since the days of Gibbon.' Not contented with measuring the length and breadth of the coat, and counting the threads it contains, and submitting the texture to a microscopic examination, they have even ascertained the composition of the dye with which it was coloured, calculated the quantity of this dye which would be required, settled the exact price, in thalers and groschen, which it would have cost, and triumphantly proved that Jesus Christ could not have afforded to wear a coat of such an expensive colour! And yet there have been found men of sufficient hardihood to attempt the refutation of all these calculations, and the question of the genuineness of the relic is as far from being settled as ever.

On the 18th of August the spectacle commenced, and lasted during fifty-six days; on each of which it was visited by not less than twenty thousand pilgrims, a large proportion of whom had come from distant places. Archbishops and bishops, nobles d learned men, were to be seen all day long mingling in one nterrupted stream with the poorest and most ignorant. Eng at one door of the venerable cathedral, and pausing for oment before the high altar over which the sacred relic was

suspended, they regarded it with pious contemplation, and issued from the sacred building on the other side.

The scene exhibited in that ancient city must have been indeed one of an impressive character; and in the words of Mr. Laing, must have 'very closely resembled the scenes of the tenth or eleventh century, when the crusades were set on foot.' Multitudes of pilgrims in processions, formed by the throng of people in the narrow roads and streets, with banners flying, crucifixes borne aloft; maidens, clothed in white, strewing flowers; and the priest of each community at its head, came singing hymns, or telling Aves and Paternosters on their rosaries, in regular columns. The whole Rhenish provinces, the districts on the Moselle, the cities of Cologne, Coblentz, Metz, Nancy, Verdun, Aix-la-Chapelle, Luxemburg, Spires, Limburg, Munster, Osnaburg,—towns and districts in France, Belgium, and Holland,—all poured their population in a continued stream of pilgrims, moving on and on, without break or halt,—towards the minster-tower,—from which a white banner with a red cross was waving above the dense cloud of dust, and the dark mass of human beings.

The whole number of pilgrims is variously estimated at from 1,100,000 to 1,600,000 persons; but the mean between these, or about a million and a quarter, will probably be no exaggerated calculation.

It was before this exhibition had closed, while the controversy respecting the genuineness of the Holy Coat was still at its height, and a new controversy respecting the truth of certain miracles, said to have been wrought upon some of the pilgrims, was inflaming the anger of adverse parties,—it was then that 'a 'cry came from the East, which, like the roar of the lion in 'the desert, silenced all voices of inferior note. It electrified 'modern Germany.' This cry was the celebrated 'Judgment of 'a Catholic priest, Johannes Ronge, on the Holy Coat of Treves.' It was dated from Laurahütte, an iron-foundery in Silesia, and appeared first in the 'Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter.' But almost immediately an impression of 50,000 copies was struck off, and millions have since been circulated in all countries of Europe.

It is not worth while to reprint this document, which is more remarkable for its rude, pithy eloquence, than for depth of argument, or correctness of reasoning. It would probably have been admired and forgotten if another event, which had long before been in course of preparation in the same remote part of the country, had not simultaneously become known, and contributed to give to the appeal of Ronge the importance which soon became attached to it.

In the small town of Schneidemühl there was a Roman

Catholic curate who had, by his own confession, been from his youth up disposed to doubt the claims, and many of the doctrines, of his church. The sermons which he preached attracted the notice of his ecclesiastical superiors. He was suspended from his office; and on the 22d of August, 1844, he published his solemn secession from the Church of Rome in these words: 'I renounce the Pope and the false doctrines of the Roman 'Catholic hierarchy; but I remain a Catholic Christian, a 'Catholic priest. I will not become a Calvinist; not a 'Lutheran; not a Mennonite; not a Greek Christian; I will 'remain a Catholic, but according to the words of Holy Scrip- 'ture, according to the commandments of Christ, and those of 'his Apostles, I will be, and remain, an Apostolic Catholic 'Christian; an Apostolic Catholic Priest.'

Czerski, then, must be looked upon as the real originator of the attempt to found a Catholic Church independent of the power of Rome. It is true that without the greater publicity which his union with Ronge obtained for him, not a single town might, perhaps, as yet have followed the example of Schneidemühl; but it is likewise true that it was that very union which, as we shall see, entirely altered the character of the reformation which it was *his* design to effect.

About thirty of his parishioners declared their intention of seceding from Rome, and of forming themselves into a separate congregation, and called upon Czerski to remain with them as their minister. On the 19th of October appeared their confession, which, as the first in order of time, is worthy of being perused, and also that we may afterwards see how widely the subsequent confessions have departed from its spirit.

It recites, in its first three articles, the Nicene Creed, word for word, substituting, after the pattern of the Prussian 'Evangelical Church,' only 'one Holy General' for 'one Catholic and Apostolic' Church. It then proceeds as follows:

'IV. We receive the Holy Scriptures as the only sure source of Christian faith, and that in the sense in which they are intelligible to every enlightened and pious Christian.

'V. We acknowledge that, by Jesus Christ our Lord, seven true and proper means of grace (sacraments) are established under the new covenant; namely—1. Baptism; 2. Confirmation (the laying on of hands with prayer); 3. The Holy Supper of the Lord; 4. Penance; 5. Orders (imposition of hands with prayer); 6. Matrimony; 7. Preparation for death (extreme unction): that these communicate grace; and that baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

'VI. We confess that the commemoration of the bloody offering on the cross, which is celebrated in the holy mass, may be useful to the living and the dead; that in the most holy sacrifice of the altar the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with His soul and godhead, are truly, really, and substantially present, and that the whole substance of the bread is, through this, changed into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood of Christ

'VII. We believe that priests not only may receive the sacrament of marriage, but that, in order to be worthy patterns for the people, according to Holy Scripture, they even ought to receive it.

'VIII. We confess that the celebration of Divine Service in a strange language is contrary to Holy Scripture, and that the language understood by the people should be used as well in Divine Service as in the administration of sacraments.

'IX. We confess that according to Christian doctrine the people must of necessity receive the Holy Supper in both kinds, and that the receiving it in one is by no means sufficient for salvation.

'X. There is no purgatory such as is taught by the Romish hierarchy; but there are many mansions in the house of our Heavenly Father, steps, as it were, by which to attain unto a perfect contemplation of God. We confess that he who on earth has not made himself worthy of the perfect contemplation of God will have to pass through these steps, and that for this reason our prayers may be of service to the dead, but not the reverse.

'XI. We confess that Christ alone is supreme Head of His Church, and that the Holy Ghost is His Vicegerent on earth.

'XII. This true Catholic faith, revealed through Jesus Christ, we here confess, voluntarily and truly; we promise, vow, and swear, with God's assistance, to hold, and to confess it, uncorrupted, and inviolable, with unshaken stedfastness unto the end of our lives; as also to use all diligence that this faith shall be held, taught, and confessed by all those who are subject to us, or placed under our care. So help us God, and His Holy Gospel. Amen.'

Such was the first German Catholic confession of faith. It was made public a few days only later than the letter of Ronge, and the concurrence of the two events produced an enthusiasm such as is seldom witnessed among people of so unexcitable a character as the Germans. Nevertheless, it was not until February of the following year (1845) that the next German Catholic congregations were formed. Then appeared, within a few days, the confessions of Kreuznach, a small town on the Rhine; of Leipzig, Dresden, Worms, Elberfeld, Offenbach, Unna, Hildesheim, Wiesbaden, Berlin, and Breslau. The latter is the most important of all these documents, because it professed to be drawn up by Ronge himself; because it was adopted by almost all the congregations subsequently formed, and has since been made the basis of the general confession promulgated by the first council of the new Church held at Leipzig; and, because it expresses accurately the character which, from the moment of its appearance, the whole movement assumed, and breathes in every line the spirit which it is intended to diffuse throughout the German nation. Breslau, moreover, is the capital of Silesia, and at once a stronghold of the Romish hierarchy, and a hotbed of the most revolutionary and irreligious tendencies. The more important articles of its confession are as follows:

'I. We declare ourselves free from the Roman Bishop, and his dependents.

'II. We assert full freedom of conscience, and detest all compulsion, falsehood, and hypocrisy.

'III. The foundation and the structure of Christian faith is the Holy Scripture.

'IV. Its free examination and exposition no authority ought to restrain.

'V. As the substantial contents of our religious belief, we present the following form of it:

'I believe in God the Father, who, by His Almighty word created the world, and governs it in wisdom, righteousness, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ our Saviour, who, by His teaching, His life, and His death has redeemed us from slavery and sin. I believe in the working of the Holy Ghost upon earth; in a holy, general, Christian Church; remission of sins; and a life everlasting.

'VI. We acknowledge only two sacraments as appointed by Christ; 1. Baptism; 2. The Lord's Supper.

'VII. We retain the baptism of infants, receiving them after sufficient education in religion, by a solemn admission, as self-acting members of our congregation.

'VIII. The Lord's Supper will be administered, after consecration to Christ, in both elements, to the congregation. The congregation receives it as a commemorative feast of the sufferings and death of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Auricular confession is rejected.

'IX. We believe and acknowledge that Christ is the only mediator between God and man. We reject, therefore, the invocation of saints, the veneration of pictures and relics, remissions and pilgrimages.

'X. We believe that the so-called good works have only a value in so far as they proceed from a Christian spirit. We reject, therefore, all fasts.

'XI. We believe and acknowledge, that it is the first duty of a Christian to show his faith through works of a Christian spirit.

'XII. We observe no festivals or holidays but those ordered by the law of the land.'

The other articles refer to the order of divine service and the choice and duties of the minister.

Within a few weeks a large number of congregations were formed; so that on the 22d of March the first general council, attended by delegates from twenty-six towns, assembled at Leipzig. The evident design of this council was to bring together, under one confession of faith, the discordant doctrines of the several congregations. But this purpose was not accomplished. The confession of Breslau was indeed adopted as the faith of the new Church; but no sooner had the council separated than the congregations of Schneidemühl, and Thorn, and Elberfeld, and Berlin, openly protested against the modern heathenism of the new creed, and declared that for themselves they intended to adhere to the common *Christian* faith. At Berlin another schism was the consequence; and there are in that city two German Catholic congregations, with their separate ministers.

But notwithstanding this hinderance, the movement increased with each day more rapidly, and soon had extended from the Baltic to the Alps, and from the Danube to the Rhine. The actual number of its members is variously estimated, and it

seems impossible to obtain any accurate knowledge on the subject, because it does not seem clear what constitutes membership. But thus much is certain, that there has never perhaps been so extensive a revolution in which so few men of acknowledged talent and learning, of station and influence, have taken an ostensible part. Professors Regenbrecht and Schreiber, Anton Theiner and Pastor Licht, are the only names which deserve to be recorded. Vast, on the other hand, is the number of avowed indifferentists, of rationalists, and men of no professed creed, who have swelled the ranks; and it has been very generally believed that the confession of Breslau was drawn up by a celebrated leader of the ultra-Hegelites, and that the hymns which have been used in their public worship are from the pen of a favourite poet of the 'Young-German' school. One convert attributes, indeed, his conversion to the poetry of one of that party; namely, to the 'Layman's Gospel' of Frederick von Sallet. [1]

In the latter part of the past summer, Ronge made a progress through the South of Germany, and was every where received with acclamations. His journey was like one continued triumphal procession; his carriage hung with garlands; young maidens strewing flowers in his path; songs of praise greeting him wherever he stopt; festive banquets given in his honour; costly offerings laid at his feet; all proclaimed him the idol of the day. And truly the whole occurrence has taken Europe by surprise; not two years have elapsed, and a revolution has been effected for which it has seemed impossible to assign any sufficient cause, and of which it has appeared difficult to give any rational account.

And if our pages have hitherto been silent with regard to this momentous schism in the Catholic Church, which during this period has engaged so much attention, it has assuredly not been because we undervalued the importance of the movement, or were indifferent to the hopes and the fears of all those who were watching its progress, striving to anticipate the current of events, and to determine whether the result would be for good or for evil. On the contrary, we believe that its importance is

[1] We will not defile our pages with a translation; but those of our readers who understand German may see, from the subjoined specimen of this poetry, by what means one, at least, has become a German Catholic.

'"Einer verräth mich heut aus euerm Kreis."
Johannes flüstert: "welcher aus der Schaar?"
Der ist's, dem ich ("erwiedert Jesus leis)
Den eingetauchten Bissen reiche dar."
Er taucht ihn ein, recht hold und gütig schier,
Und reicht ihn Jenem sonder Gram und Scham.
Wer ist von zwei'n *der grösste Judas* hier?
Der so den Bissen gab, der so ihn nahm?'

not yet sufficiently estimated; that the character of the whole has not yet, in England at least, been clearly understood; and the reason of this has been that most persons have derived their knowledge of the subject from the unconnected scraps of information conveyed in newspaper reports, and have had no opportunity of seeing deeper into the spirit and the designs of those by whom the movement is guided. Thus with respect to the first of those men, Ronge, very different ideas seem to be almost equally prevalent; and yet neither the one nor the other answers to his real character; there are many who believe him to be a new reformer, a second Luther, a determined enemy to the tyrannical pretensions of Rome, and an uncompromising opponent of superstition and spiritual despotism; while others look upon him as merely a coarse infidel, whose sole aim it is to sap and destroy the foundations of Christianity. Our readers must have seen both these views maintained, and that even in the same publication. And we are not surprised at it; for in both characters has Ronge appeared; but it is because neither one nor the other is the mainspring of his actions; because there is a deeper, more powerful motive, because he has far other ends in view, and because to accomplish these he would in turn become a reformer or an apostate, a preacher of primitive Christianity, or a propagator of the grossest infidelity.

There have been some who from the commencement have discerned and exposed the character of the German Catholic Schism; but the boldest and plainest avowal and defence of its aim and design has lately appeared in the work of Professor Gervinus, himself a Protestant, who takes up his pen for the purpose of rousing his Protestant countrymen to a full and hearty sympathy, and to an energetic concurrence with, and a powerful assistance in carrying out, the scheme.

The leading events of the German Catholic Schism are so well known that we have recorded those only which seemed to throw light upon its ulterior aim and design. But before we proceed to this portion of our subject, and unfold our views of the future prospects of the movement, it may be not superfluous to remind our readers that it is in the independence of the Germanic character that the great opposition to the claims of the papal power has always arisen. Germany, even more than England, was at all times ready to furnish some among her emperors and her kings, her bishops and her priests, her philosophers and her poets, who stood forth to oppose the growing power and perhaps the growing corruption of the Church of the South. It would be an interesting and a profitable work to trace the manifestations of this spirit where, we believe, it has not yet been traced, in the relics of mediæval literature. There are two books, both

very valuable, which approach the subject; but as well Ullmann, in his 'Reformatoren vor der Reformation,' as Flathe, in his 'Geschichte der Vorläufer der Reformation,' apply themselves only to those 'reformers' who were at the same time schismatics; and the former embraces only the 14th and 15th centuries, while the latter scarcely goes back so far as the middle of the 13th. We want to find the protest, the continuous, never-ceasing protest, of men of sound doctrine and blameless life, not *against* but *in* the Church; the protest which should show that those were never wanting, who rejected each innovation and disavowed each arrogant claim, as it was successively introduced; and of such protests the remains of the literature of Germany affords a rich and almost inexhaustible store. At the commencement of the 13th century, the poetry of the nation attained its highest point of excellence, and the songs of the minstrels of those days are still among the most beautiful compositions which she has produced. And it will surprise many who imagine that the papal power was then acknowledged, and without hesitation regarded with unmixed awe and reverence, to be told that, among the compositions of the most popular of those minstrels,—among the works which were repeated and committed to memory throughout the length and breadth of the land, which were familiar to every ear, and heard from every tongue, there are an immense number which treat of the venal profligacy of the Papal court, of the false assumption of supremacy by the Bishops of Rome, and of the corruptions and errors introduced by them into the Christian doctrine. Among such poems the most celebrated is 'Reinike de Voss,' and to the same class belong 'Reinardus,' and Fishart's 'Bienenkorb des heiligen Römischen Immenschwarmes.' But there is a large number of compositions yet more valuable, both because they were in their day more popular, and because they speak not in the language of satire, but in the sad and earnest tones of sincere and heartfelt grief.

We will mention only two such authors; Reinmar von Zweter, and Walther von der Vogelweide. The former of these, who sang in the year 1228, reproves in strains of noble indignation the worldliness, the covetousness, and the sensuality which characterised the whole of the higher orders of the clergy, and condemns especially the arbitrary and selfish purposes for which the power of excommunication was employed by the Pope; and yet he entertains the deepest reverence for the papal dignity, and speaks of the Pope as the key-stone of holy Christianity, ('*das fullement der edelen kristenheite,*') and the representative of St. Peter ('*Sant Peter's kempf*'). The songs of Walther von der Vogelweide (born A.D. 1165) are yet more

remarkable; he was, perhaps, the most popular of all the minstrels of Germany; he was the favourite of princes, and beloved and honoured by the people; he was a man of deep religious feeling, and loved to sing of religious subjects. In writing of the blessed Virgin Mary, more especially, his poetical imagination carries him into the highest realms of fancy, and it seems as if he could find no words sufficiently tender, no praises sufficiently high; the most graceful images, the most touching ideas, strung together like a row of purest pearls, succeed each other so rapidly, that we can hardly follow the train of thought in which the poet gives expression to all his love and reverence. He was a most sincere and zealous Christian; he not only urged kings and nobles to undertake the recovery of the Holy Land, but was one who thought it his duty himself to aid in expelling the heathen from the place where his Saviour had dwelt on earth. In a word, Gervinus[1] truly says of him, 'He was faithful to the Church, a pious and holy man.'

But against the corruptions of the servants of the Church, against their venality and rapacity, his most severe denunciations are unceasingly directed. And chiefly he condemns the worldly policy of the Popes; that interference in worldly politics, and assumption of worldly power, which has been the fruitful source of all the monstrous evils which have since afflicted the Church of Christ. It was by incessantly interfering in the election of the emperors of Germany, by confirming no choice which was not in accordance with their worldly views; by excommunicating, as in 1210, the emperor who but a few months before had been crowned at Rome; it was by this miserable short-sighted worldliness that the hearts of princes and people were alienated from the Church, and that the seeds of all those evils were sown which afterwards grew up in heresy and schism. How forcibly the poet sings, in reference to that very circumstance! 'We heard you proclaim to Christianity 'what duties we had to perform to the Emperor, when you gave 'him the blessing of God, and we called him Lord, and kneeled 'before him. And now you should not forget how you then 'spake: "He who blesses thee, may he be blessed; and he who 'curses thee, may he be abundantly cursed!" Consider now, I 'pray you, for God's sake, whether you are preserving the 'honour of the priesthood.' We must, reluctantly, omit many beautiful extracts from his writings, and content ourselves with a single one, in which he is speaking of the so-called 'donatio Constantini;' and very poetically describes the ruinous consequences to religion and sound doctrine of which that fatal

[1] It may be necessary to inform our readers that the same Professor Gervinus, who has written 'The Mission of the German Catholics,' is the author of an admirable History of German Poetical Literature.

absorption of the State into the Church was the forerunner and the cause: from that very day dated the decline of religious feeling, the corruption of religious belief; from that very day the power of the Church over the bodies and over the temporal possessions of her subjects began to increase, her power in the hearts and the souls of her faithful children began to diminish. Thus the poet sings: 'King Constantine gave to the Chair at 'Rome, spear, and cross, and crown. But when that took place, 'an angel cried woe, woe, and a third time, woe! Before that 'time Christianity stood there so fair and pure; but now a 'poison is fallen upon her, and her honey is turned to gall, and 'this, hereafter, will yet be sorrow to the world. Truly has that 'angel prophesied.' Walther von der Vogelweide, it has now been ascertained, was also the author of a well-known collection of proverbs, and moral sentences and reflections, published under the title 'Bescheidenheit.' This poem is divided into rubrics, each of which treats of a separate subject; and there is one whole division of the work which exposes the corruptions and innovations, not only as to discipline and practice, but also as to doctrine, which were daily becoming more prevalent. We have only space to notice that, especially with regard to the sale or granting of pardons and indulgences, and with regard to the infallibility of the Pope, he entertains views most strictly in accordance with those of the purer times of Christianity, and enforces them by the soundest and most conclusive arguments.

Vain were these and similar protests; a moral blindness seems to have fallen upon the Church of Rome, and to have incapacitated her, for ever, from discerning what are her own best interests. There were, we repeat, at all times some among her sons, who foresaw the unavoidable consequences which, by the immutable laws of God, this blindness would bring with it. Indifference to the truth must be followed by infidelity; the neglect of the interests of the people, by the withdrawal of their love and confidence; sin, by its punishment. And so it was; the protests in the Church were disregarded by the hierarchy, and the protest against the Church was the consequence; we need only refer to the history of the Council of Basle, to the solemn and most truly prophetical warnings addressed on that occasion to Pope Eugene IV. by Cardinal Julian and Bishop Andreas Escobar. And not long did these warnings wait their fulfilment; the period of the Reformation came, and even then Rome would not repent. And her power over the nations who continued to own her spiritual authority was taken from her; and she would not repent. And the terrible age of infidelity and anarchy passed over her; and her chief owed his safety, and the remnant of his power, to those whom he was bound to

denounce as heretics; but she would not repent. And now a worse evil than all these is at her doors; a worse calamity is threatening the world; a fair and specious philosophy, a *new religion*—for so it is, and so it claims to be—is striving to supplant Christianity; is making itself heard and felt in every quarter of the globe; is spreading with the rapidity of a destructive fire; appealing to the refined by its beauty, to the reflective by its intellectuality, to the ignorant by its simplicity, to the tender-hearted by its comprehensive charity, to the careless or selfish by the narrow circle of its moral requirements. And it is within the pale of the Church of Rome that this new religion has first gained a name and a habitation; it is among the priests whom she has consecrated, and the people whom she has taught, that the first teachers and first disciples of this new religion have appeared. And yet she will not repent; and yet she will not see that it is for her alone to break down the wall of separation which she has built up, between herself and those who would gladly stand by her side, in defending the Zion of our God.

The fault of almost all those who have written on the subject of the present schism has been, that they have taken too narrow a view of the movement; they have looked upon it as a question of one creed against another creed; and they have praised the rejection of what they considered an erroneous article of faith, and condemned the omission of what they assert to be a necessary article of faith, without observing that it never was the intention of the leaders to promulgate a new creed at all. Even that acute observer, Mr. Laing, makes this mistake, when he states that 'It would be difficult to find a dozen ploughmen 'or labourers in Scotland who could not draw out a much more 'soundly reasoned confession of faith, and articles of dissent from 'the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, than any of 'these twelve documents given above.'

Far different is the aim of German Catholicism; it is to get rid of *all* creeds; to bring all mankind into a new union and unanimity, a unanimity no longer of faith, but *of no faith.* So only, they assert, can catholicity[1] exist; let men no longer make profession of any belief; let them think what they please, but forbear to expect that others shall think like them; let them see God in nature, for there they *must* see Him; and feel Him in themselves, for there they *must* feel Him; and let the only religious duties to be performed arise from the necessity of

[1] We know not whether it is necessary again to call the attention of our readers to the efforts being made to propagate this new religion in England, as they were fully developed in our last number; but we would take this opportunity of mentioning that the last publication of the 'Catholic Series' has been a translation of Gervinus's 'Mission of the German Catholics.'

exercising mutual love, which is a natural, and therefore a divine, instinct.

And this religion is calculated, in these days, to carry all before it; it is so entirely in accordance with the spirit of the age, so entirely suited to the present wants, and tastes, and habits of mankind; it requires no study, no self-denial, no constraint; it is learned in a day, and its one practical duty admits of an easy and indefinite extension or contraction, to suit the taste and the temper of each individual. It is, therefore, not surprising, that this new religion should have been latent, to an almost incredible extent, among the more civilized, that is to say, the more material nations of our days; and especially in France and Germany, in England, and the United States of America. But, though so widely spread, there was no body, no external appearance of its existence; and the want of something more visible, more tangible, something to impress the senses, and to attract the notice of the multitude, was beginning, from day to day, to be more strongly felt.

Then it was that the German Catholic Schism commenced, and the want we have described has been the secret of its success. We do not mean that Ronge, and Czerski, and Theiner had any such premeditated scheme; and one of them at least is probably deeply grieved at the result of their exertions. Nor had Ronge the power to foresee the consequences of his letter to Bishop Arnoldi; but there were others who quickly discerned the purpose to which the strange success of these events might be applied, who were well aware that a nucleus was only wanting, around which the whole system of the no-belief religion might soon be made to arrange itself in most harmonious order. Their schemes prospered; for nine-tenths of the press were at their command. The ostensible leaders of the movement were either, like Ronge, ambitious enough to be brought over to their views, and to be made the tools of their designs; or, like Czerski, weak enough to be cast aside and crushed. The excitement was skilfully managed, and the formation of German Catholic congregations proceeded with such rapidity, wherever the temporal authorities abstained from interference, that within a year their number was said to amount to nearly three hundred. Nor, we think, does the temporary cessation which has taken place in their proceedings arise from any inability to carry on the same system of proselytism, but rather from the necessity which they feel of pausing to consider and arrange their future course. They are, doubtless, aware that in mere numbers they are already strong enough; that now it is necessary to labour with sharper tools than they have hitherto required; the rough form has been

hewn out of the shapeless mass, and now it will be requisite to bring out all the finer details of the perfect figure. But for this, more time, more judgment, and more skill are required. Newspaper philippics and trashy pamphlets have served their purpose well; and now they want men of talent and reputation to write thoughtful and earnest books, and to impress the world with the idea that there is more sense and meaning in the movement, than the first riotous proceedings, the noisy meeting held alternately in church and public-house, the tumultuous assemblage in theatre and market-place, the gay procession with flowers and banners, and the somewhat too theatrical display, could well be supposed to indicate.

The three German works at the head of this article, which have all appeared in the present year, may be supposed to indicate this change of plan. The first of these we have perused with much disappointment. Dr. Anton Theiner is the only Catholic priest who has yet joined the ranks of the schismatics who had previously deserved or gained a reputation. He had long been known as a man of blameless life, and great zeal in his profession, and as possessed of considerable erudition, especially in ecclesiastical history. It is true he was known to be a reformer, and, in conjunction with his brother, had published a large and elaborate work on the celibacy of priests, in which he completely exhausts the subject, and proves, by an endless detail of facts, which are but too true and too melancholy, the enormous amount of guilt and misery which the compulsory celibacy has entailed both upon priests and people. This work cannot but have gained for him a bad reputation at Rome; but twenty years have elapsed since its publication, and although he was removed from his professorship of theology at Breslau, no public censure, no suspension from his priestly office, had cast a stigma upon his character.

From the very commencement of the movement it was thought probable that he would join the ranks of the seceders; and all those who looked upon the schism as a religious reformation—a rejection of the errors and corruptions of Rome—earnestly and anxiously desired that he should do so. The rationalist and infidel tendency of Ronge's school, the weakness and imbecility of Czerski's, were but too obvious; and Theiner was looked to by many as a new Moses, who should become the leader of the oppressed Israel, and deliver them from the chains of their captivity.[1] And at last he took the long-expected step; and in the work before us he addresses the congregations, whose minister he had been, in his own justification. But we cannot but

[1] Dr. Theiner's Beitritt zur Deutsch-Katholischen Kirche. Weimar. 1845.

consider this justification (and we believe it has universally been so considered in Germany) as otherwise than a failure. A very large part of it he occupied in going over his old ground, and giving evidence of the evils of a compulsory priestly celibacy; the remainder is directed against other corruptions in the Romish doctrine, other glaring defects in the Romish system. But we have looked in vain for any proof, for any attempt at a proof, that the doctrine generally held by the German Catholics is more pure, more like the primitive Christianity, of which Theiner, in former years, was wont to speak in terms of such unqualified admiration; or that, supposing such had been the case, it were needful and lawful to create a new schism, and to abandon the Church of his baptism, instead of going on, as for a quarter of a century he had done, endeavouring, and that assuredly not altogether without success, to effect a reformation of the abuses which he had so unsparingly denounced. Such is our objection to the work of Dr. Theiner: against the truth of its contents we have nothing to say; but he has entirely lost sight of the one great point which he ought to have established; namely, that the errors of which he complains made it imperative upon him to desert the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, and to join a body of seceders, whose published tenets were far more directly opposed to those of which, during his whole lifetime, he had been the strenuous advocate.

Far otherwise is it with the other two works on our list. Dr. Theiner takes the negative side; he only goes to establish the unscriptural, unchristian character of the system of the Romish Church; he has not a word to say in defence of that which it is sought to substitute in its place. The works of Dr. Paulus, and of Professor Gervinus, the latest Protestant champions of the cause, take a more positive view of the question, and are not a mere attack upon Romanism, but a defence and justification of 'German Catholicism.'

Of the former of the two we shall not have occasion to say much. It is, in truth, a very dull, diffuse, unreadable book. The author is well known as one of the veteran leaders of the old, or empiric rationalists of Germany; his name, like that of other heroes of the wars of times gone by, is supposed to add weight to the cause which he embraces; but we should suppose that his cold scepticism, his ever-recurring doubts and difficulties, must be very wearisome, and totally devoid of influence to the eager enthusiasts of these days, who have adopted a glowing, living philosophy of rationalism, in which all is bold and free, of which every dogma is based upon a positive chain of reasoning, and nothing is left to mere negation or unbelief.

Dr. Paulus, in accordance with his whole system, defends the

German Catholics on the very ground which has alienated the sympathy of their admirers in our own country, namely, the indefiniteness and extreme shortness and simplicity of their creed.

'The earliest traditions of primitive Christianity (the New 'Testament) give us only two confessions of faith. They consist 'of two or three sentences without the addition of any explana- 'tion. Why should not Christians of our days be permitted to 'form Christian Societies (congregations and churches) through 'these same primitive creeds, without beforehand binding 'themselves exclusively to one of the many different interpre- 'tations which may possibly be given by different expositors? '* * * The one of these New Testament creeds is pre- 'served from the mouth of Jesus in John xvii. 3. The words 'are: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the 'only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."

'In addition, therefore, to the "eternal life" of the human 'spirit, which He took for granted, Jesus required only two 'points to constitute Christianity: 1. The work, which God had 'given to Him to perform, centres herein, that He should teach 'men to think God for themselves plainly, as "Father" (v. 6), 'as "Holy Father" (v. 11), that is to say, in accordance with 'the deep moral meaning of this predicate; and, 2, on this 'account He himself is the Christ, that is, the sufficient teacher 'of religion (der Religiosität) for all mankind.'

Such is a specimen of the reasoning by which Dr. Paulus endeavours to prove that the less a Christian professes to believe, the more will his belief resemble that of the early saints of the Church, and that therefore the creed of the German Catholics is a great step in advance, which has been gained over the rest of the Christian world. Thus we see that he claims a positive good for the new religion; and this good consists in a quality which friends and foes are willing to grant that it possesses, namely, a creed which fixes the very minimum of what a Christian may be expected to believe. But the ardent friends of German Catholicism go much further than Dr. Paulus; they are, as we have already hinted, not content with demolishing articles of faith, they would build up a religion of no-faith. And here the work of Dr. Gervinus, 'The Mission of the German Catholics,' takes up the subject, and produces an eloquent and elaborate defence of the new sect on this very ground. We shall make no apology for entering into a fuller review of this book than the other works before us have uired. The name and reputation of the author, the fact as been translated into English, and forced into circu- an organized society for the purpose of spreading

the dangerous tenets of which it is the advocate, and above all the rapidity with which these tenets are spreading throughout Christendom, render it not only desirable, but necessary that English churchmen and English clergymen should in these pages become acquainted with the character of the enemy whose approach is threatening them, and prepare themselves to meet and oppose its progress.

The work of Gervinus is addressed to the Protestant Clergy of Germany; among the Catholics all had been accomplished that seemed practicable; a large number of congregations had been formed, and the machinery of the new Church had been completed. The time accordingly had arrived when the ulterior designs must be carried into effect, or, at all events, attempted.

Now, it is notorious that there is a society which has existed during four years, calling itself the 'Friends of Light;' the leading members of this society are Protestant Clergymen; their avowed aim is to substitute the light of human reason for the light of the revealed word of God; they have openly declared that the rule of faith by which Christian doctrine is to be determined, is not, according to true Protestant principles, what it had hitherto been asserted to be, the letter of the Bible, but *the spirit of the age;* and, as a deduction from this, have not hesitated to declare that their own views are, on many points, unscriptural.

With this party Ronge and his confederates were not slow to form an alliance; and at a banquet given to them at Halle, by the 'Friends of Light,' the mutual advantages to be derived from this alliance were clearly set forth. 'We stand in need of 'one another,' says one of the Protestant orators. 'The great 'Protestant Church lies under a sacred obligation to protect 'and cleave to this new community, feeble as yet, and struggling 'for existence; yes, and to protect it with the shield of science. '*It has been yours to open out to us entirely new views for the future.* 'It is you who have been the first to tread the sacred soil of free-'dom. We hold out to you the hand of fellowship across the chasm 'which still divides us. We desire that the separation may 'continue awhile, in order that you, who are so inferior in 'numbers, may not be overwhelmed and engulfed in the great 'Protestant Church; and in the hope that we, by means of that 'separation, may have a fuller sense of what divides us: I repeat, 'we desire it, to the intent no sudden combination may take 'place, but that a union, founded on well-understood and well-'based elements, may one day link us together.'

It is clear that the first point, a hearty cooperation with the 'Friends of Light' was thus early gained. But the 'Friends of Light,' though a very active and a very noisy party, are not

a very numerous or a very powerful one. Their strength lies in two or three of the larger towns, and even there it is very much kept down by the energetic measures of the Saxon and Prussian governments, who have good cause to fear the spirit of political freethinking insubordination which so frequently accompanies that of religious insubordination.

The great mass, not only of the Clergy, but of the laity in Protestant Germany, belong to a somewhat different school; they profess still the old so-called 'Protestant' rule of faith; namely, the Bible interpreted according to the private judgment of each individual; but although nominally adhering to the same doctrines which were received as the faith of Protestantism in the days of Luther, there can be no doubt that in effect they have departed very far from it; and they are, in especial, most anxious to be relieved from all obligation to receive what are termed the symbolical writings as binding upon them. In their Church Service they have, in fact, discarded the Creeds; and they have not scrupled in many places, as at Leipzig, to substitute, even at Confirmation, a new confession of faith in place of the Apostles' Creed. But upon Ordination, or admission to a benefice, they are still required to signify their acquiescence, not only in these, but also in the 'Confessio Augustana,' and the Lutheran catechisms. These, therefore, are become to them a 'paper pope,' from whose thraldom they profess an earnest desire to be relieved.

It is to this large, powerful party, embracing, in fact, in its various divisions, nearly the whole population of Protestant Germany, (for the small sections which adopt the views of Professor Hengstenberg, and the revived tenets of Schleiermacher, are insignificant in point of numbers;) it is to this party that Gervinus addresses himself; it is their cooperation that he is desirous to obtain; a junction with them that he is eager to effect on behalf of the German Catholics. And indeed upon the line of conduct which this party may ultimately adopt, everything seems to depend; they have hitherto, they still continue to stand aloof; expressing generally abundance of good wishes, and rejoicing, without disguise, in any blow struck at the power of Rome; but yet hesitating to commit themselves openly to an offensive and defensive alliance. But times are drawing nigh when they must come to a determination; all the power of the Protestant governments will be unable much longer to uphold the tottering fabric of the State-Church; such signs of the times as the addresses presented to their royal master by the magistrates of Berlin and Königsberg, as the riots of Leipzig, as the total failure of the convention of divines assembled in the Prussian capital, are not to be disregarded. We believe there

are very few men acquainted with the present condition of Prussia who do not fully recognise the truth of Mr. Laing's assertion:[1] 'The Lutheran and Calvinistic churches in Germany and Switzerland are in reality extinct;' and when such a conviction is widely and universally spread, then we may be sure that what is a reality will soon become an external visible fact. Few persons are better acquainted with the religious and political state of Germany than Mr. Bunsen; and his whole work, 'Die Kirche der Zukunft,' is written upon the assumption that the existing relations are about to cease, and that the whole constitution of the Church *must be* re-formed and re-organized.

Now if, when this event takes place, or in anticipation of it, the large mass of German clergy and laity were to adopt the same principles and to lay down the same rule of religious belief as the German Catholics,—were in fact to attach themselves to, and become a part of, the new body,—then a new religious era would doubtless commence; and we have but little hesitation in saying, that in Germany at least it will be so, not, perhaps, so speedily as some anticipate, but yet not less surely because the event may be somewhat delayed.

It is with the prospect of this crisis before his eyes, that Professor Gervinus addresses the clergy of Germany. There are three points of view under which it is worth while to consider the contents of his work; and these are—the relation of doctrine to practice, that of philosophy to religion, and that of the Church to the State.

With regard to the first of these questions, he does not deny that the object of German Catholicism is to set up a new theory, or at least one which in Christianity has been hitherto unknown; for a holy life has always been considered as the fruit of faith, and the advocates of every doctrinal system which has been propounded have always endeavoured to show that the doctrines which they have preached will bring forth the best and most abundant fruit. As man believes, so does he live; and vain must be every attempt to work a reform in the moral life of the people, which is not based upon a reform of the national belief. But such a vain, impossible reform does Gervinus expect from the new religion. He advises the clergy of his country to give up doctrine altogether, to content themselves with the *vaguest*, most meagre expression, the 'minimum' of Christian doctrine, and to turn their attention entirely to Christian morality. 'We have long emancipated ourselves 'from *the dread of original sin*, which, like the fear of ghosts, 'was merely an apprehension resulting from superstition; and

[1] Notes on the German Catholic Church, p. 146.

'to the simple ideas of a man of common understanding, a 'reference to the universal Creator, who has revealed himself 'in the mighty works of creation to the dullest apprehension, 'and to the more finely organized mind in the intricate powers 'of the inward life, has as much, nay something more, positive 'and obvious in its character, *than the doctrine of mediation or 'atonement can have.*'

'Among all the Protestant sects in England and America, 'rich and multiform as they are in religious parties, the Unita- 'rians are those who most nearly approach to the grand philo- 'sophical principles of religion; and they are not only by far 'the most intelligent, but *also the most estimable.*' 'I cannot 'omit asking, whether the clergy in general have ever con- 'sidered what it means to possess an ecclesiastical and religious 'edifice, from which the whole educated portion of the commu- 'nity turn away *with indifference,* or perhaps *with scorn?*—what 'it means, to turn their backs upon the real and most essential 'portion of the nation, and to shut out those in whom alone 'morality and religion may be not merely a powerless habit, 'but may become an enlightened principle? Is it not the 'universal law of society that morality, and the observance of 'its requirements, pass from the higher and more enlightened 'to the lower classes of the people? Wherever these classes 'really sympathize and take part in the religion of the people, 'there is assuredly a wonderful power *in the mere law of morality,* 'a power which has been still preserved upon the German soil, 'under the relations which have hitherto existed, where *morality* 'is still enjoined, and the people are not given up *a prey to dog- 'matic preaching.* Ordinary men usually carry home with them 'the *morality* of the sermon, and *not its dogmas.*'—Pp. 28, 29.

'There is, as I have said, a wonderful power in the *mere laws 'of morality;* but it is still more wonderful when those laws 'become a matter of general usage and observance, which bind 'together a whole people in the bonds of patriotism and 'religion. And the new principles of the German Catholics 'have set up as a social rule no ideal, loose, speculative 'morality; they have raised the common standard of Christian 'morality, and laid down the *principle of universal love as the 'basis of their operations.* Would to God that the nation and 'its governments would embrace and give fixity to the *new 'gospel* at this stage of its development.' 'None of our rulers appear yet to have attained a proper idea of the critical nature our condition; none of them are willing to feel or recognise e proximity of the danger, till it shall have reached such a owth and power, as will place them and us in a position in ich we shall be bereft of all counsel or help. In the very

'midst of this unhealthy social condition this religious move-
'ment has sprung up, which if it be only properly apprehended
'and guided by princes and people, may act the part of a
'delivering angel to rescue us from our perilous situation.
'Shall I be reproached when I say *how pitiable sounds that call*
'*and demand for theological dogmas* in the new system, when we
'take a review of the whole course and connexion of these
'circumstances?'—Pp. 31, 32.

These extracts sufficiently establish the fact, that, with respect to the first point under consideration, it is the aim of the *new* religion to discard all doctrine, and to set up in its place a morality which is to have its source and its fulfilment in mutual love and universal toleration. It is true that Gervinus proposes still to retain the '*vaguest*' confession of Christian faith; such an one, for instance, as the Council of Leipzig has provided for the German Catholics; but it has been well asked,[1] 'whether such a
'doctrinal system which falls back upon a "minimum," and con-
'tains only that which is vaguest,' can be seriously intended?—whether this 'be not a mere compliance with the force of habit,
'—a reluctant recognition of that which has become an historic
'reality, the future continuance of which they dare not at once
'pronounce impossible?—and whether the moment cannot be
'already foreseen when they will strip off this last transparent
'veil of the mere moral idea, and exhibit themselves to the
'astonished world in unconcealed nakedness?'

Transparent enough is indeed that veil already; and if Gervinus speaks truly, when he says that German Protestants have long ceased to fear *that bugbear* 'original sin,' that the whole educated and enlightened part of the nation turn away 'with indifference, perhaps with scorn,' from the preaching of Christian doctrine; then, indeed, the time cannot be far distant when even that transparent veil will be cast aside.

This, then, is the peculiarity of the new religion: we repeat it, because it cannot be too distinctly made known; this is the peculiarity, that it is to be a religion, without creed, without confession of faith, without articles, without doctrine; it is to be a religion which begins and ends in one feeling, which inculcates one duty, which has but one principle—the principle of universal love.

This has been, as Gervinus truly declares, the standard raised by the German Catholics,—the standard to which are flocking the countless hosts of all those who are too proud, too careless, too indolent, too worldly, to submit their own reason to the

[1] Die Protestantische Geistlichkeit und die Deutsch-Katholiken, p. 10. Von Dr. Daniel Schenckel. Zürich, 1846.

word of God. This truth has more and more developed itself, as Ronge and his companions have become emboldened by success, and have felt their footing surer beneath them. One of Ronge's later publications has been 'Kirchtägliche Perikopen für die Christ-katholische Kirche.' This work, which consists of selections from the New Testament, similar in arrangment to the Epistles and Gospels of the Church, is designed not only to be used by the congregations during public worship, but to supply generally the place of the Bible; and Ronge himself, in the Preface, calls upon his more wealthy followers to purchase and distribute, among the poorer of their brethren, 'this gospel.' And what passages of the New Testament has the 'new Reformer' selected? This, also, he tells us in the Preface:—'Those pieces 'have been chosen which openly condemn, as unchristian, all 'tyranny over the conscience, all despotism of belief; which 'condemn sectarian hatred, and the love of mutual anathema-'tizing; further, those pieces which represent nominal Chris-'tianity as insufficient, and insist on the contrary upon the 'carrying into practice Christian doctrine, and especially upon 'fulfilling the commandment to love our neighbour, and to 'relieve the external wants of the afflicted.'

Scarcely need the veil be removed when we find the acknowledged leader of the new religious party promulgating this as his new *gospel;* when we find, that in all the services of his Church, on all the festivals and holidays, as well as Sundays, of the year, all doctrine is to be strictly avoided; and, on the contrary, the only condemnation that is to be threatened is the condemnation of those who assert that there is *any* doctrine which it is necessary for salvation to believe.

We must return to Gervinus, and hasten to consider the second point we mentioned, namely, the relation of philosophy to theology. And here we find him the representative of views which are but too universally received throughout all the higher classes of his countrymen. It seems, indeed, to be the generally-received idea in Germany, that Christianity was all very well in its day; that while men were ignorant and uncivilized, it answered its purpose and kept them in order, and succeeded more or less in its purpose of inducing them to fulfil their duties in the various relations of life. Nay, it is admitted, that there are some unhappy regions which are still so benighted,—some remote and rural districts still sunk in such darkness and ignorance,—that it would be as well to leave them a little longer in the possession of their faith. But these are exceptions. The world at large has escaped from the years of its long minority, and is become intelligent and wise, and capable of being emancipated from the leading-strings of religion, and of walking

safely and boldly in the bright light of philosophy. The former state was one of subjection, of imperfection, of ignorance; that into which they are entering, is one of freedom, of full and perfect wisdom.

To this point, since the days of Kant, has the philosophy of Germany been tending; to this point has tended the literature of the nation, those beautiful compositions which have placed her poets and romancers, her historians and her dramatists, among the most illustrious whom the world has produced. We quote again from Gervinus: 'The Protestant mind, filled with 'Luther's spirit, turned against Luther's own words, and 'Lessing and Herder have led us to clearer and freer views of 'a religious life, in which it is good for us to remain. These 'are, in fact, the founders and leaders of the present reforma-'tion; these are the great men who are missed from the scene, 'who anticipated the present age in the depths of their own 'minds, and whose views the nation has never ceased to follow.' 'Goëthe and Schiller, Voss and Jean Paul, Winkelmann and 'Wieland, Forster and Lichtenberg, all shook off the fetters of 'dogmatic theology; and every educated man in the nation, 'each after his own fashion, has followed their example.' 'And 'how should it be otherwise? The seed sown by these men, 'the most illustrious whom Germany has produced since Luther 'and Leibnitz, has taken deep root in the soil of the nation, 'grown luxuriously in a thousand alluring forms of poetry, in 'thousands of books of science, penetrated into the very core 'of the religious life of the people,' 'enlightened men's under-'standing, and rooted out of their hearts a sectarian and denun-'ciatory spirit.'—Pp. 23, 24.

And now we must conclude this portion of the subject with an important extract from the same writer, which will show what is the real religious condition of Germany, as depicted by one whose powers and means of judging none will doubt or deny; it is upon their knowledge of this spiritual state of their country-men that the hopes of the promulgators of the new religion are founded, and that not without good cause.

'Are there any reasonable men of the present times who 'deceive themselves, or wish to deceive others, by supposing 'that the faith and principles of Luther can be again revived 'amongst the people at large, or that any similar religious 'system can be introduced with a similar influence and power? 'Both are departed with the age of Luther; and if such a case 'be ever to return, it can only happen in an age from which the 'circumstances and men of the present time shall have passed 'away, in which Providence shall have dashed to atoms the 'present German world and its civilisation, cast them anew 'into the crucible of centuries, and changed their character by

'the admixture of new races of men. But as times now are, 'seeing that there lies between our age and the religious age of 'Luther a century, during which freethinking has been seated 'upon thrones, science has been born, and knowledge fermented 'the whole body of society; *that in the book of nature* a new, 'eternal, and irrefutable revelation has been read, which has in 'many respects *uprooted the mere letter of written revelation*,—that 'in these times the human mind *has advanced* to a bold spirit of 'self-estimation, nay *even of self-idolatry*,—while the hard-earned 'subsistence of the masses of the people tax the whole of their 'strength, and the whole intellectual powers of educated men 'are busily engaged in endeavouring to *unravel the mysteries of 'the world in a philosophical way*—in such an age and in such 'times there is an impassable gulf placed, which effectually bars 'the return to a condition of such universal religious dominion.' 'Nay, the system of faith which the ablest of our present '*orthodox* clergy place before the public, and that too merely in 'a defensive attitude, must be acknowledged even by themselves to be inconceivably different from the system of those 'times, and from what would even meet the religious wants of 'the *common people* of the present, who cling to the usages and 'forms of bygone ages. *Speculation* and *philosophy*, historical and 'mythological investigations, have taught men to discover deep 'truths in Christian dogmatics, even in those articles of belief 'which appear most completely to do despite to all the principles 'of reason—truths that, in fact, open up to the freest minds the 'wonderful depths of the human intellect, which, full of the 'spirit of divination, *works and creates the myths of history and 'religion*. But the intelligent clergy who find in these wonderful 'depths the contentment of their own thinking minds, *dare not* 'offer these things to the ordinary and unenlightened minds of 'the people, as any compensation for what they had hitherto 'sought under the words and letters even of the dogmas—to 'calm and satisfy their religious wants, and to secure to them 'any confidence in questions relating to their spiritual nature 'and destiny. The professors of this philosophical orthodoxy of 'our times, whose scientific importance I am very far from undervaluing, *can never pretend to profess the faith of former times*— 'the faith of Luther,—the faith of a simple people,—much less 'can their views be accepted as a substitute for it. I shall be 'completely silent with respect to the *thorough orthodoxy* of the 'theological craftsmen which, *for want of a better, must still suffice for the wants of the peasantry; that* which has been long since ft behind, even by the lowest classes where they have had y intercourse with the world, or mixed with the better edu- ted or more enlightened people of the towns.'—Pp. 19, 20.

uch is the picture drawn by one of the ablest men in Ger-

many of the present condition of that country in a religious point of view; religion only existing among a few half-savage boors; science and speculation flourishing among the educated and enlightened; God and Christ vanishing entirely from the national mind, *nature* and *self* the objects of their worship.

We come now to the third point which we have proposed for consideration, the relation, namely, of the Church to the State. And it will be well to remember, that many of the most eminent theologians have admitted, what is but too evident, that 'Pro-'testantism succeeded at the Reformation in acquiring a common 'theology, but not a common Church.' A Church cannot exist without authority; the authority may be greater or smaller; it may exist in the articles and creeds, or in the forms of worship, or in the ecclesiastical government, or in all these combined; but where there is no principle of authority at all, there can be no Church. Now the German Protestant Church has never laid claim to the possession of any authority except the authority of the Bible; and that surely exists only in name, where there are 'quot capita tot sensus,' where even the authenticity and inspiration of each book of the Scriptures is determined according to the private judgment of each individual.

The real ecclesiastical and religious authority has never since the Reformation been vested in the Church, but in the State; the prince of each petty principality has been a petty Pope, and has imitated the policy of the real Pope in conveniently overlooking heresy and disregarding error, just so long as the error in question did not affect the privileges or the power of the governing party,—and no longer. The poverty and absolute dependence of the clergy upon the various governments has made this authority of the temporal governors an irresistible tyranny, from which there has never been any hope or chance of escape. This absorption of the so-called Church into the State, has been, we do not hesitate to avow, most fatal and destructive to religious truth; but still there has been some authority somewhere; and if, on the whole, it has been negligently and injuriously exercised, still, in some cases, and especially in our own days, there have been rulers who have made a wise and beneficent use of it. But in the proposed German Catholicism, there would be no shadow of authority, and, therefore, not even a semblance of a Church, even as a part of the machinery of State. It would be the most perfect specimen of a religious democracy: Gervinus announces, 'congregations must, in future, choose their 'own clergy; and in this they must and will be guided according 'to their sense of their own wants and the average condition of 'their education; whilst the clergy, on their part, will attach 'themselves to that confession and school which is most in 'accordance with their nature and convictions.' 'Such a pla-

'might, perhaps, be a preservative against the inroads of sects, 'and sectarian zeal, which originate only under a system of ex- 'clusion and persecution, and whose melancholy consequences, 'as is every where manifest in England and America, merely 'cause a more ignorant zeal against heresy, the retardation of 'all progress, a lagging in the intellectual movement of the 'nation, or the rigidity and stand-still of all doctrines. Such a 'freedom as that now advocated, under which every clergyman, 'every layman, and every congregation would be allowed to 'follow his or its convictions, under the comprehensive pro- 'tection of the State, may be called vague and convenient by our 'orthodox clergy, but they must not deny that both seriousness 'and depth may belong to such a state of things.'—P. 53. 'In 'order, however, that this individuality should not degenerate 'into extremes—to prevent the voluntary principle of America 'from taking root among us, *as well as that of Romish unity from 'maintaining the ground already taken,*[1] the state must bear 'a part in this work of Church reunion.' 'The State would 'have nothing more to do among us than to exclude the wanton 'and extreme caprices of the general Christian association, to 'guard against foreign (Romish) interference, and to forbid all 'secret promotion of religious things by means of associations 'and corporations; but, at the same time, to incorporate (that 'is, to receive under the shield of its sanction) all that would 'concur even in the *widest Christian* confession of the new 'Church, or whatever *other confession* should be appointed as the 'general standard. Whether, then, the nature of the people 'would work so powerfully among us, that the nation, in obedi- 'ence to a national impulse, would grow internally as well as 'externally in religious unity, or whether the Churches hitherto 'existing, would maintain their place beside one another, and 'seek their common bond of alliance, not in formulas of faith 'and liturgical services, but in national brotherhood and Christian 'love and toleration, must be left to the free development of 'the times and of history.'—P. 56.

Our space will not permit us to follow, in all its details, the plan proposed by the author for carrying out his idea, his great idea, we must call it, of establishing, upon the foundation laid by Ronge and his companions, a new national Church. Suffice it to say, that he sees all the difficulties and hinderances by which it is likely to be impeded, and admits, that in consequence of the ignorance of the multitude, the divisions among the learned, he ambition of the priests, the indifference of the educated, the 're of quiet among the princes and their servants, the counter-

[1] It seems, then, that the *perfect toleration* is not to extend to the members of Church of Rome, who, in the Prussian dominions alone, amount to nearly six lions in number.

action of the Curia, the uncertainty of the form which the new party may assume,—that, in consequence of all these and other circumstances, 'the whole of this movement in the religious 'world may soon reach its conclusion, and with it that the ques-'tion of a reunion of confessions now agitated may fall to the 'ground.' But, notwithstanding this admission, he thinks it more probable that the agitation will be successful, and that, from the great political importance of the movement, from the readiness with which every appeal in behalf of German union is responded to,—from the prevailing opinion in favour of perfect freedom of faith, this general question will soon absorb and swallow up the narrower Romish question first raised; and that 'the efforts of its adherents will no longer be directed to the 'founding of a German Catholic or a Christian Catholic sect, 'but to *the establishment of a national German Christian Church.*'

And we believe the author to be right; there is an extraordinary religious and political fermentation going on throughout Germany; and a small impulse is but wanting, an event as unimportant in its real nature, as the letter of Ronge, to produce the most violent and wide-spreading explosion. Whether it will be so, it is for time and circumstances to determine; but if it be, then the effects of the movement will assuredly not be confined to Germany; and it will be well for us if we are prepared to meet and resist its influence.

We have devoted a large portion of our space to the work of Professor Gervinus; but, as we commenced by saying, we do not think that its importance can well be overrated. It brings most clearly before us the real nature, the present position, and the future prospects of the German Catholic schism; and shows how false have been the views of those who have lavished their praises upon the movement, regarding it as a religious reformation of Christian doctrine and practice similar in its nature to that of the sixteenth century;—how narrow the views of those who have pitied the leaders for their imbecility, or condemned them for the *negative* character of the confessions of faith which they have promulgated, without perceiving that it is this very absence of religious doctrine which gives to the movement its positive, definite character, which makes it a new religion, different from any the world has ever seen before, which constitutes it, what it boasts itself to be, '*a new way of* '*salvation*, in which, after all the formations and transforma-'tions which *Christian dogmatics* have assumed under the hands 'of councils, synods, universities and theologians, *Christian* '*morality* has been put forward, and made the chief ground of 'religious zeal and anxiety.'

ART. IV.—*The English Works of* THOMAS HOBBES, *of Malmesbury; now first collected and edited by* SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, *Bart.* 11 Vols. Longman and Co.

THOMÆ HOBBES, *Malmesburiensis, Opera philosophica, quæ latinè scripsit omnia; in unum corpus nunc primum collecta, studio et labore* GULIELMI MOLESWORTH. 5 Tom. Apud Longman et Soc.

WHEN an author, who began to write more than two hundred years ago, and whose pen and voice have both been silent for more than a century and a half, comes before the literary world in a new dress, and under novel auspices, we naturally inquire the reason of his reappearance. In his day he laboured, and had his influence, strengthened this side or that, was the object of general honour or dislike; or, if too inconsiderable to attract such wide-spread notice, at least had a little world of his own, in which he was a great man, made enemies on his own small scale, and drew a scanty knot of admirers about him. But this is over; he has become matter of history; the multitude have ceased to think of him. A few only of those who wrote so long ago are still generally read and studied. Both the names and the works of the greater part are buried in the dust of our libraries. Another class, intermediate both in importance and number, are still well known by name; the 'well-informed' man is familiar with the titles of their principal works, yet he may be unacquainted with their contents, and not blush at his ignorance. In this class comes Hobbes. Every one knows who is meant by 'the author of the Leviathan.' What kind of matter is heralded by that quaint and suggestive title, the majority know, and will continue to know, only at second-hand, from the occasional allusions to Hobbes, in the pages of more distinguished contemporaries, from the refutations which have overwhelmed his opinions, and at the same time preserved their memory, or, at best, from some such synoptical view of his system as that given by Mr. Hallam.

Why then, we ask, has Sir William Molesworth selected the works of Hobbes as the field of his editorial labours? This is no idle or aimless question. The man of literature, like the artist, is responsible for his choice of a subject, as well as for his method of treating it. This responsibility increases, in proportion as his labours are meant to tell directly on the actual ork of life. We do not look very closely into the matter of an chronicle, or the moral of a half unintelligible ballad, which happen to interest the literary antiquarian. Evil is not, like

good, immortal. The plague-infection may cling for a long time to the bones of its victim, but at last it leaves them; they may be tossed on the shore of time, till they are blanched by wind and water. Though they may be valued too highly, we must still respect the feelings which treasure the relics of the past. Again, we make great allowances for those, who, full of admiration of some noble character, are led by their enthusiasm to attach undue importance to his literary remains. It is well, that the statesman who was greater in the chamber than in the study; that the soldier who was less skilful with the pen than with the sword; that all who have left their impress on the world in a larger character than is easily contained on paper, should find some devoted admirer, to whom that which they wrote indifferently should be precious, in virtue of that which they acted nobly. Nothing which is not excellent in itself is more genuine and less displeasing than the exaggeration of well-placed affection. But, while we allow considerable latitude to the critic and the biographer, we are bound to regard any endeavour to revive old opinions with as much jealous scrutiny as we should bestow on the introduction of new. Nor must we, in the struggle of intellect, despise those who have recourse to the armoury of former ages. The weapons may be still serviceable, though of somewhat unusual shape; more massive than those of modern days, if therefore not so easily wielded; of better tried strength, though of less brilliant polish. The editor whose object is proselytism should be subjected to exactly the same ordeal as an author. If his acknowledged aim is to convince his readers, he will not object to such a procedure; if he conceals his motives, he fights under false colours, and deserves no mercy. We believe Sir William Molesworth would at once avow, that he looks with no unfavourable eye on Hobbism. However this may be, a brief notice of the author, and the treatment he receives at his editor's hands, will show to which class the edition belongs, and leave us at liberty to form our judgment accordingly. It will be plain that it originates directly, neither from the love of literary labour, nor from admiration of the man, but from sympathy with the opinions of the writer.

We cannot suspect Sir William Molesworth of the desire to erect Hobbes into a hero. Considering the stirring times in which he lived, he could scarcely have had a personal history less attractive and interesting. Perhaps the most prominent feature of his life is the very obvious one of its length. Born in 1588, when the terrors of the Armada seemed to be shaking the firm-set throne of Elizabeth, he lived through the troublous period of civil war and confusion, witnessed the end of the Protectorate, and died in 1679, when Charles the Second had pos-

sessed for nearly twenty years his hereditary dominions. The son of a poor clergyman, he was indebted for an Oxford education to his uncle, a rich glover and alderman of Malmesbury. At Magdalen Hall he enjoyed the full benefits of puritan training. On taking his B.A. degree, the recommendation of the then Principal led to his introduction to the Cavendish family. He was tutor successively to two future earls of Devonshire. The connexion once formed, was never broken off, though for a period of three years it was suspended by accidental circumstances. The civil war, and the shadows which it cast before it, in part interrupted the even tenor of his life. His pen testified his apprehensions. He was induced to publish his translation of Thucydides, 'to the 'end that the follies of the democratic Athenians might be laid 'open to the men of our country.' The Parliament of 1640, by its attacks on the regal power, provoked him to assert the inalienable rights of sovereignty. He wrote a treatise on the subject, of which, though not printed, several copies were circulated; his name became known, and he began to fear for his safety. He regarded with alarm the condemnation of Mainwaring, who, he said, 'preached his doctrine.' Accordingly, he fled to Paris. But his political opinions were of a kind not likely to be long obnoxious to any rulers who were conscious of power. Thus he could venture back to England in 1650 or 51, about the time that he published his 'Leviathan.' Neither was the Restoration to him a source of terror. While at Paris, he had instructed Charles, then Prince of Wales, in the elements of mathematics; and the King had no serious cause of enmity against his old tutor. On the contrary, he seems to have liked him; at least, he received him graciously at court, and granted him a pension: though more willing, as may be supposed, to patronize the man than to sanction his works. For Hobbes was not insignificant enough to escape the censure of parliament, which thought it worth its while, in October, 1666, formally to condemn the Leviathan. This had some effect on its author; though he retracted nothing, he became more cautious, and seems to have been really possessed with an idea that the bishops had a plan to burn him. However, nothing of the kind occurred, and he lived quietly on. Some years before his death, he finally left London, and henceforth divided his time between Chatsworth and Hardwick, both seats of his patron. At the latter place he died, without the offices of religion, in December 1679.

As there was nothing heroical in the incidents of his life, so her was there in his conduct. He displayed neither signal ues nor flagrant vices. One good quality he possessed, which ht seem foreign to the general character, both of the man his philosophy; and that was liberality. He was careful

for the welfare of his poor relations, and made provision for the child of his sin. Though in their excess he might despise the vices of the day, he did not pretend to hate them. A saying of his has been recorded, that he had been drunk in his life a hundred times, 'which,' his biographer quaintly observes, 'considering his great age, did not amount to above once a year.' No artificial polish of manner helped to render him an attractive character. We read, indeed, that he was recommended to his first patron by his 'sedulity, temperate and jocund humour;' but either his prudential turn of mind, which was strong from the first, made him careful in his bearing, or his temper altered with his years. Those who enjoyed his confidence tell of his open and cheerful disposition; but he was not anxious to display these favourable points of character to strangers. Even at court his rough and surly humour showed itself, though doubtless under proper restraint. 'Here comes the bear to be baited,' was the customary salutation of the merry monarch. And Lord Clarendon, writing, in old age and exile, against the 'false and evil' doctrines of the Leviathan, while he allows to Hobbes the praise of 'probity and a life free from scandal,' has a passage alluding to this defect, which it may be worth while to quote.

'The work receives great credit and authority from the 'known name of the author, a man of excellent parts, of great 'wit, some reading, and somewhat more thinking; one who has 'spent many years in foreign parts, and observation, understands 'the learned as well as modern languages; hath long had the 'reputation of a great philosopher and mathematician, and in his age 'hath had conversation with very many worthy and extraordinary 'men, to which, it may be, if he had been more indulgent in the 'more vigorous part of his life, it might have had a greater 'influence upon the temper of his mind; whereas age seldom 'submits to those questions, inquiries, and contradictions, which 'the laws and liberty of conversation require. And it hath 'been always a lamentation among Mr. Hobbes' friends, that he 'spent too much time in thinking, and too little in exercising 'those thoughts in the company of other men of the same, or of 'as good faculties, for want whereof his natural constitution, 'with age, contracted such a morosity, that doubting and con-'tradicting men were never grateful to him.'

The most interesting point of view, perhaps, in which we can regard Hobbes, is incidentally mentioned by Lord Clarendon in the above quotation—his connexion during the course of his long life, with great and extraordinary men. On either side of the civil war—in the reigns of James and Charles I., during the Protectorate, and after the Restoration, famous names cluster about him. Ben Jonson, Cowley, Lord Falkla-

Gassendi, Galileo, Harvey, Selden, Chillingworth, are included in the list of his acquaintance. Milton acknowledged his talents, but did not like him. There could be no sympathy between the materialist and the poet—the advocate of an ideal despotism, and the stern practical republican. But to pass from his friends to his enemies, and to dwell on the storm of opposition which his writings raised up against him, would be to open a subject of almost indefinite extent, and foreign to our present purpose. We must not however forget that his literary history is associated with that of Lord Bacon and Descartes. As a translator of the writings of the former into Latin from the original English, his name occurs in connexion, oddly enough, with that of George Herbert. Nor was this the only way in which Hobbes was useful to Bacon. The active mind of the ex-chancellor could not bear to be unemployed, even while he was walking in his 'delicate' groves at Gorhambury. His custom was to have a companion at his side, ready to commit to writing any thought which suddenly occurred to him. For this purpose Hobbes was a favourite. His notes were always intelligible, for he understood what he wrote. No wonder that others, who were less quick in catching the philosopher's meaning, were less accurate in registering it. With Descartes he crossed spears in a friendly contest. He supplied the third set of objections to his famous 'Meditations.' In compiling these, he probably took more pains than Descartes in answering them. The French metaphysician undoubtedly treats his English opponent with considerable contempt. This, we must confess, is at least in part deserved. Hobbes is far too self-confident and dogmatic to appreciate the position of those who differ from him. He cannot sympathize with them sufficiently to understand their meaning; he insists on regarding every question from his favourite point of view, and fails to do justice even to the phraseology of his adversary, which he will interpret by no philosophy but his own. His absolute inability to understand the Cartesian use of the word 'idea,' rendered the refutation of his separate arguments almost unnecessary. All ideas, he would teach us, are gained through the senses; we can therefore have no idea of the Supreme Being, or even of an angel. Arguing, as he does, on this startling assumption, he meets with little consideration from the philosopher, one of whose favourite positions was, that from the existence of the idea of God, could be drawn a proof of His necessary being.

But Hobbes did not by any means confine himself to criticizing the systems of others. He devised a complete circle of losophy of his own. No subject was left untouched—mathematics, physics, ethics, politics, or theology; on all he wrote, most acutely, on none safely. The merit of his mathematical

works is not at all in proportion to their number. Nor could we anticipate excellence from the circumstances under which he began his geometrical studies, or the spirit in which he pursued them. When forty years old, he happened to take up Euclid's Elements in a gentleman's library. The forty-seventh proposition of the first book attracted his attention; and on reading the enunciation, he exclaimed with a profane oath that it was impossible; but a little study bestowed on the demonstration convinced him of his mistake.

From this beginning arose his love for Geometry. But his experience of the falsity of first impressions did not succeed in making him attach due weight to authority. For the opinion of others, however well supported, he always had a great contempt. It was a common remark of his, that 'if he had read 'as much as other men, he should have continued still as igno-'rant as other men.' This extreme independence of thought he manifested in his mathematical investigations. His treatise 'De principiis et ratione Geometrarum' was written to prove that there is no more certainty in the works of mathematicians than in those of physical or moral philosophers, and was directed, as the title-page informs us, 'contra fastum geometrarum.' One sentence of the dedication is startling. 'Whereas I differ 'from almost every geometer, I perceive my reputation to be in 'considerable danger. Of those who have written on these 'subjects, either all are mad but me, or I alone am mad. 'The choice lies between these two opinions, unless (as some 'may perhaps assert) we are all mad together.' The result of his labours is such as might be expected from his unhappy rashness. The new is not true, and the true is not new; while he is content to follow, he displays his usual acuteness; when he becomes original, he gains nothing but errors peculiarly his own. 'One had rather err with him, than hit the mark with Clavius,' was the language even of his friends—a sentiment which always breathes the hyperbole of affection, and becomes absolutely unmeaning when abstract truth is in question.

His physical philosophy can, at best, claim no higher place. With a want of judgment particularly inexcusable in one who had shared the converse of Bacon, he censured the infant Royal Society for its devotion to minute experiment. His own method was eminently untrustworthy, though his conclusions were sometimes right, as the guesses of a clever man will be. He employs no regular system for verifying his results, but is content to exercise his inventive powers in assigning 'probable causes' to phenomena—causes, it must be admitted, often inadequate to the effects, and sometimes palpably absurd; as when thunder and lightning are attributed to the sudden snappir asunder of a thoroughly frozen cloud.

But it were well if Hobbes had confined himself to subjects in which error has a comparatively slight tendency to perpetuate itself;—in which the element of truth survives, when that which is false has died off it, untinged by the prejudices which attended the inquiry, the defective character of the inquirer, or the angry jealousies which mingled in the original controversy. Morals, however, could not escape his handling. At an evil and a boding time, he turned his thoughts from numbers and quantities, and began to write of men and states. England was unquiet and disturbed; the clouds of civil commotion were gathering about her, and assuming a definite shape; men's hearts were ominous of the evils which were soon to open on their eyes in the great rebellion. Of the symptoms around him, Hobbes was a close and accurate observer. The facts did not escape him: curious in themselves, they promised to issue in still more striking phenomena. When earnest-minded men were steeling their nerves and sharpening their swords, he began to construct a practical system. When matters were drawing closer to the crisis, and loyal and disloyal alike were burning to express in deeds those feelings for which they found no adequate vent in words, he retired, that he might not be hindered by actual anarchy from pursuing his speculations on government. In 1640, he penned the dedication of his 'Human Nature' to the Duke of Newcastle. The civil war broke out; battle after battle was fought; a king was deposed and murdered. Meanwhile, Hobbes from his study at Paris presented to the world at irregular intervals certain treatises on politics. In 1652, the struggle was over; and he had completed the Leviathan. The rebels had gained the day; he had invented a new moral world, and exhausted it. England, wearied by her own efforts, was ready to accept quietly the rule of the Protector; Hobbes having completed his practical labours, was longing to return 'to the uninterrupted speculation of bodies natural.'

What his expressed opinions were on morals, politics and religion, few, if any, can be wholly ignorant. To repeat them would be tedious: yet they seem to deserve some notice at our hands. Without any attempt at detailing them, we will state, as briefly as may be, and, for the most part, in his own words, the most characteristic and important.

Foremost, and best known, is his 'selfish' theory. All affections, he held, have for their sole object the gratification of him who entertains them. Nothing is sought for its own sake, but everything for the sake of the seeker. In carrying out this view, results startled him. To make room for it, he calmly dicts the plain decisions of experience, and the received g of words. 'Gift, free gift, grace,' for instance, he

explains to be when 'one of the parties transferreth, in hope to 'gain thereby friendship, or service from another, or from his 'friends; or in hope to gain the reputation of charity, or magna-'nimity; or to deliver his mind from the pain of compassion; or 'in hope of reward in heaven.'—(*Lev.* ch. xiv.) The tears of reconciliation are accounted for by supposing, that the reconciled parties being previously bent on revenge, are disappointed 'when the revenge is suddenly stopt or frustrated by the 'repentance of their adversary.'—(*Hum. Nat.* ch. ix. § 14.) Worship is explained away, because '*Cultus* signifieth properly, 'and constantly, that labour which a man bestows on anything, 'with a purpose to make benefit by it.'—(*Lev.* ch. xxxi.) Human nature, in this scheme, obeys a single law. This law, we are told very consistently, acts uniformly and necessarily. The following explanation of liberty will please the necessitarian.

'Liberty, or freedom, signifieth (properly) the absence of opposition; (by opposition I mean external impediments of motion;) and may be applied no less to irrational and inanimate creatures, than to rational. For whatsoever is so tied or environed as it cannot move, but within a certain space, which space is determined by the opposition of some external body, we say it hath not liberty to go further. And so of living creatures, whilst they are imprisoned or restrained with walls or chains, and of the water, whilst it is kept in by banks or vessels, that otherwise would spread itself into a larger space, we use to say—that they are not at liberty to move in such a manner, as without those external impediments they would. But when the impediment of motion is in the constitution of the thing itself, we use not to say, it wants the liberty, but the power, to move; as when a stone lieth still, or a man is fastened to his bed by sickness.

'And according to this proper, and generally received meaning of the word, a freeman is he, that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindered to do what he has a will to. But . . . from the use of the word *free-will*, no liberty can be inferred of the will, desire, or inclination, but the liberty of the man; which consisteth in this, that he finds no stop, in doing what he has the will, desire, or inclination to do.'—*Lev.* chap. xxi.

In any system of morals, which denies the freedom of the will, the distinction of right and wrong, as an objective rule of conduct, can find no place. At best, it would be unnecessary; all would work as well without it. Hobbes has no love for unnecessary apparatus, and therefore rejects it.

'Every man, for his own part, calleth that which pleaseth, and is delightful to himself, *good*; and that *evil* which displeaseth him: insomuch that while every man differeth from other in constitution, they differ also from one another concerning the common distinction of good and evil. Nor is there any such thing as absolute goodness, considered without relation; for even the goodness which we apprehend in God Almighty, is His goodness to us.'—*Hum. Nat.* chap. viii. § 3.

In the absence of any such external practical standard, every man has, previously to the institution of a governing power, a

equal right to every thing. This, as may be imagined, he will be disposed to vindicate. The state of nature is therefore a state of war.

'To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice. Force and fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues. Justice and injustice are none of the faculties neither of the body, nor mind. If they were, they might be in a man that was alone in the world, as well as his senses and passions. They are qualities, that relate to men in society, not in solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition, that there be no propriety (property), no dominion, no *mine* and *thine* distinct: but only that to be every man's that he can get; and for so long as he can keep it.'—*Lev.* ch. xiii.

To attain peace, the rule of justice must be established and recognised; and this depends on law. But law implies a governing power. The appointment of such a power by consent of the multitude, in other words, the institution of a commonwealth, is the great step towards the attainment of order.

'A commonwealth is said to be instituted, when a multitude of men do agree and covenant, every one with every one, that to whatsoever man or assembly of men shall be given, by the major part, the right to present the person of them all, (that is to say, to be their representative,) every one, as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments of that man or assembly of men, in the same manner as if they were his own: to the end to live peaceably amongst themselves and be protected against other men.

'From this institution of a commonwealth are derived all the rights and faculties of him or them, on whom sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled.'—*Lev.* ch. xviii.

The sovereign, being thus invested with the power of all his subjects, is henceforth strictly absolute. A limited government is an anomaly. The sole ruler is also the sole representative; to allow that title to any subordinate deputy or deputies is a dangerous error. And the sovereignty must be as extensive as it is absolute: to contrast the spiritual and temporal powers, is, in fact, treason against the civil governor.

'As there have been doctors, that hold there be three souls in a man; so there be also that think there may be more souls (that is, more sovereigns) than one, in a commonwealth, and set up a *supremacy* against the *sovereignty*, *canons* against *laws*, and a *ghostly* authority against the *civil*, working on men's minds with words and distinctions that of themselves signify nothing, but bewray (by their obscurity) that there walketh (as some think, invisibly) another kingdom, as it were a kingdom of fairies, in the dark. Now seeing it is manifest, that the civil power, and the power of the commonwealth, is the same thing, and that supremacy and the power of making
ons, and granting faculties implieth a commonwealth; it followeth, that
one is sovereign, another supreme, where one can make laws, and
make canons, there must needs be two commonwealths of one and
ne subjects; which is a kingdom divided in itself, and cannot
—*Lev.* ch. xxix.

The civil ruler is, therefore, as such, supreme ruler ecclesiastical.

'If a man therefore should ask a pastor in the execution of his office, as the chief priests and elders of the people asked our Saviour, *by what authority dost thou these things, and who gave thee this authority*, he can make no other just answer, but that he does it by the authority of the commonwealth, given him by the king or assembly that representeth it. All pastors, except the supreme, execute their charges in the right, that is, in the authority of the civil sovereign, that is *jure civili*. But the king, and every other sovereign, executeth his office of supreme pastor by immediate authority from God, that is to say, in *God's right*, or *jure divino*. And therefore none but kings can put into their titles (a mark of their submission to God only) *Dei Gratia Rex*, &c. Bishops ought to say in the beginning of their mandates, *by the favour of the King's Majesty, Bishop of such a Diocese;* or, as civil ministers, in His *Majesty's name*. For in saying *Divinâ Providentiâ*, which is the same with *Dei gratiâ*, though disguised, they deny to have received their authority from the civil state, and slily slip off the collar of their civil subjection, contrary to the union and defence of the commonwealth.'—*Lev.* ch. xlii.

It follows, that

'If every Christian sovereign be the supreme pastor of his own subjects, it seemeth that he hath also the authority, not only to preach, (which perhaps no man will deny,) but also to baptize, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to consecrate both temples and pastors to God's service.'—*Lev.* ch. xlii.

And lastly, obedience to God and the civil ruler, whether Christian or infidel, can never be inconsistent; for

'If he be a Christian, he alloweth the belief of this article, that *Jesus is the Christ*, and of all the articles that are contained in, or are by evident consequence deduced from it; which is all the faith necessary to salvation. And because he is a sovereign, he requireth obedience to all his own, that is to say, to all the civil laws, in which also are contained all the laws of nature, that is, all the laws of God: for besides the laws of nature, and the laws of the church, which are part of the civil law, (for the church that can make laws is the commonwealth,) there can be no other laws divine.

'And when the civil sovereign is an infidel, every one of his own subjects that resisteth him sinneth against the laws of God, (for such are the laws of nature,) and rejecteth the counsel of the Apostles, that admonisheth all Christians to obey their princes, and all children and servants to obey their parents and masters, in all things. And for their faith, it is internal and invisible; they have the license that Naaman had, and need not put themselves in danger for it.'—*Lev.* ch. xliii.

On reading these extracts, the question naturally occurs, Was Hobbes himself a Christian? We shall not decide uncharitably, if we answer in the negative. The tendency of his writings is deistical: and on such points he thought more strongly than he wrote. Nothing can be inferred to the contrary from his frequent quotations from Scripture, or his direct assertion, at times, of some of the details of the Christian creed. Holy Writ, and all deductions from it, he expressly declares to derive authority from the command of the civil magistrate; to echo whose sentiments is the bounden duty of the subject. Accor-

dingly, he hazards no open attack on Christianity, only pleading guilty to a great terror of priestcraft—a plea which, for the most part, interprets itself. In this respect his practice was quite on a par with his profession. During his illness in France he dismissed the divines, Roman, Anglican, and Genevan, who crowded round his bed, in the not over-complimentary formula, 'Let me alone, or else I will detect all your cheats, from Aaron to yourselves.' And when the clergyman came to attend the last moments of his friend Selden, Hobbes would not admit him, addressing these abominable words to the dying man: 'What, will you, that have written like a man, now die like a woman?' His own conformity appears to have been the result, in part of indifference, in part of fear. His dread of episcopal censure, seconded by the civil arm, made him, in the latter years of his life, a more regular attendant at divine worship: it can scarcely be hoped, a more devout one. The views he has given on particular points of doctrine are a strange farrago of self-contradictory heresies, which it is hard to avoid believing were intended by him to re-act on the minds of his hearers, and to tell against the truth of the hypothesis on which they professed to be grounded. One of his less considerable adversaries, no match for him in intellectual strength, a simple and perhaps credulous individual, who gives him credit for really meaning all he says, accumulates a fearful list of accusations against him. Hobbes, according to this writer, 'in holding life eternal to be only on 'earth, is a Cerinthian and Mahometan; in giving to God corpo-'reity, he is an Anthropomorphite, Manichæan, Tertullianist, 'and Audæan; in holding the three Persons to be distinct names 'and essences represented by Moses, Christ, and the Apostles, he 'is a Sabellian, Montanist, Aetian, and Priscillianist; in saying 'that Christ personated God the Son, he is a Nestorian, giving 'him two personalities, for no person can personate himself; in 'denying spirits he is a Sadducean; in making the soul to rest with 'the body till the resurrection, he is an Arabian; in making the 'soul of man corporeal, he is a Luciferian; by putting a period to 'hell torments, he is an Origenist; by teaching dissimulation in 'religion, he is a Tacian or Encratite; in making God the cause 'of injustice or sin, he is a Manichee; in slighting Christ's miracles, 'he is a Jew; and in making our natural reason the word of God, 'he is a Socinian.' This same author, the once well-known Alexander Rosse, had, it appears, previously written a work, called 'The new Planet no Planet,' in which he had, as he thought, shown 'the vanity of that whimsical opinion of the 'earth's motion.' Perhaps he had a particular love for a complicated problem, and saw no beauty in the simplicity of a solution. Here, however, we are not bound to follow him.

We venture to rid ourselves of all the cumbrous array of epicycles, by supposing the earth to move. In like manner, we may spare ourselves the trouble of heaping heresies on the head of the philosopher of Malmesbury, and simply declare the fact—that he was an infidel.

If there is any one point on which Hobbes' claims to praise are undisputed, it is found in the excellence of his style. His clear and transparent language exhibits the substratum of thought to the mind, uncoloured and undistorted by the medium through which we view it. Pointed and concise, his sentences fall more naturally and easily on our degenerate ears, than the long unbroken roll of sound so common in the mighty periods of his contemporaries. Always knowing exactly his own meaning he always enunciates it distinctly. One thought comes at a time: and each prepares the way for its successor. These merits of our author have been fully appreciated. Mr. Hallam is disposed to think him 'the first of whom we can strictly say that he is a good English writer;' and this in spite of the excellent passages which he acknowledges are to be found in Hooker, Sidney, Raleigh, Bacon, Taylor, and Chillingworth. It will suffice to add the testimony of Sir James Mackintosh, who has pronounced his style to be 'the very perfection of didactic language.' This is indeed high praise; but its value may be overrated. It is a fair question, how far the nature of Hobbes' speculations has influenced his mode of expressing them. He is eminently a philosopher of phenomena, with views rather distinct than broad, and a mind in which the perceptive faculties quite overpower the reflective. His data are for the most part accessible to every one; from these he generalizes freely, and is never startled by his conclusions. Calmly conscious of his superior powers of discernment, he lays his store of facts before the admiring reader. These are not very numerous, or collected from a great variety of sources; but they are good specimens of their kind, and chosen with a definite end. They are his evidence; and from the first blush of this evidence it is his pride to argue. His method of arguing does not consist in weighing counter-probabilities, or arbitrating between conflicting opinions. Only one view on every subject is considered worthy of grave attention; and that is, his own. To debate the correctness of this, would be an acknowledgment of weakness he has no intention of making. So constant is the tone of superior penetration, that we soon become accustomed to it. The only way to read the Leviathan, for instance, is under a general protest, that we have a right to our own opinion; were we to assert this right whenever our author seems inclined to question it, almost every page would afford an occasion for a skirmish.

without being tedious, they become familiar. The unguarded mind, which hesitates the first time it meets with an illustration, may accept it the second. When a reader can peruse passages like the above without being pained or annoyed, Hobbes has gained a disciple. And books of later date than the Leviathan tell in the same way. The two latter extracts may have led some of our readers to inquire—Is there any necessary connexion between questionable Divinity and Logic?

Let us now turn for a time from Hobbes to Sir William Molesworth. Here, too, we must be sparing of our praise; the claims of the editor depend, in this case, almost entirely on those of the author. The merits of an edition, like those of an original work, must lie either in the intention, or the execution. On neither ground do the labours of Sir William Molesworth call for high approbation. The edition of Hobbes is what it professes to be, and no more,—a collection and reprint of his works. The arrangement, perhaps, is as good as could be given where none could be satisfactory; for Hobbes, in his different writings, sadly repeats himself; and it is impossible, for this reason, to place them in an order which shall not at times offend. There is no display or pretence of critical learning; a short introductory notice is given where it is thought necessary; but the writer never seems tempted to extend it beyond moderate limits, or to indulge in that minuteness of research which rejoices in a multitude of details.

In the absence of any marked character in the edition itself, greater importance naturally attaches to the motives which prompted it. And here the foregoing remarks may aid us in forming a decision. No delight in literary inquiries has made Sir William Molesworth an editor. It is quite an inadequate account of these sixteen handsome volumes, to view them simply as a result of the taste which leads so many to pursue studies requiring great industry and exactness, but yielding little fruit; which teaches them to be content with an audience fit, though few, and to claim as the reward of their toil the applause of men of letters, not of the world in general. We have no symptoms of the mind which delights to look into the past, and invest the most inconsiderable names with their peculiar associations; which, curious in details itself, would inspire others with its curiosity; which gilds the most insignificant trifles with its enthusiasm; and loves editorial labours for their own sake. Sir William Molesworth may be a philosopher, or a statesman; he certainly is not a critic, or a biographer. On the other hand, as we before observed, sympathy with Hobbes as a man is morally impossible. No feeling of personal admiration could have urged his editor to the task, unless he first made, and then acted on, a

new definition of a hero. The charm lies in the writer, 'one of 'the greatest and most original thinkers,' we are told, 'in the 'English language.' That his works have been 'so much less read and studied than they deserved to be,' was a remark of Mr. Grote, which Sir William Molesworth approves and echoes. 'To bring his views again before his countrymen, who have so long and so unjustly neglected him,' is the object of this edition.

What moral value we should set on such a purpose is beyond a doubt. He who would rekindle the flame of extinct controversy, and recall departed errors; who would let in the light of day upon the past, not with a desire to collect its treasures, but in the hope that the heat of the sunbeam might perchance revive some torpid monster, whom cold and darkness had long kept idle in his den, deserves our contempt if he fail, and a feeling not more favourable, but only more energetic, if he succeed.

Intentions, however, are not always good tests of consequences. He who forms a plan, and acts upon it, may not anticipate its results. Men often pay an involuntary tribute to truth by furthering while they oppose it; and so, some may think, it will be with this edition of Hobbes. Circumstances are altered since his time; facts and principles have gained a different bearing. In reading in the nineteenth century writings which presuppose the social condition of the seventeenth, we may use our own canon of interpretation; we must translate, as it were, the thoughts into another language. New meanings may be evolved in the process, and unexpected truths elicited. By a happy alchemy we may change much of the dross into gold.

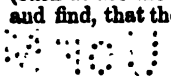
Were this true in the abstract (which it is not, except under great limitations,) it does not apply to Hobbes. He cannot fairly be viewed as a mere writer of the day. With him, as with all, external circumstances suggested thoughts; but his own mind shaped them. He is, in the full sense of the word, a systematic writer; he adopts an idea, and developes it. The Leviathan does not belong, in virtue of its contents, to any particular time; it is an attempt to construct the social scheme *à priori*, though on a false and degrading hypothesis; it is as truly ideal as the 'new moral world' of the Socialist, or Plato's Republic. It has definite principles of its own: its tendencies must therefore be constant and uniform; and these are towards evil. If the writings of Hobbes are to effect anything, it will be now, and ever, mischief. To show this, it may be worth while considering the two main principles on which he has based his philosophy—his nominalism and his materialism.

When we say that Hobbes was a nominalist, we do not mean to limit the word to its strict original signification. In that sense, it has lost all interest—except as a matter of histor

Questions about the real existence of genus and species are now simply unmeaning. The reason of this is obvious; genus and species are no longer *facts:* their day is over; like faded beauties they have withdrawn to the back-ground: we do not realize them sufficiently to care what is determined about them, or to contest very vigorously the predicate of any proposition, to which they are the subjects. Or, to take another view of the matter, the question has, with many others, been transferred from Logic to Physics. We have of late heard it doubted, whether the different races of animals were distinct from the first; whether they are sprung from so many pairs as there are species, and preserve their original arrangement; or whether the kinds are always fluctuating and gliding into one another, so that new circumstances produce new species, not mere varieties, and the offspring may belong to a different class from its parent. We have here a question, which is put too prominently forward not to be entertained, though the innovators are bound to prove their position before they can require us to accede to it;—a question on which we can tell, with tolerable certainty, the opinions which Aquinas and Ockham would respectively have held, had they lived in the nineteenth century, and read the 'Novum Organon.' Broad differences of opinion lie deep in the nature of man, and outlive their old symbols. The author of the 'Vestiges of Creation' is the extreme nominalist of the day.

The opinions of Hobbes bear a less marked resemblance to this new form of error than to the old. He over-stated the importance of words in reasoning, and made language less depend on thought, than thought on language; curiously consistent in his mistakes, he first materializes intellect, and then binds it by the laws of matter. All reasoning, he tells us in a passage already (p. 97) quoted, is nothing but addition and subtraction. Thus his logic becomes an 'art of computation,' a kind of complex arithmetic. Inference, it is therefore argued, is altogether impossible, except by aid of external symbols. Language is not only a contrivance for registering thought, but an indispensable requisite before the mind can pass from truth to truth, or understand the nature of universal propositions. The following passage gives his view on this subject with his usual clearness.

'By the imposition of names, some of larger, some of wider signification, we turn the reckoning of the consequences of things imagined in the mind, with a reckoning of the consequences of appellations. For example; a man that hath no use of speech at all (such as is born, and remains perfectly deaf and dumb) if he set before his eyes a triangle, and by it two right angles, (such as are the corners of a square figure,) he may by meditation compare and find, that the three angles of that triangle are equal to those two right



angles that stand by it. But if another triangle be shown him, different in shape from the former, he cannot know without a new labour, whether the three angles of that also be equal to the same. But he that hath the use of words, when he observes, that such equality was consequent, not to the length of the sides, nor to any other particular thing in his triangle, but only to this, that the sides were straight, and the angles three; and that that was all, for which he named it a triangle, will boldly conclude universally, that such equality of angles is in all triangles whatsoever, and register his invention in these general terms, *Every triangle hath his three angles equal to two right angles.* And thus the consequence found in one particular comes to be registered and remembered as an universal rule, and discharges our mental reckoning of time and place, and delivers us from all labour of the kind, saving the first, and makes that which was found true *here*, and *now*, to be true in *all times* and *places*.'—*Lev.* ch. iv.

Words then, according to Hobbes, are the material of knowledge, as well as its machinery, the destination as well as the road. Thus all knowledge labours under a double defect, being both verbal and conditional. This he states as follows:

'No discourse whatsoever can end in absolute knowledge of fact, past, or to come. For, as for the knowledge of fact, it is originally, sense, and ever after, memory. And for the knowledge of consequence, which I have said before is called science, it is not absolute, but conditional. No man can know by discourse, that this or that is; has been or will be; which is to know absolutely: but only, that if this be, that is; if this has been, that has been; if this shall be that shall be; which is to know conditionally; and that not the consequence of one thing to another; but of one name of a thing, to another name of the same thing.'—*Lev.* ch. vii.

Views such as these cast great light on the character of the person holding them. To say they are unphilosophical, is only a fragment of the truth; they are unfeeling, unnatural, inhuman. No earnest-minded man could continue sane, were he assured that this world is really the dream-world which Hobbes brings before us. The soul could not bear to stand alone for ever, within its charmed circle, surrounded by a host of phantoms, ever fading away, and ever succeeded by other appearances equally unreal, and defying every attempt to grasp them. The philosophy which endeavours to destroy the certainty of knowledge, is doing its best to cut through the beam which supports it. There is no need to exaggerate the difficulties which beset the inquiring mind, when it first pierces through the shell of things, and looks forth freely on the universe; when it begins to apprehend the antithesis between the *me* and the *not me*, the outer and the inner world; becoming conscious of the distinction between itself and that which it beholds, and standing out as a solitary figure in the foreground of the vast prospect it is contemplating. A deep distrust and terror possesses it, when it learns that objects and their appearances are not one and the same thing—that the phenomenon is but an image projected

the mind,—that the senses, far from piercing to the heart and centre of things, are, from the nature of their operation, necessarily superficial. If, pained and wearied with gazing on the sea of doubt, the philosophic mind resolves to make a mighty effort, and lay hold on certainty, it naturally contracts the sphere of its operations. Within fixed limits its powers may act with the greater intensity. The physical philosopher and the metaphysician portion out the world between them. Each seeks truth within his own province, in the full confidence that it is possible to find it. The former devotes his attention to that which the human mind receives; the latter to that which it gives. The one, forgetful of self, ranges through the world, and collects from every quarter partial materials for a mighty structure, of which he can but hope to turn an arch or raise a column; longing at least to do his part towards arranging in their proper order the dislocated fragments of the glorious temple of nature. The other, with a 'wise passiveness,' sits still at home, watching the truths that come of themselves, not unwelcome, though unbidden; curious, not so much in that which occurs to the mind, as in the laws which regulate such occurrence, the conditions which it cannot but observe in perceiving and reflecting. Either course has its pleasures, and its dangers too. The natural philosopher, while contemplating the being of external things, is apt to forget, or which is worse, intentionally to pass over his own. To take a fair and unbiassed view of nature, his soul should be calm and unprejudiced, a *lumen siccum*, which makes other things clear, but is itself invisible. At this state, which can be attained by nothing but the most diligent self-culture, he may hope to arrive by other and easier means. He may fall into the error of supposing, that when he ceases to regard himself, he is safe from prejudice; that his individuality can exercise no distorting influence on his perceptions, if he is not directly conscious of it; that the glass through which he looks does not tinge the view beyond it, if he is not aware that he is looking through it. The consequences of such a delusion are evident. He thinks he is performing his duty, if, ceasing to be a person, he becomes one thing out of many. He submits, a willing slave, to the general laws which bind the visible universe, and does not care to remember, that he has responsibilities which he cannot relinquish, and a soul which obeys other conditions than those of its material garment.

The dangers of the metaphysician are of a different character.
nd, turned upon itself, beholds there the world reflected,
nirror. That this reflection takes place, is his primary
this at least he is assured, that he is, and perceives.
it those shadows may be, that come and flit before him,

and depart; how far they possess, or truly represent, a substance; this is a question which he longs in vain to answer. That mind must be well trained indeed, which ventures on such an inquiry, and is never tempted to universal scepticism, which never fears that it is deluding itself, that it alone is real, and all these images are reproductions of itself, the fantasies of a pleasing madness. Or, should it escape these extreme doubts, it may yet be sensible in its lowest depths of despondency and disquiet, may mourn discontentedly over the limits which confine its knowledge, and exclaim, with the ['lady of Shalott,'] that it is 'half sick of shadows.'

We should wander from our present subject, were we here to insist, that the only safeguard against either form of scepticism is to be found in religion, which alone teaches man his true situation in the world, and, while it requires strict cultivation of self, demands also, as an indispensable means to that end, the contemplation of eternal verities. Here we should rather remark, that the extravagant theory of Hobbes is inconsistent alike with physical and metaphysical science. We cannot raise to the dignity of knowledge any mere concatenation of words, however close and ingenious. To make the attempt, is to place the mind in a posture altogether unnatural; as if it attained truth by moulding language at its pleasure, and not by submitting its thoughts to an external standard, and conforming them to the nature of things. No wonder, if we cannot attribute certainty to any such arbitrary results. A logic like this repeats to the echo the absurdities which arise from the selfish theory in morals. In either case we have faculties shackled in their operations, by being restricted to themselves; debarred from their lawful objects, and turned inwards to be self-consumed by a diseased and unnatural action; losing that directness and confidence which belongs to a power freely tending towards its proper end, and tossing idly this way and that in a most unenviable independence. Such are the evils of beginning where we should end. Detach man as a practical being from his fellow-creatures; make him the sole object of his own affections; and the consequence is, that this nobly independent agent, acting for himself alone, proves on closer inspection to be a mere machine. He has escaped from external influence to become the slave of internal necessity. So again in the intellectual world: begin by taking the narrow ground of scepticism: deny that things are more than they seem: account for the phenomena of human nature by the most jejune hypothesis possible; let sense have all, and faith nothing:—and for a time the soul seems fixed in itself, possessed of the secret of the world, and proud of the consciousness of knowledge. But this cannot last: facts wil

not narrow themselves to suit theories; they will multiply and extend beyond the bounds which system has allotted them; they will even venture to be at variance with prior assumptions, and contradict the hypothesis they were meant implicitly to obey. Then the unhappy philosopher discovers that the universe is too large for his mind, and gives up the ineffectual endeavour to balance the inverted pyramid of knowledge. Thus he relapses into the scepticism from which he fancied he had escaped, and consoles himself meanwhile by thinking, that after all he has been as near the truth as it is possible for man to go. His failure has given him assurance, and he becomes positive in his disbelief. His whole method may be an assumption; but then, all knowledge is conditional. At the bottom of his broadest conclusions may lie a concealed doubt; but then, no one can attain to certainty. 'Evil, be thou my good,' might be his watch-word. Of this he is sure, that he can be sure of nothing.

But perhaps it is not in this quarter that our present dangers threaten us. The sceptical school has indeed its disciples; but they are already provided with teachers, who have left Hobbes far behind. And the general mind is at present so occupied with one impression, that it cannot readily admit its contrary. 'Knowledge is power,' was the cry of a few years ago, which is now being acted out. Men see that knowledge gives them the command not only of words, but of things. They will not be easily persuaded to disbelieve their own experience, or to surrender to theory the facts of which they have actual possession. In this respect we may trust the common-sense of the multitude, so long as speculation keeps its practical bias, and increasing intelligence continues to promote the conveniences of life, and reduce the luxuries of former days to the level of ordinary comforts.

Were we disposed to be despondent, we should look with much more terror on the other main tenet of Hobbes—his materialism. Here he has gone all length in assertion, having left to his successors only the more difficult task of proof. Matter he affirms to be the only being; of this, spirit is a finer form.

'The world (I mean not the earthly one, that denominates the lovers of it worldly men, but the universe, that is, the whole mass of beings that are.) is corporeal, that is to say, body; and hath the dimensions of magnitude, namely, length, breadth, and depth; also every part of body is likewise body, and hath the like dimensions: and consequently every part of the universe is body; and that which is not body is no part of the universe: and because the universe is all, that which is no part of it is *nothing*: and consequently *nowhere*. Nor does it follow from hence, that spirits are nothing; for they have dimensions, and are therefore really bodies, though

that name in common speech be given to such bodies only as are visible, or palpable: that is, that have some degree of opacity. But for spirits, they call them incorporeal; which is a name of more honour, and may therefore, with more piety be attributed to God Himself; in Whom we consider not what attribute expresseth best His nature, which is incomprehensible; but what best expresseth our desire to honour Him.'—*Lev.* ch. xlvi.

Accordingly, when Archbishop Bramhall, in objecting to this theory of corporeal spirits, argued that God must be either incorporeal or finite, the answer of Hobbes was, 'I deny both, and say, He is corporeal and infinite.' This position would seem almost necessarily to lead to some form of Pantheism akin to that of Spinosa, in whose system God is the substance of which all things are modes. Hobbes, however, never commits himself to any statement of the kind; and, in one passage of the Leviathan, appears to oppose this and cognate errors—perhaps from caution, perhaps because such views were too imaginative, and suggested paradoxes too transcendental to please his cold argumentative temper. The legitimate consequences of his own view he of course accepts, such as the materiality of the soul, and therefore of imagination, thought, and intellectual acts in general.

To state in detail the conclusions which Hobbes draws from his favourite hypothesis would be to recapitulate much that we have already said. Forming, as it does, the foundation of his shallow system, it is continually showing through. Even where the overgrowth of thought covers the barren rock, its outline is still perceptible. To recur once more to his best-known dogma: the theory of universal selfishness is the natural offspring of materialism; on any other supposition, it would want that coherency which could alone enable it to stand for a moment against the overpowering weight of the opposing facts. If, on the other hand, the mind be once viewed as a subtle form of matter, a nobler species of 'imponderable,' any repugnancy to accept the doctrine becomes almost unreasonable, a strong probability in favour of its truth is established, and the *onus probandi* is transferred. Analogies from the physical world then come in to bear with considerable force and directness. As every atom, however subordinate to the system of which it is a part, has yet a little kingdom of its own, and excludes all beside itself from the portion of space it occupies; as on this small unalienable tenancy depend its complicated relations to its brother-atoms, and its very distinctness gives it its only value; so, it may be argued, when our affections have rested on their objects without conscious reflex action on ourselves, and we have been binding ourselves with a thousand ties of love and sympathy to our fellow-creatures, yet, after all, these originate, however remotely, from that exclusive monopolizing spirit which constitutes our indivi

duality, and it is only an abstract way of saying we are ourselves, to assert that we are selfish. If it be objected, that experience and the testimony of the heart assure us that our actions are sometimes wholly disinterested; or again, that selfishness cannot be the motive which leads a great part of mankind directly to injure themselves, an answer is ready at hand. It may be said in reply, that a similar appeal to superficial experience would enable us to deny that matter universally gravitates towards matter; that the Newtonian theory might, on this principle, be disproved by the burning of a candle, or the ascent of a balloon. And, be it remembered, on the hypothesis of the Materialist, arguments of this kind cease to be vague analogies; they are reasonings from like to like, from matter to matter, from the seen to the unseen of the same genus. It must be admitted, on the evidence of the whole material world, that there need be no obvious resemblance between the phenomenon and the law which regulates it. Unless we insist on the antithesis between spiritual and corporeal, metaphors will in this manner be continually transforming themselves into instances; and what was at first only a respectable simile, will be promoted to the dignity of an example.

In the politics of Hobbes we can trace the same spirit at work. What is his despotic sovereign, this giant creature of compact, this embodiment of collective power, this 'mortal God,' as, while professing to speak reverently, he somewhat profanely calls him? Is he not the personal exhibition of the principle of quantity, the subjugation of each to all? In the war of man against man, the absence of law and justice, the strife and struggle and confusion of the ante-social state, do we not see the picture of the primæval chaos? Then comes consolidation and union; the harmony of like to like; the organization which binds the mass so closely together, that the separation of any considerable part would be the destruction of the whole. There rises up a figure, like that on the quaint frontispiece of the Leviathan, the giant man, compact of many men, the sword in his right hand, and the pastoral staff in his left. Well may the sword be in his right hand, for he rules by the rod of power! Without authority of his own, he acts in the deputed strength of all. This once given, he is no longer responsible; might makes right; power only can claim obedience; to be able to compel, is to have lawful authority. Shocking to say, he applies his principle even to the supreme Ruler of all things. 'The right of nature,' he tells us, 'whereby God reigneth over 'men, and punisheth those that break His laws, is to be 'derived, not from His creating them, as if He required obedi-'ence as of gratitude for His benefits, but from His irresistible

'power..... To those whose power is irresistible, the 'dominion of all men adhereth naturally by their excellence of 'power; and consequently it is from that power, that the king-'dom over men, and the right of afflicting men at His pleasure, 'belongeth naturally to God Almighty, not as Creator, or as 'gracious, but as Omnipotent.'—(*Lev.* ch. xxxi.) After this, it cannot surprise us, to find exactly the same origin ascribed to parental authority. This, too, we are told, originates in compact; the parent has the power to kill, or to expose the child, or to deny it nourishment; and thus the child becomes subject; for every one 'is supposed to promise obedience to him, in whose power it is to save or to destroy him.' Thus love, admiration, reverence, devotion, are robbed of their office, and obedience resolves itself into a form of physical necessity.

If the political system of Hobbes were practically as well as theoretically consistent, it might do much harm. But this is not the case; though not eclectic in its spirit, it is in its results. There is no large class of thinkers with whose views it will meet, with whose feelings it will harmonize. Men, for the most part, cannot hold at once the theories of the social compact, and the unalienable rights of sovereignty. The masses take their opinions from their position. Those who feel and dislike their subjection will always urge that the people is the source of power; those who command, or are willing to obey, will feel that at any rate the ruler has a right to exercise it. While philosophers may endeavour to reconcile the opposing theories, men in general will readily choose between them. Hobbes adopts a third course; he puts both boldly forward, and leaves them. They are not balanced one against the other; the superficial strata are wholly unlike the lower. The convention of the governed is the basis on which is rested the despotic power of the governor. The two facts are too loosely united to be received together into the mind which is indisposed to either. So the reader of Hobbes will probably be strengthened in his political opinions whatever they may be. The line of distinction is so clearly and so deeply drawn, that it at once suggests the thought of a separation. Different theorists may divide Hobbes between them, and each go away contented.

A far more serious danger, which would follow the revival of this materialistic tone, is to be found in the encouragement it would give to the movement of opinion towards fatalism. That such a movement is actually taking place, must be clear, even to indifferent observers. A large class of writers, readers, and thinkers, are enlisted on its side. Of these, some have openly declared themselves; others are still held back by old feelings and associations which they are unwilling to relinquish, from the

public surrender of opinions which they yet believe to be untenable. Some, again, have unwarily admitted into their minds an element of thought, which, if they live long enough, and reason with sufficient consistency, will lead them to positions which they now hate and abhor as instinct with evil. It is surprising how a man's whole being may be leavened by a theory concerning the operation of general laws or the nature of the lines of demarcation which separate physical classes. He may think that he is weighing, by itself, a single question, when by entertaining it he has already decided a hundred. Others again, more clear-sighted and consequential thinkers, have pushed their inquiries to the point at which they see they must make their final decision. Sone deep-seated error in the foundation of their method has committed them to a dreadful alternative. How many highly-gifted thinkers of the day have reason to curse the spurious philosophy which has led them to a false antithesis, and torn the universe asunder. They seem to stand on their own individuality between two worlds, the moral and the physical, and to have to choose between them. They see double, and believe that the two parts of the whole contradict each other. This appears to turn on the poles of necessity; that, to move self-actuated by its own inherent freedom. To reconcile the two, they declare one a falsehood. They deny the reality of half of God's works—the outer or the inner world. And when their choice is made, they walk the earth for the rest of their lives maimed and imperfect beings. Half their heritage of truth they have let go, to save the other half. They pass over unnoticed either the five days of creation or the sixth. They practically disbelieve the reality of their Maker's works, or His goodness. A miserable dilemma, indeed, even were it certain that the desperate remedy would be effectual. In this mental consumption, the physician gladly perceives that one lung has ceased to act, in the hope that the disease may stop in the lobe in which it began, and not extend to the other. But the choice, however fearful, is not betwen equal evils. Better far it were to behold in the whole face of nature one vast and painful riddle, to close our eyes upon its wondrous beauty, and turn our minds from it as from a perplexing dream; better even to shrink from it in dislike and abhorrence, as from the presence of evil clothed in the form of good, than to doubt the mystery of our own moral and spiritual life, the free up-springing of good in the regenerate heart, the power of the soul to stretch forth its hands, and feel for, and find its God. But happier are those who have no need to choose—those, first of all, who behold everywhere in the universe the hand of its Creator, who can wander freely through its infinitude, and trace ten thousand wonderful analo-

gies pervading grace and nature, and uniting man, individual and social, both with the unseen world of which he is a part, and the visible framework which he inhabits; and next, those, who conscious of their deficiency in that comprehensive power which perceives the unity of the truth, are content simply to believe—finding comfort in the very consciousness of their ignorance, and waiting for the day which shall make all things plain.

In neither of these classes, however, is Hobbes likely to find his admirers. They must be sought among those tempers and characters which are disposed to give an undue prominence to that idea of mechanical agency which is so marked a feature of the age. If ever there were a time when men were likely to forget the one truth which even idolatry retained—the personality of the First Cause—it is the present. The complicated framework of society, with all its multiplied apparatus, its levers and cranks and axles, works yet so evenly and accurately, that it seems to need no adjustment. No guiding and presiding Intellect is on the surface necessary, when all proceeds calmly, with a motion so equable and so uninterrupted. The man of science looks abroad into the universe, proudly conscious of the laws which regulate it, and which enable him, as he thinks, to predict its condition through an endless succession of years. The artisan stands by the machine which works with unvarying regularity, and leaves it, when his day's work is over, in the confidence that rack and pinion will continue to do their duty, and the wheel make its accustomed number of revolutions on the morrow. Sometimes, indeed, philosopher and artisan both find themselves mistaken; but both alike know the cause to which the error is attributable,—to carelessness in details which they know they can remedy, or ignorance of conditions which they trust they can discover. The mass of the middle ranks, who have no exact acquaintance either with theory or practice, have yet, for the most part, a smattering of both, and are liable in full to the dangers which all agree in ascribing to a little learning. Their vanity can be satisfied without any pretence on their part to accuracy or extent of knowledge. They see a law here, and a fact there; each, perhaps, to their imperfect view, somewhat misty and indefinite: but this matters not—taken together, they become perfectly clear. They eke out their ignorance of the circumstances with their acquaintance with the reasons, or illogically produce their familiarity with the effect as the complement wanting to their knowledge of the cause. They imagine they see the path to complete enlightenment, which nothing but the want of leisure or inclination prevents them from following. If not actually, they are potentially philosophers. With their hands

on the beginning of the clue of science, they rise superior to all sense of ignorance, and the childish impression of wonder. Divine Providence has no place in their scheme. They flatter themselves that nothing but an accidental and curable imperfection debars them from enjoying in their own right the power of foreknowledge. Acquainted with the organic causes of death, they are half reconciled to the necessity of dying. Necessity is with them a thing, a fact, the *materia prima* of philosophy; not an agent acting necessarily.

But if this be the state of those, who stand as spectators, and view the working of the machine—who only seek amusement or gratify their love of knowledge in observing its mighty parts calmly performing their office as if full of conscious power—what can we expect of those, who see it not from without, but from within—who form, as it were, a part of it—who live from their earliest childhood in its uniform, deafening noise, and in the gloom of its moving and fitful, but never-ceasing shadow? What can be hoped of the victims, sacrificed in their infancy, yet still alive, who are employed to fill up the gap which art cannot as yet occupy—who toil in our factories as something supplementary to the loom and the steam-engine? Around them, all is hard order and method, change without variety, and ceaseless uniformity of revolution.

'—All day, the wheels are droning, turning,—
Their wind comes in our faces,—
Till our hearts turn,—our heads, with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places—
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling—
Turns the long light that droppeth down the wall—
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling—
All are turning, all the day, and we with all!
And all day, the iron wheels are droning;
And sometimes we could pray,
"O ye wheels," (breaking out in a mad moaning)
"Stop! be silent for to-day!"'

Can we be surprised if they, who have never known freedom, are unable to believe that any thing is free; if the tyranny of brute matter so bows the very soul, that it is not conscious of its natural elasticity, nor dares, if ever relieved from the burden which oppresses it, to exert its native powers of action? In a natural state of society physical evil is the attendant on crime. The child is disobedient, wilfully breaks through the command of a parent, is discovered, and is punished. The mily, like the state, testifies to a higher principle than that on hich it regularly acts; the course of the depraved world nforms involuntarily to the perfect law of its Maker. Even the ill-regulated household traces of moral government

appear. A cruel or harsh father, the stern tyrant who makes his children fear and not love him, whose family prefers his absence to his presence, his neglect to his notice, his indifference to his smile, yet teaches a moral lesson. If he spreads misery around him, he is still an example of the truth that wickedness is the source of all evil. He illustrates the Divine economy, which visits the sins of the fathers upon the children. Not so with the poor prisoners of our manufactories. They are not likely to perceive the connexion between sin and pain. The creature that oppresses them is cold and passionless, a negative being, in itself neither good nor evil, no immediate offspring of inordinate anger or desire. They find themselves in its power; it inflicts suffering, and they suffer, and know not why. No evident sin of themselves or others is the source of their greatest miseries. Their terror is not parental discipline, or even parental cruelty. The demon who rules them punishes not crime, but inadvertence. True, he is ruled in his turn, but with a spell which must be observed to the letter, or the enchanter will be destroyed. They know the dangers among which they move, —the certain destruction which awaits them of limb or life, if one step too many be taken in this direction, or a hand extended too far in that, if the ragged clothing flutter but an inch beyond the allotted space, or a string or a ribbon be drawn in by the breath of a revolving wheel.

To those who thus grow up it could scarcely seem a figure to talk of ruthless destiny, with her iron sceptre and heart of adamant harder than iron. The old Tartarus revives, with its never-ending tortures. Ixion is again at his wheel, and the Danaïdæ are labouring at their endless task. The sufferings which antiquity assigned to robbers and murderers are now falling on the head of those who are innocent of any extraordinary guilt beyond that of our common nature. To counteract impressions like these, lessons of love and hope are wanted. No opportunity should be lost of inculcating the consoling doctrine of a special Providence. None should be left in ignorance of the powers to will and to do which belong to regenerate man. Goodness should be shown to be possible, not only independently of, but even in spite of, circumstances. If Hobbes exercises any influence, it will of course be in just the opposite direction. We have seen how he would bind man by the conditions which regulate the motions of irrational and insensible things. Nor would his teaching be necessarily less mischievous, because he arrives at his conclusions by means different from those which persons would employ who now accept them; if his arguments rest on points of system and intellectual consistency, while the question is now made to turn rather on facts as we see them, and

the best method of accounting for them. Infidelity cannot afford to be scrupulous in the choice of materials. It is often the lot of controversialists to construct engines of warfare against a foe, which are afterwards unexpectedly brought to bear on some very different antagonist. The clever reasoner may frequently find much to his purpose in unlikely quarters. Our present subject will supply instances. Fatalism readily adopts the formulæ of Calvinism. The Socialist calmly chooses his weapons from the armoury of Jonathan Edwards.

We will mention in concluding one consequence of the materialism of Hobbes, which is not at all likely to increase his influence—the repulsively negative character of his philosophy. His system is bounded on every side; in no quarter can we see the horizon. He walks boldly, and, as it would seem freely, but within a very narrow circle. He is his own gaoler, and a severe one too. In this respect he resembles any other theorist, who ventures to take some superficial feature, some generalization from obvious facts, some rule not proved to be true beyond a limited province, and apply it as the measure of the universe, and the summary law of nature. It is easy for any man to take a certain number of facts which strike him as illustrating a theory of his own, to dwell on them exclusively till they occupy his mind, and stand as representatives of a truth hitherto unknown, or denied, or neglected. It is easy to extract from these facts a formula, which, while it really depends upon them, shall seem to account for them. But results gained with so little labour, are not likely to be of much value. Our speculator must soon begin to suspect that his solution will not meet all possible cases; that his method, even if it never leads to conclusions palpably false, is limited in its application, and leaves far too much unaccounted for. In this stage the matter cannot stop: particular propositions belong not to science. The difficulty must be removed, or the theory abandoned. So at least it would seem at first, but another course remains. It may be just possible to save the darling imagination, by ignoring the inconvenient facts; to imitate the ostrich, which would escape its pursuers by burying its head in the sand. This would not be the resource of an honest or ingenuous mind; but Hobbes repeatedly adopts it. His usual way of anticipating an objection is to deny its possibility. No man was ever more bold in asserting a negative, none less careful in proving it. Nothing which is not dreamt of in his philosophy is allowed to exist in heaven or earth. He is not content with enunciating part of the truth, unless you grant that he has expressed the whole. 'Nothing but,' and 'only' are prominent in his vocabulary. His very definitions are thrown into an adversative form, and deny as much as they

affirm. We will give a few instances out of many. 'Life is but a motion of limbs.' 'Imagination is nothing but decaying sense.' 'Prudence is but experience.' 'Knowledge is nothing 'else but a tumult of the mind, raised by external things that 'press the organical part of man's body.' What rash assumptions are these! how characteristic of that grossest of all philosophical heresies, which begins by professing to dispense with faith, and concludes with endless calls on credulity. The materialist would gain nothing from his own cases fairly stated. 'Life is indicated by the motion of the limbs.' 'Though sense decays, imagination survives.' 'Prudence results from experience.' 'Knowledge comes when external objects are perceived by the mind through the senses.'

On the whole, we are disposed to regard this edition of Hobbes as a phenomenon, and nothing more—as a mark of an individual taste, not as a sign of the present, or an augury of the future. Its very bulk precludes it from attracting very general attention. In a few cases it may serve to disturb and destroy opinions, not to construct. The Leviathan can at most be restored to a kind of galvanic life. It may raise itself for a moment, and seem to threaten, but in a moment also it will collapse, and be brute matter again. Hobbes may be better known for a short time, to be again neglected. A row of well-printed volumes will be added to several public, and some private libraries. And the honourable member for Southwark may descend to posterity, if he please, as the editor of Hobbes of Malmesbury.

ART. V.—1. *A Letanie with Suffrages, to be said or songe with the Plein-Tone. Edited by* CRANMER. Grafton, 1544.

2. *The same with a Quire Harmony on the Plein-Tone, as used in the King's Chapel.* 1544.

3. *The Booke of Common Praier, noted. Edited by* JOHN MERBECKE. 1550.

4. *The Psalter or Psalms of David after the translation of the Great Bible, pointed as it shall be songe in Churches.* 1549.

5. *Certayne Notes set forth in* 3 *and* 4 *parts, to be songe at the Morning, Communion, and Evening Praier, with divers Godly Praiers and Psalms.* John Day. 1560.

6. *Morning and Evening Praier and Communion, set forth in* 4 *parts, to be songe in Churches.* John Day. 1565.

7. *Church Music. Selected by* REV. JOHN BARNARD. 10 vols. *folio.* 1641.

8. *An Evangelicall and Musical Psalter. By* THOMAS RAVENSCROFT. 1621 and 1633. (Ed. by Havergal. 1845.)

9. *Brief Directions for the Use of St. Paul's and other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. By the* REV. JAMES CLIFFORD. 1663.

10. *Directions for the Celebration of Cathedral Service. By* EDWARD LOW, Organist of the Chapel Royal. 1661 and 1664.

11. *Musica Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. By* THOMAS TOMKINS. 5 vols. 1668.

12. *Brief Directions for understanding the Cathedral Use.* John Playford. 1724—1730.

13. *A Collection of Chants. By* PHILIP VANDERNAN. (Circa 1720.)

14. *A Collection of Chants. By* E. F. RIMBAULT, LL.D. D'Almaine. 1845.

15. *The Psalter set to appropriate Chants. By* JOHN HULLAH. J. W. Parker. 1845.

16. *The Modern Use of St. Peter's, Westminster. Edited by* DR. RIMBAULT. Bell: Fleet Street. 1845.

17. *A Fac-simile Reprint of Merbecke's Church Song.* 4to. Pickering. 1845.

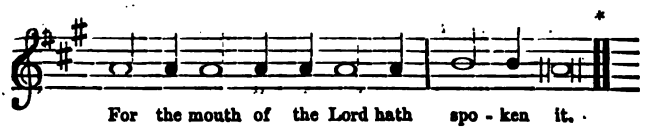
18. *A Reprint of the same.* 8vo. Novello. 1845.

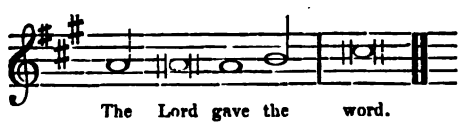
19. *Cantica Sacra. Edited by* J. ALFRED NOVELLO. 8vo. Novello.

A Collection of Gregorian Chants. By J. WARREN. Cocks. 1844.

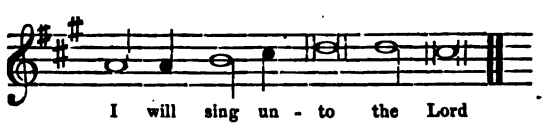
21. *A Collection of Single and Double Gregorian Chants, harmonized by* Sir H. R. Bishop, late Professor of Music in the University, Edinburgh. 1845.
22. *A Collection of Chants. By* Professor Walmisley. Novello.
23. *The Duty and Advantage of learning to Sing. A Lecture delivered before the Leeds Church Institution. By* John Hullah. Parker: London. 1846.
24. *The Principles of the Common Prayer considered, &c. A series of Lectures. By* Rev. W. J. E. Bennett. Cleaver. 1845.
25. *Order of Daily Service used in Cathedrals. By* Edward Low. A new edition, corrected by Dr. Rimbault. Bell. 1845.
26. *The Parish Choir. Nos.* 1—6. Published Monthly. Ollivier. 1846.

That part of the year in common parlance styled 'The London Season,' whilst rife with a multitude of frivolous and feverish novelties, still brings within its course some few occurrences that are peculiarly delightful to the reflective mind, and which year after year suggest the possible and probable *means* which may be brought to bear upon the feelings of the community in reference to many things and practices in the Church, which, although generally allowed, are not altogether canonical. It may appear strange and difficult to connect certain annual attractions of the Metropolitan Season with a clearer apprehension and greater reverence for the Ritual Music of our ancient Service-Book; but an unprejudiced consideration of the natural consequences of the increased and increasing attendances on the performances of Handel's Oratorios, and the vigorous attempts to invest the different services (held in the mother Cathedral of St. Paul, for charitable purposes) with a more than ordinary splendour and solemnity, can lead to no less important a result. It has been the fashion with some to look upon that magnificent and impersonal system of responsorial inflexion, which is included in the generic term of 'the Ritual Song of the Catholic Church'—as a thing without mind or reason, dull enough and barbarous enough to chime in with music in its lowest possible state of degradation. But so long as the English people enjoy the performance of that solemn celebration of the birth, teaching, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and eternal reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, as set forth in the wondrous strains of the immortal Handel, they possess a kind of 'curriculum totius anni,' abounding in features of the ancient Church Song, which at some no distant period must receive its true ecclesiastical connexion and character. What matters it that Westminster Abbey

forgotten its eighth tune or tone, and no longer recognises this 'cunning' of the Songs of Zion? Is it not year after year sung in the Hanover Square Rooms for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians, in presence of the great, and the noble, and the wealthiest of the land? Is it not as familiar as household words to the breathless audiences of Exeter Hall? Who is there that has not heard the first chorus of the Messiah, 'And the Glory of the Lord shall be revealed,' and who that has once heard it from the Quire of the Sacred Harmonic Society, can ever forget the proclamation?[1]

If it were possible to imagine the most impossible of all impossible things—the lasting oblivion of the Ancient Chants in our services, the mighty Handel has himself rendered their destruction a thing beyond human power to accomplish. Let the Quire of St. Paul's continue to neglect the First Tone, Handel echoes it in their ears from the 200 men of Exeter Hall, in the chorus,[2]



So also in the 'Israel in Egypt,' the intonation of the Seventh Tone:[3]



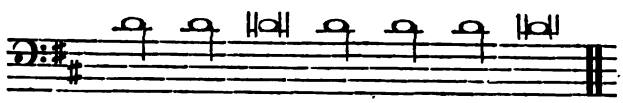
Does any one doubt the beauty and sublimity of a responsorial song? Let him listen to 'the tossing and trowling' of the Alleluias in that wondrous Church Song, the Hallelujah

* Throughout this article we have printed the musical quotations in modern notation, as more generally intelligible.

[1] Handel adopts this tone also in the choruses, 'Let their celestial concerts all unite'—(Samson.) 'Fixed in his everlasting seat'—(Samson.) 'They now contract'—(Joshua.)

[2] This use of the intonation of the first tone is a favourite with Handel. See t noble song; 'As great Jehovah lives, I swear'—(Saul.) 'Father of Heaven,' Judas Maccabeus. 'The noble army of martyrs praise Thee,' in the great) Deum;' and the 'Pious orgies,' in Judas Maccabeus.
Also in the Hallelujah chorus, 'For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth'—ssiah.) And 'Let old Timotheus'—(Alexander's Feast.)

Chorus of the Messiah—the very perfection of an antiphonal Lobegesang. Will he dispute the power of the monotone, that law of unity, which is to bring the voice of 'the great congregation' into one simultaneous and concording expression?—hark, to those sweet treble voices, accumulating their 200 tones into one, upon the words '*King of Kings and Lord of Lords!*' and who is there that does not thrill with mingled emotions of awe and delight as the men of the quire at length take the tone from the sopranos, and burst forth upon the best and strongest note in the male register:[1]



Does any one dread the developments or pneumas of the ancient Church Song? or (with Mr. Hullah) remind us that 'Walther gives a Chant of the eleventh century, in which are found seventy notes on one syllable?' Then let him turn to the *Amen* Chorus of the Messiah, and see seven hundred notes or more upon two syllables.

Whilst Handel in England was strengthening his productions with these precious jewels of the Church, Sebastian Bach, his great contemporary, was enshrining in his marvellous harmonies the ancient Ambrosian 'Te Deum,' the Litanies, Creeds and the Hymns—

'A Solis ortus cardine'
'Christe qui lux'
'Veni sancte Spiritus'
'Mittit ad Virginem'
'Veni Redemptor gentium'
'Veni Creator Spiritus'
'In dulci jubilo'
'Resonet in laudibus'

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[1] See also 'The people shall hear' (Israel in Egypt)—'Glory to God,' (Messiah.) For the use of the canto fermo, see the choruses 'Serve the Lord,' (Jubilate,)—'Jehovah hath redeemed,' (Belshazzar,)—'We worship God,' (Judas Maccabeus,) 'Your harps and cymbals,' (Solomon.) And for hymn melodies, 'Let thy dark servant,' (Samson,) grounded on the 'Aus tiefer noth schrey ich zu dir.' 'Wretched Lovers,' (Acis and Galatea,) which, like Tallis's anthem, 'Hear the Voice and Prayer,' commences with the opening phrase of the Ambrosian Hymn, 'Christe qui lux et dies,'—'Then round about the starry Throne,' (Samson,) formed on the 'O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort;' and that noble chorus, 'Praise the Lord,' (Solomon.) Handel's love for the Palestrina School was so great, that in 'Samson' he interpolates the magnificent chorus, 'Hear Jacob's God,' note for note as Carissimi wrote it.

together with many others, all of which, we do not doubt, pseudo-musicians and hectoring lecturers would at once declare to be very 'indifferent' sort of Music; 'unpretending' to execute, and excessively 'tiresome' to listen to. But we may add, that which Bach and Handel left unfinished, Mendelssohn, the master-spirit of the present epoch, seems willing to achieve. His 'Oratorio of St. Paul,' breathes whole phrases of the Gregorian Chant.

Whilst the musical celebrations of the season are thus quietly but with a surety leading the public taste to the appreciation of the might and magic of our Ritual inflexions, the peculiar character of the pretendedly high celebrations in the Metropolitan Cathedral, for charitable and other purposes, stand out in rather a disastrous relief. This is the more to be regretted, as the opportunities offered in St. Paul's Cathedral for solemn services are usually those which absorb much of public attention. On the return of the two chief legal terms, the judges of the land, and the members of the legal profession, attend what may be aptly described a high processional service; the Offertory services held in commemoration of the Charities for the Sons of the Clergy, and the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and that which calls up a re-union of all the Metropolitan Schools, equally offer occasions for a similar celebration. Still whilst on these fixed days of modern festivity nothing be attempted in that Cathedral which might demonstrate the wondrous applicability of our Ritual Song to all the exigencies of high Church Service, the attempts that are made prove in no ambiguous manner the embarrassment which oppresses all parties, arising from the want of that 'rule of conformity,' which an attention to the written law of our Church music would at once direct and enforce. The judges of the land usually walk up the chilly nave of our Metropolitan Cathedral in silence, and unaccompanied by any effective body of the Ecclesiastical Corporation; the service is strictly a quire service from first to last; the Ecclesiastical body take no part, nor do the people. Boys' chants, organists' chants, chapel anthems,[1] long solos, and strange 'voluntaries,' mark the desire to give a dignity and grandeur to these days; but the impression created is neither that of wisdom nor of beauty. Take an example of the chant generally given to the Psalms for the day:

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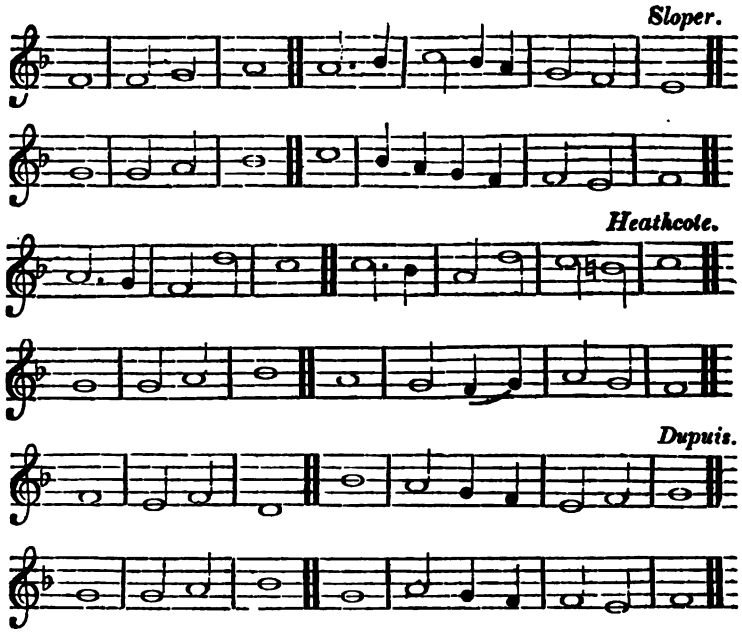
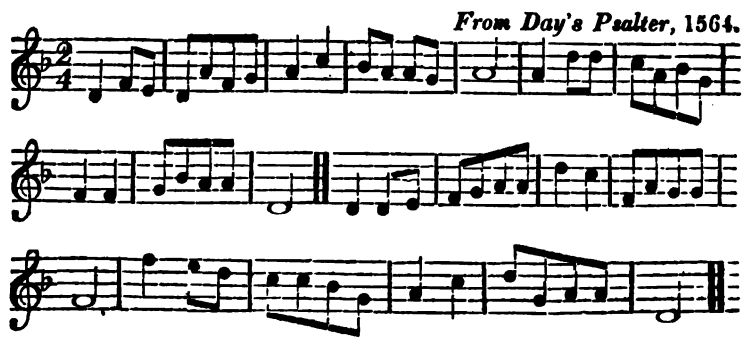
[1] The Chapel anthems, by which we mean those written by the composers to the Chapel Royal, Purcel, Weldon, Croft, Boyce, and others, form a peculiarity in the English Church, and being composed for a small Chapel, and for instrumental accompaniments, constitute a wide departure from the Abbey and Collegiate and certainly but little fitted for the mother church of the Metropolitan

Sloper.

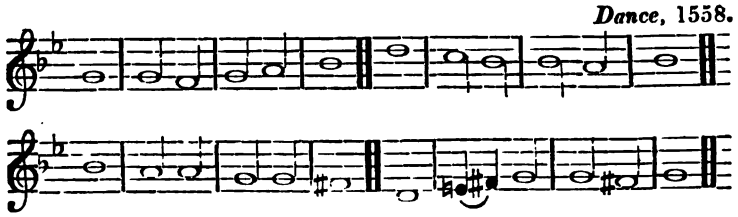
Heathcote.

Dupuis.

What are these but imitations of the merry trolls sung by our low Churchmen in the time of that excitement for a popular and secular metrical Psalmody, when the noble hymn of the 'Te Deum' was given to such a melody as this—

From Day's Psalter, 1564.

The melody to the Este and Ravenscroft 'Venite Exultemus' is, if possible, still more (to use Dr. Coverdale's, the Bishop of Exeter's expression),

'Hey! nony, nony,
Hey! troly, troly.'

The fine old Church tune, 'Es spricht der unweisen mund whol,' set by this Bishop to the thirteenth Psalm of his curious Psalter of 1539, demonstrates that he at least was no patron of these anomalies; and the eight tunes by Tallis,[1] in the 1557 Psalter of Archbishop Parker, are evidences of a second stand made by a high dignitary against the flood of secular melody that had washed away the ancient landmarks of our Church song. The truth is, our famed Tudor Psalm tune, and modern Anglican or boys' chant, come from one and the same form, which is that of the Pavan Dance, a fact which a collation of any of the early dance-music of 1550 will establish. We take an example from the 'Orchesographie of Thenot Arbeau, 1558.'

Dance, 1558.

The chant alleged to have been composed by John Farrant (1598) is the very counterpart of the concluding strains of this dance.

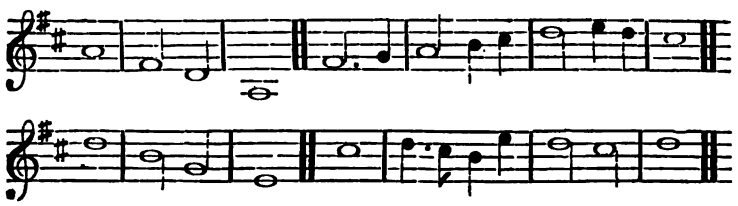
Alleged Tudor Chant, 1598.

Whilst the solitary chant said to have been left to the Church by Dr. Greene, 'the tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee' of Handel's scorn, is not much unlike the opening hemistich.

Hanoverian Chant, 1730.

The service sung at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy is no longer that of Handel, but still the music is none of the Church's heritage; none of those strains, which for a thousand years have been married to the Psalms and the responsorial portions of our Ritual. It is organists' music—Attwood, Boyce, Greene, and a fraudulent perversion of Tallis. The congregational service, with the five thousand soprano voices on the assembling of the Charities, is still worse; and the vulgarity of an organist named Jones, formerly an accompanyist in the Cathedral,

[1] These are reprinted in 'Sacred Music, by Tye, Tallis, &c.' 4to. Burns.

is annually preserved, to the grief and consternation of all who love their Church, and its undying melodies. It runs thus—

It is technically called the 'Charity Children's Chant,' and may often be heard as a lugubrious termination, in frightfully drawling time, in London churches, after the alternate reading of the priest, and his solitary 'parish clerk.'

On reading and hearing such things as have been quoted, one naturally asks the question—Has the English Church no authorized Ritual Music? Is there no Church song in our branch of the Catholic Church? Have we no Directorium Chori? Are the things 'to be sung' left to the management of organists and boys—nay, even women? for, if we mistake not, we have heard the Psalms in a Cathedral sung to a chant by a lady. Must we go to Exeter Hall to hear the lost echoes of the Church's glory, the thanksgivings of her saints? If it be that we have lost the song of Catholic Christendom, and set up the false idols of amateur composers, (for such are all Cathedral organists,) seeing that they are neither educated in Church song by the Church, nor even paid for what they may scribble—we are of all Churchmen most unfortunate. But it is not thus. The Church has its Directorium Chori, she has not lost her marvellous language and Heavenly Voice, and she neither requires nor accepts the hundreds of contemptible chants, and scores of absurd psalters, which covetous and conceited pseudo-musicians and indifferent accompanyists endeavour to foist into her service.

The English Church is the people's Church. Strange would it be if it had only an artistical song, and were deficient in a *plenus cantus*, or congregational one. Strange would it have been had the revisers of 1548 taken from us our Catholic Antiphonal Use, and our musical formularies, of scriptural authority, and almost, if not quite, of scriptural antiquity; the men who declared themselves to have eschewed innovations and all 'newfangleness;' and who set to work to reproduce the then slumbering duty of making the people, no less than the clergy, concerned in the celebration of Divine offices. To set up any barrier of uncertain use, or a use depending upon the changing tastes and caprices of organists and quiremen, in the celebration of the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the

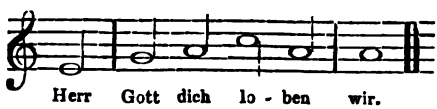
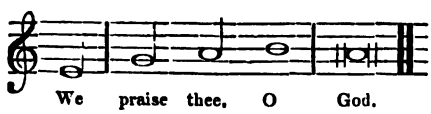
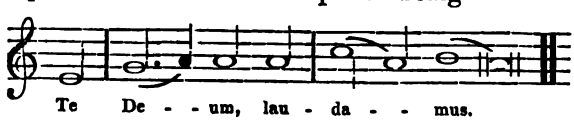
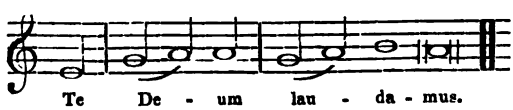
Versicles, Suffrages, Responses, Psalms, and Doxologies, is a violation and abrogation of the song to be sung 'by the minister and the people,' and must be characterised as having a tendency destructive of that 'league of insoluble unity' wherewith the people strive which shall most 'show his own, and stir up other's zeal to the glory of that God, Whose name they magnify.' Strange, again, would it have been for our revisers to have retained a congregational song, a people's chant, and yet not to have appropriated any portion of the service to which they could apply it. And still stranger would it be, if it were in the power of quiremen and organists to take it from us, to disfigure the impersonal declamations of the Church in a garb of this or that man's peculiarities, to seal up the Catholic response of priests and people, and dignify this monstrous delusion with the appellation of a 'Full Cathedral Service,' 'an Extraordinary Responsal,' or the 'Choral Worship of the Anglo-Catholic Church!' The Ritual song of the English Church does not owe its creation or form to any father or fathers of English harmony. If it did so, it would fain take its place by 'the antient liturgy of the Genevan Church,' and perhaps form an interesting section in the history of 'the antiquities of dissenting Churches.'[1] Ritual music and anthem music, priests' and people's music, and quiremen's music, are essentially distinct and different things. As much examination as you please into the styles of the founders of Tudor and Stewart harmony music, but no new 'Order of performing Divine Service in Cathedrals and Collegiate Chapels;' no 'Short Directions for the understanding of that part of 'Divine Service, performed with the Organ in St. Paul's Cathe-'dral on Sundayes.' We have already Mr. Hill's Use, (we refer to this word in its restricted, and only musical, signification,)—Mr. Bishop's Use, Mr. Warren's Use, Mr. Rimbault's Use, Mr. Jebb's Use, Mr. Bennett's 'Undersong,' and Psalters by Calvert, Wesley, Hullah, Jones, Bennett, Marshall, Rimbault, Walmisley, Beckwith, Marsh, &c., the only end of which is to prove, with much industry and ingenuity, that the Church has no People's Use, no Priests' Use, no Rubrical Use, and that there is nothing remaining to us by which 'every person should know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship'—no possibility of 'universal agreement'—than which, we are told, 'nothing more 'conduces to the honour of our religion, and to the propagation 'thereof.' We have a clear uniformity in our Catholic Ritual song; there can be 'no diversity in singing and saying in Churches' so long as we apply ourselves to the rules it offers; and herein 'the whole realm has but one Use.' But whilst we have wor-'nped the vanities and corruptions of quiremen, and gone after

[1] lis is a nonentity without Merbecke, and Merbecke equally so without the l office books of the ancient Church.

the traditions of organists, we have lost sight of the unalienable rights of the poor; we have silenced the acclamations of a Common Prayer; we have entertained the incredible delusion, that 'a read Service is the rule, and a chanted one the exception.' So that the practice of our Cathedrals is believed to be a permitted infringement on rubrical authority; we have sealed up the mouths of our dignified clergy and pious commonalty in the high churches, and we permit every stranger and sciolist to have his tune and his figment, his song and his say, until at length we have lost the very meaning of the musical terminology of our Church. There has been an invasion of rights—that which priests and people ought to sing or say, the quiremen have appropriated to themselves. And how any man can hold 'the belief of Rubrics,' when he sees them all set aside as obsolete and effete, *wherever there are quires*,[1] is more than we can comprehend. In every case that a Church has left the ancient Ritual song of Christendom, the celebrations of that Church have become unnatural, unscriptural, undevotional, and uncongregational. 'O come, let us sing,' should be rendered 'O come, let us read:' 'O come before His 'presence with a song,' and 'O Lord, open Thou our lips,' 'O, 'sing unto the Lord,' and 'Let the people praise Thee,' should be severally struck out as contradictions of the fact, or as inconsistent with the possibility of its realization. The Ritual music of the Church is a people's music, but this cannot be said of any quire music yet created.

The English Church never parted with the Song of the Christian Church. If it did so, its abrogation and abnegation must be a matter of record, and within the knowledge of Bishops and Deans, Archdeacons and Ordinaries, Doctors and Proctors. It was no part even of the continental Reformation, at least in its commencement, to get rid of it. True it is, the Helvetian Schism was a singular exception. In this community the Song was deposed, and the record of its humiliation reads thus—'That Song which they call Gregory's Song hath many gross things in it, wherefore it is, upon good cause, rejected.' But the Rituals and Agenda of the other reformed bodies of Augsburg, Sueveland, Bohemia, Wirtemberg, and Saxony, affirm the contrary; and the Manuals of Rasselius, Rhau, Lossius, and Wilphlingsederus, and the magnificent Directorium Chori, Antiphonal, Hymnal, and Psalterium of Lucas Lossius, published in 1553, as a '*Curriculum totius anni*,' testify that the Saxon Lutherans did not part with the ritual music of Catholic Christendom. In this noble cyclopædia of Ritual song is an exceedingly pure

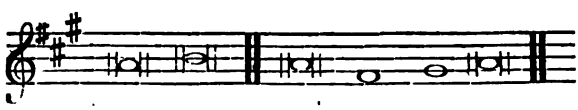
[1] 'The minister and the people' do not sing, for the simple reason, they cannot. The tune is a quire tune beyond the compass of their voices: not decent and solemn enough for 'the minister,' and too fast and secular for 'the great congregation.'

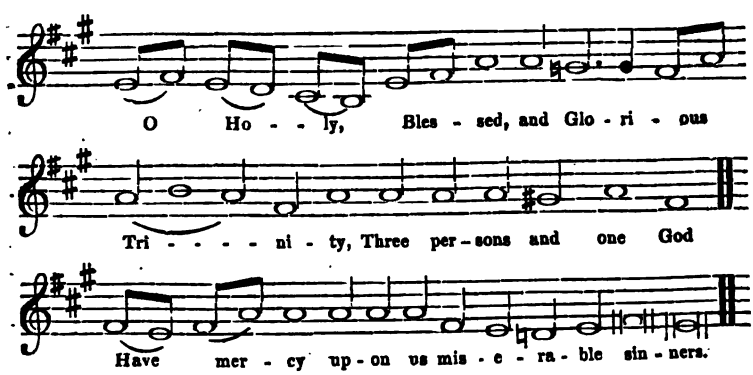
version of the Ambrosian 'Te Deum,' and the Lutheran congregations in London are no strangers to its solemn and almost unearthly cadences. Indeed the Luther 'Lobegesang' is usually sung in London on Easter Sunday and on other high days. This version commences

The antepenultimate note is of ancient Gallican authority, although the 'Directorium Chori' of our Sixth Edward gives it purer, thus—

This is 'the note to a syllable' form recommended by Dr. Cranmer. The usual form in English cathedrals and collegiate churches previous to the reformed period being[1]—

The Milan directories afford the most correct expression—

However little to be approved may be the course of Luther, his indomitable energy in securing the preservation of the authorized song and ancient voice of the Church, must in fairness be admitted. Nor was it otherwise in Bohemia. The exquisitely beautiful tones of the Church had for centuries been allied to a vernacular ritual—there was the peculiarity of a kind of national Spicilegium, and no singing was more catholic and congregational. In the eleventh century, the Seventh Gregory withdrew the permission for a vernacular service, on the allegation that by such general and loud singing the science might fall into contempt and disrepute. A struggle ensued, which ultimately proved to be one of the

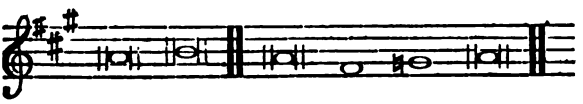
[1] From the MS. Norwich Office Books, (Sarum Use,) in the British Museum.

leading and great causes of the separation of that national communion from Roman guidance. In England, the application of the Ritual song to our vernacular liturgical and other services, was commenced by Cranmer himself. To secure a unity of Use, a certain rule of conformity, and a cooperation of the people, he decided on taking the simple or undeveloped form of song, which is that of generally 'a note to a syllable.' The quire were to return to their duty of leading the general voice of the congregation, and no longer to relieve them of their duty by the exhibition of such expansions as were beyond their comprehension or grasp. The theory of the quire 'vocally representing the voice of the people,' was then unknown and unadvocated.

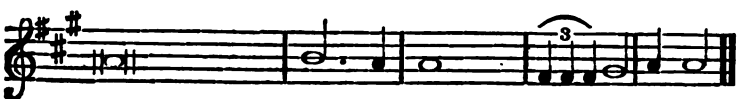
Dr. Cranmer's first publication appeared in the year 1544, as 'A Letanie with Suffrages, to be said or songe;' and was accompanied by the Plenus Cantus, or ancient Supplication Song. It begins with the phrase—



The spirit of the epoch compelled the Archbishop to decline the developed festival form of a Litany chant, and to promulgate one of more common and simple structure. We add a specimen of such developed form—

But the Archbishop's intention of a uniformity of use was speedily foiled by the conduct of the quiremen. The king's chapel service, a service which from the earliest times has been the cause of every possible kind of innovation on right usage and primitive practice, was then a high service; and the simple tun of Bp. Cranmer, without a melisma from beginning to end, w

turned into a festival form by the addition of harmony.[1] The ancient chants of the Church are capable of being harmonized in several modes or keys, more especially so by slight alterations; and although the first harmony upon the Litany tone of Bp. Cranmer was in the right mode, the next was not, and the song became changed, thus—[2]

Some time after, Tallis again changed its character, by a new arrangement in no mode whatever; a form which Barnard, in 1641, 'despoiled.'[3]

Doubtless, the Litany tone of Cranmer has suffered many changes, but we trust it has arrived at its last state of melancholy degradation, for nothing can be more shocking than the modern version used in Westminster Abbey, which we extract from 'The Order of Daily Service used in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster.' Bell.



O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us mis-e-ra-ble sin-ners.

In leaving the Litany, we wish it to be borne in mind that Dr. Cranmer invented no new song, but confined the new Supplication Service to one ferial form. But its publication in a harmonized form was an innovation, although perhaps allowable, as it had long probably been exhibited with an *ad libitum* or *extempore* counterpoint previous to the reformed epoch. The first continental harmonized Litany was that for four voices, published in 1592, by Annibal Stabile, a pupil of Palestrina. Palestrina's four-voiced Litany appeared in 1593, and there are several eight-voiced Litanies extant by this composer, in manuscripts. Those by Anerio followed in 1613-1618; and Massenzio in 1631, Agazzari in 1639, Foggia in 1652, and Valentini in 1657, severally issued their counterpoints. Without entering on the general question respecting the propriety of harmonized

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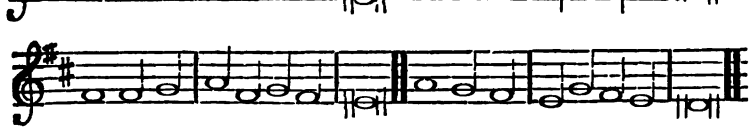
[1] 'The Letanye according to the Notes used in the Kynge's Chappel.' Grafton. 1544.

Day's Quire Manual of Church Song. 1560-1565.

[3] 'Barnard,' says Dean Aldrich, 'was the first to despoil Tallis's Litany. He [2] Plenus Cantus, or men's song, from the tenor, and converted it into a ne.'

music for the enunciation of the members of the quire, whilst the chief supplicant and the ecclesiastical body sustain the ancient Church song—the latter being the true character and constitution of a collegiate responsorial use—it must be remarked, that the use now prevalent can as little be defended as with any decorum retained. Now the priests of the Church are led by children—the '*parvi clerici*' take up the responsive Church tones; their simplicity is disfigured, their sublimity secularized; and when Bishop Burnet writes on 'the indecent practice of singing the prayers' in our cathedrals, we cannot help imagining that it was this strange transformation of the Litany Service which drew from him this strong expression.[1]

The new Prayer-book of 1549 required a new 'Directorium Chori,' and indeed it would have been difficult to have ascertained 'the rule for conformity,' 'the one and the same Use,' through 'the whole realm,' without such a publication. Any individual reference to office books, such as the Hour Manuals, Processionals, Psalteriums, and Breviariums, would have led to doubt and indecision. The Hymnals, Graduals, and Antiphonals, would have been useless, for the Metrical Hymn was abandoned, and the Sequences, Grayles, and Antiphons, had been excised. Archbishop Cranmer, it appears, again attempted the adaptation of the vernacular to the ancient tones of the Church, but the labour was beyond his powers. He tried to preserve the '*Salve festa dies*,' by uniting the note to an English version; and failing, resigned the general task to the lay vicar and organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. As the melody of the '*Salve festa dies*' is not generally known, we introduce it here, in a shape adapted to any long measure hymn.[2]

PASCHAL HYMN, *by Venantius Fortunatus.*

[1] In the prefatory note ushering in Mr. Novello's edition of Merbecke's Directorium Chori, Dr. Rimbault observes, 'the Litany Chant has been preserved in a more entire and unmutilated state in our cathedrals than any other part of plain (plein) song.' How the writer could pen this sentence, after editing and publishing the 'Use of St. Peter's, Westminster,' passes our understanding. The modern Litany Song is beyond a mutilation—it is profanity.

[2] The Lutheran version of the '*Salve festa dies*' melody is set to the hymn, 'Mach's mit mir Gott nach deiner gütt.' Although the original suffers somewhat from its new dress in English rhythm, there are many of the ancient hymn melodies which require no alteration whatever in their application to English

John Merbecke, the author of the first Directorium published after the Litany by Cranmer, was an alumnus of the Windsor Chapel. Of his duties he writes, 'In the study of 'musicke and playing on organes I vainly consumed the greatest 'part of my life.' Fox, in 1583, says of him, 'He is not dead, 'but liveth, God be praised; and yet to this present singeth 'merrily, and playeth on the organs.' He died in 1591.

Merbecke executed his task in agreement with Cranmer's suggestions, for we find his Directory is just such a work as the Archbishop desired. He had with regard to the Litany declared his preference for a ferial over a festival form; he was satisfied that the note to the Matins, Evensong, Psalms, and Versicles, as used in the ancient offices, was 'distinct and devout.' As to the delivery of the new matter he decides, that a song (*one* song) shall be made which should not be full of notes, but 'sober and distinct,'—'as near as may be for every note a syllable;' who for a moment can believe that it was the intention of our Bishops to depose the Ritual song of a thousand years, and leave the new book to 'an experimental squadron' of organists and singing men? or that our Psalm Chants should have fallen to the composition of country accompanyists and beardless boys?[1] The song was a holy song—it possessed its derivative and relative holiness as much as the sanctuaries, chancels, vessels, vestments, and the other outward circumstances consecrated to the service and honour of God; and was, further, the only known medium or mechanism in which the

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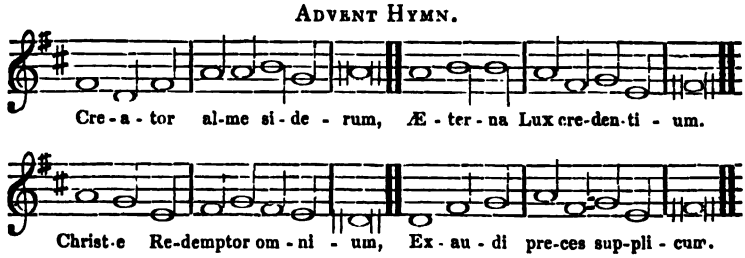
measure. As an example, we append the Advent Hymn, 'Creator alme siderum.' How sad it is that, whilst writing on these beautiful songs, we are unable to refer to any English Choral Book! A spirit is moving, however, which may shortly lead to the production, we trust, of a complete set of office and hymn music.

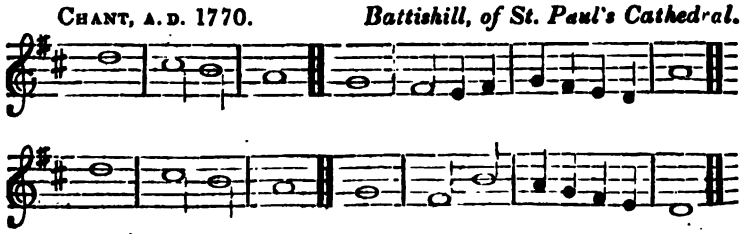
ADVENT HYMN.

[1] Dr. Cooke has left us a naïve account of the education of the quire boy. 'I 'teach my boys,' said the Doctor, 'they teach one another.' The result of 'ucation, as may be imagined, has been as prudent and reasonable as the

offices could be sung or celebrated.[1] Its great beauty was no less a feature than its venerable antiquity. It was as familiar as household words to the English people, who were accustomed to take their share in the services even when the offices were celebrated in Latin; for at the end of Hearne's edition of Robert de Avesbury, (page 379,) we find an extract from the Injunctions of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, (Cardinal Reginald Pole,) which is declaratory of the people joining in the Quire Song in times preceding the reformed usages. 'Item—'the churchwardens of every parish where service was accus-'tomed to be sung exhort all as can sing, and have been accus-'tomed to sing in the quire in the time of schism, *or before*, 'and have withdrawn themselves from singing; and on refusal to 'present them to the Ordinary, or to the Chancellor.'

Merbecke's Directorium has suffered much undeserved misrepresentation by its being considered in a perverse light, a light the author never intended it to be viewed in. His object was not to create a work of 'prycked song,' or 'harmony music,' or hymns and creeds formed on 'solemn composures,' or 'varieties.' He made no attempt to exalt the morning and evening offices above the co-operation of priests and people. The great principle, that the people no less than the ecclesiastical corporation were to be concerned in the celebration of the service, was

[1] 'There is,' says Archbishop Laud, 'a derivative and relative holiness in places as well as vessels dedicated to the service and honour of God. Are we who have separated the chaff to cast away the corn too? If it come to that, let us take heed that we fall not upon the Devil's winnowing, who labours to beat down the corn, for it is not the chaff that troubles him!' With how much more force do these remarks apply to the venerable song of Christendom! and how opposed to the flippancy of a late divine, who introduced into church service secular melodies, on the plea, 'it was a pity the devil should have all the best tunes to himself.' But the evil spirit has no such property in good music; and Dr. Burney never made a sounder observation than when he wrote, 'I have ever observed that national taste in music was good in proportion to the nation's adoption of a right standard in church musick.' But a change in church music has ever marked the progress of heresy in a church. Of that great heretic Paulus Samosatenus, Eusebius writes, that he 'countenanced such songs in the church as would make a man's hair stand staring on his head to hear.' It is enough to allude to the scandalous Thalia of Arius; and the present number of this Review shows that the recent body of German heretics are not in this respect behind their predecessors of all ages. What would Eusebius have thought of a cathedral chant like this?

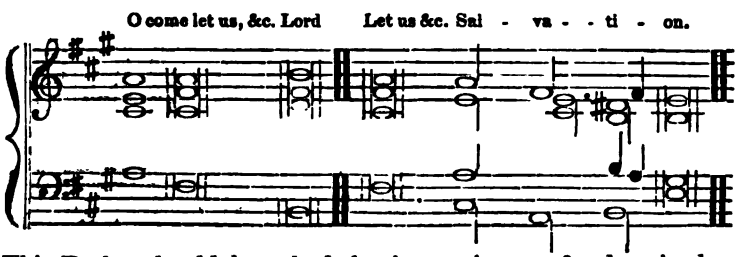
CHANT, A.D. 1770. *Battishill, of St. Paul's Cathedral.*



the rule of his conduct; and in the daily services of Matins and Evensong, as they are still significantly named in the Prayer-Book, his Directory is a mere *fac-simile* of the ancient Church song, in its simplest form. The only difficulty he could have had with quire developments was the reading to be adopted in the music to the 'Te Deum,' and this he gets over by a reference, one may reasonably imagine, to a copy of that published by Merbomius in 1652, and which is presumed to be the most ancient yet discovered. It passed through several impressions, and as a settlement of the ancient ritual song to vernacular purposes never was questioned; of the morning and evening offices we retain every part to this day in all well-regulated cathedrals and collegiate churches, excepting such as the quire have taken from the priests and people by means of their 'solemn composures and new harmony music,' and this change is easy to be accounted for. The new mines of intellectual wealth which the invention of printing had laid open had been vigorously worked by the writers of harmony; the Collection by Peutinger, published in Augsburgh 1520, entitled 'Liber Selectarum Cantionum quas vulgo Motetas appellant,' the Thesaurus of Glarean, published at Basle in 1547, which went through many editions, and the Florilegium, by Bodenschatz,[1] (1603,) containing nearly 300 compositions, in parts, varying from four to ten, show the extraordinary activity of the harmony writers of the Reformed feeling; and of the labours of the Southern musicians, little need be said, as they are too familiar to particularize. This exhibition of skill in the resources of contrapuntal composition appeared in full force in the Eucharistical celebrations of the Latin Church, whilst in the English it was rather more prominently directed to the creation of a more artistical development of the Morning and Evening offices. Those who continued under Roman guidance retained the daily offices and Psalms, with their Ritual music in its simplest form, for the greater facility of a general cooperation by all the members of ecclesiastial foundations, and for the better apprehension of the people. In the English Church, the Communion-office was not one of daily celebration; and the quiremen, feeling the necessity for a daily high celebration in quire foundations, constructed one upon the Morning and Evening offices. Thus originated first the 'varieties,' or mixtures of several Church chants set to the Canticles, and these were followed by certain 'solemn composures,' afterwards included

[1] 1605, Bodenschatz published at Leipsic a 'Psalterium Davidis cum Cantionis, et Orationibus Eccles.: 4 Vocibus composit;' and, in 1608, the ok, 'Harmonia Angelica Cantionum Eccles. oder Englische Freuden-geistliche Kirchen—Psalmen D. Lutheri und andere, mit 4 Stimmen

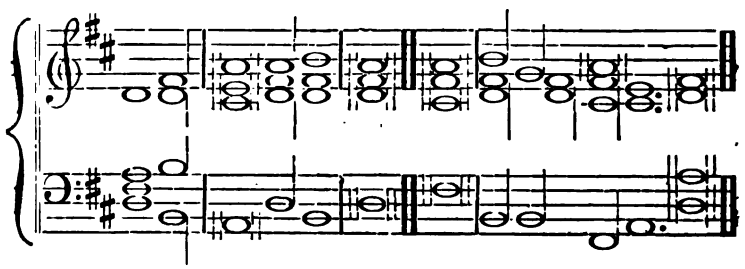
in the generic term 'services.' As there was no 'variety' published until the reign of Elizabeth, it may be a question whether so long as the first form of Edward the Sixth's Communion-office was retained, any such aggregation of chants was permitted. At all events, no 'solemn composure' to any part of the Morning and Evening offices was published to the disadvantage of the ancient ritual song.

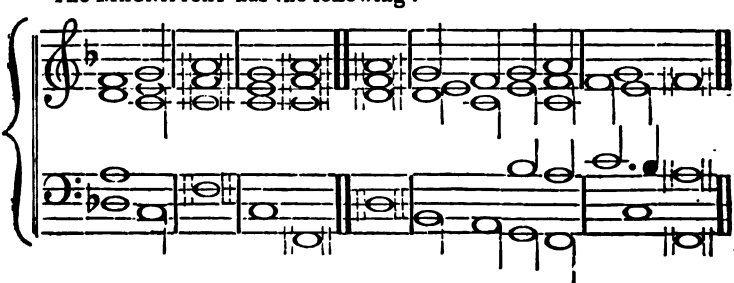
Merbecke, in the selection of the tones, or tunes, for the Canticles and Psalms, chose the peculiar favourites of the English Church, those which our office-books show were 'the Common Tunes,' and best appreciated by the priests and people. The 'Venite Exultemus' is set to the eighth tone, thus:[1]—

This Psalm should have had the intonation prefixed to it, but the reason, probably, of its omission was, that 'the rest of the Psalms, as they be appointed,' were to be sung 'so forth.' In the Evening office, under the title 'Psalmes,' appears the same tone set to the first verse of the sixth Psalm, which is the opening Psalm for the evening of the first of the month. As Merbecke gives no other example of a tone for the Psalms of the month, it is evident he considered the *pointing* of the new Psalter amply sufficient for a just adaptation of the Psalter chants of the ancient Church to the English version. And of this no reasonable man can doubt. But it must be remarked, that when Edward Low, the chapel-organist to Charles the Second, published the second edition of his Directorium in 1664, he gives eight forms of tones for the 'Venite Exultemus,' and adds four more for the Psalms of the month, which he says were 'formerly in use for the Psalms.' Respecting these, he says in the Preface, 'The tunes for the Psalms (as many as we 'retain of them) are exactly the same that were in use in the time 'of King Edward the Sixth. This I can aver from the perusal 'I had of an ancient copy, lent me by Dr. Jones, (the Sub-Dean 'of the chapel,) printed in 1550.' It has been supposed that this work was the Directory of Merbecke, as Mr. Low declares also that it contained Versicles and Responses the same as his.

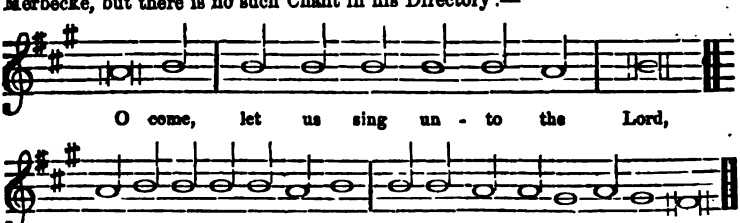
[1] We clothe them in harmony, in order to demonstrate to credulous or ill-informed persons, the power of Church harmony on the ancient chant.

But Merbecke's Directory only affords examp'es of six forms for all the Psalms and Canticles of the daily service; it is, therefore, difficult to understand Low's expression, more especially as he hints that, in his day, the full number of 'the tunes for the Psalms' was not retained in use; and yet he gives six more than Merbecke, who omits the well-known form of the first tone, so identified with the name of Tallis, and which Low gives in his 1661 edition, as the tune for the 'Venite Exultemus,' on week days.

Merbecke's *chant* to the Benedictus—we use the familiar term 'Chant,' although no such word is recognised in our Office-books, or Directoria—is as follows:[1]—

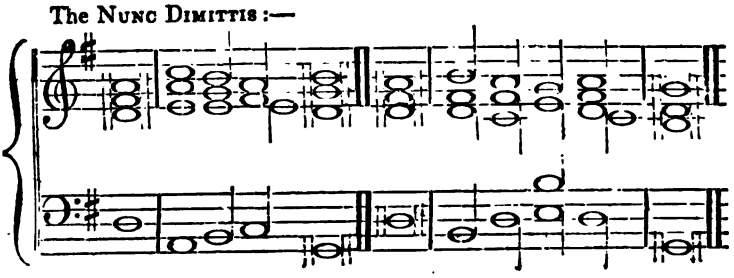


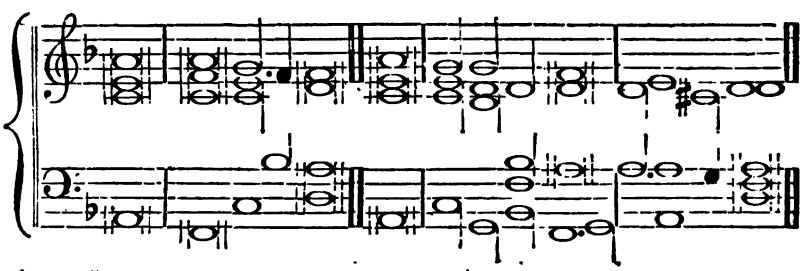
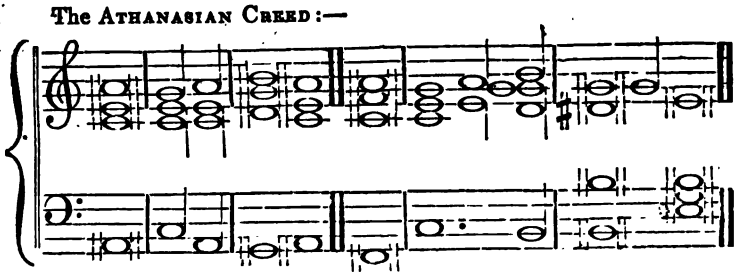
The MAGNIFICAT has the following:—

[1] A modern writer on Church Music gives the following illustration as from Merbecke, but there is no such Chant in his Directory:—



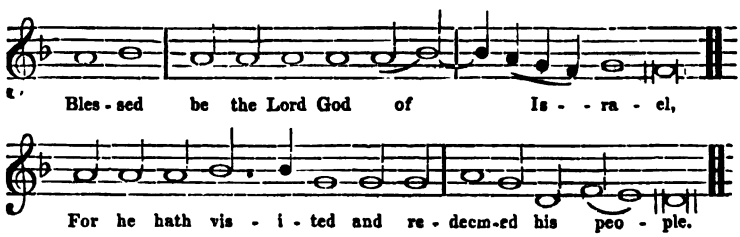
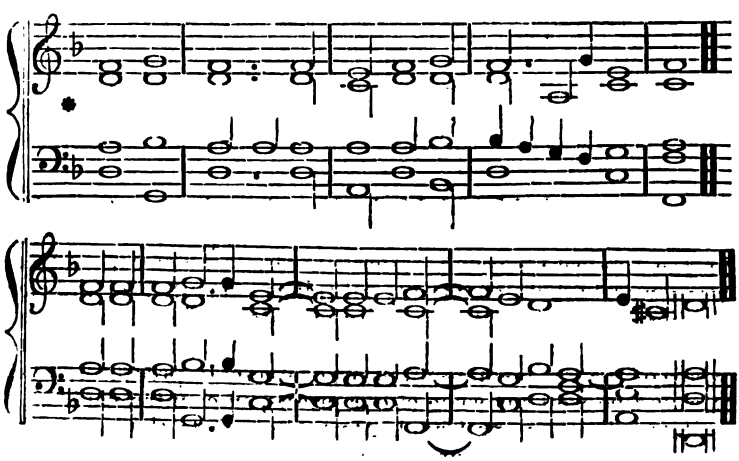
If any of our readers wish to refer to the Gregorian forms, they will find them [illegible] folio, 'Psalmi secundum regulam S. Benedicti,' and in the Spanish forms, (large folio MSS.) both in the British Museum.

The NUNC DIMITTIS :—

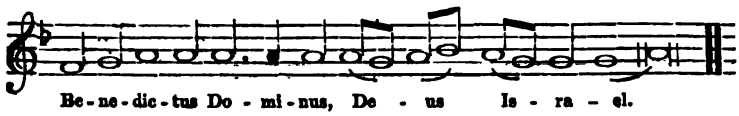


The BENEDICITE :

The ATHANASIAN CREED :—

To the Apostles' Creed, Merbecke assigns the monotone. The monotone is the clerk-tone—the service of the parochial Song-tone in the English Church. Where there was no clerk, the priest was formerly directed 'to say all things appointed for the clerk to sing,' in order that this unity of note might be preserved; and hence it was that Bishop Bedell was accustomed to say the whole of the Psalms himself, in the character of precentor, which it would be well for some of our priests, in country parishes, to imitate. The Nicene Creed, Merbecke sets to the usual antiphon, and the 'Te Deum' is as near as may be, from the most authentic copy known.

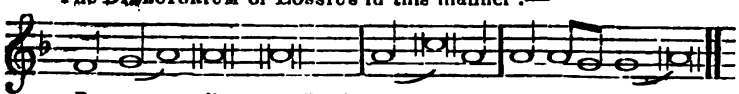
Merbecke's 'Directorium Chori' is (as is, indeed, all other Directories, whether of Rome, Venice, Milan, Spain, or France,)

a manual of ferial rather than festival song. The Responses, Psalm, Canticle, and Hymn Songs, were given without harmony; and this practice was continued for nearly two centuries in the English Church on all the every-day services. But the High Churches, and Chapels Royal, would naturally have retained some sort of festival song; and the peculiarity of the Reformed service, and its singular action on our ancient Church song consisted in the manufacture of a *quasi* festival song out of the ferial forms, by the addition of quire harmonies. Thus, for example, we find the irregular tone given to the Benedictus, by Causton, in Edward the Sixth's reign. The tune stands—

This is the form known in England as 'a variety,' or as we should now term it 'a development,' and which Gaffurius describes as a 'modulatio.' Causton's harmony is as follows:—the chant in the tenor.*

his genuine specimen of Tudor chanting there is neither r nor gabble. It is in the spirit and character of the

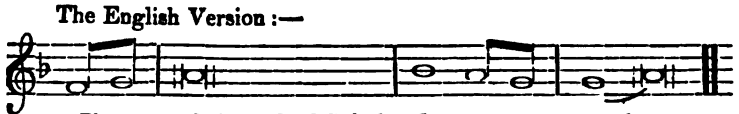
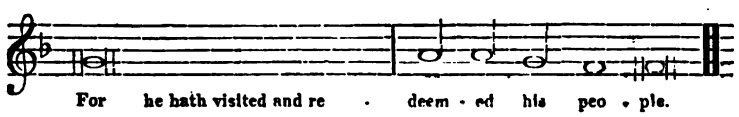
Catholic song, and similar to that retained by the Lutherans. For example, the Milan Manual commences the Benedictus thus:—



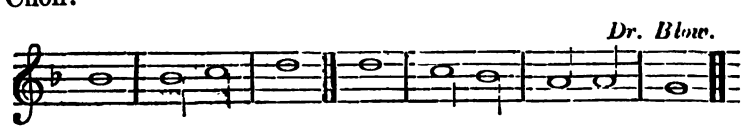
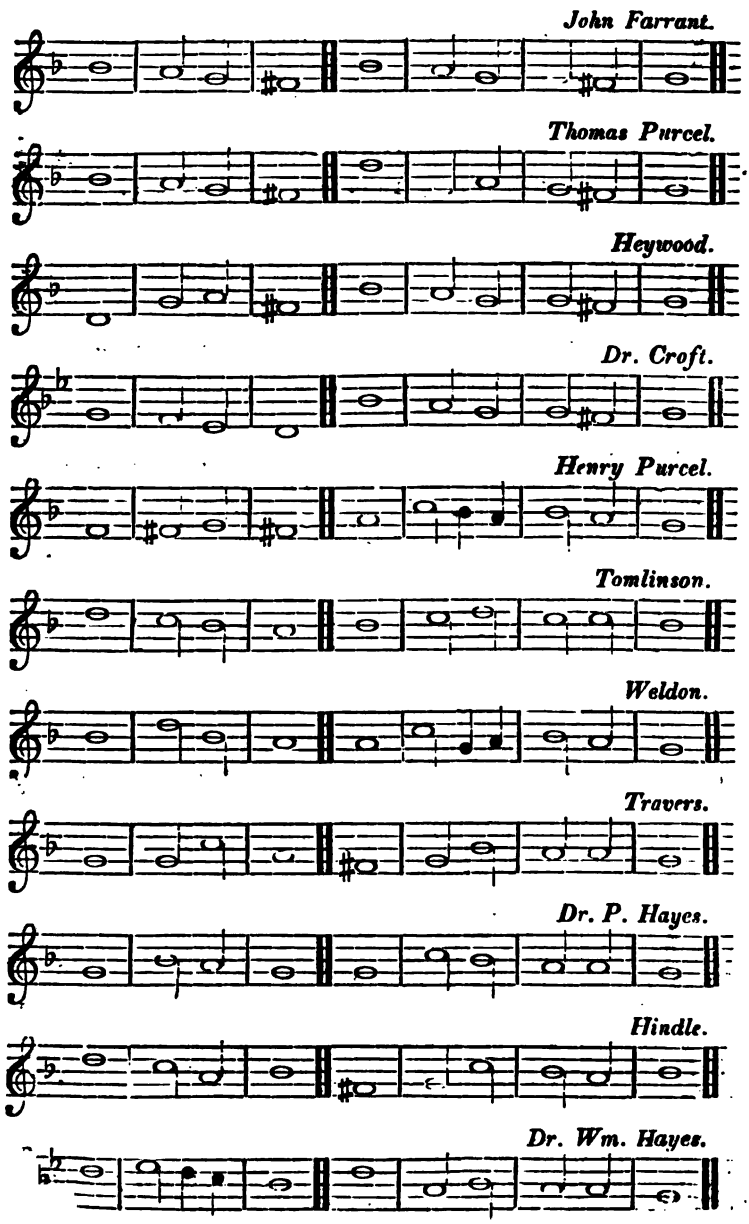
The DIRECTORIUM of LOSSIUS in this manner:—



The English Version:—



Such are some few illustrations of the Canticle and Psalter music, proper for bishops, deans, and priests and people to sing in one common acclamation. And although a little out of chronological position, we quote a few 'Anglican,' 'Protestant,' and 'Cathedral' chants, by way of contrast: and which we are strongly recommended in some quarters to consider beautiful music, and of a more holy and devotional character than any class of music ever admitted into the sanctuary. We select them at random from the little periodical called 'The Parish Choir.'

Dr. Blow.

Henry Purcel.

John Farrant.
Thomas Purcel.
Heywood.
Dr. Croft.
Henry Purcel.
Tomlinson.
Weldon.
Travers.
Dr. P. Hayes.
Hindle.
Dr. Wm. Hayes.

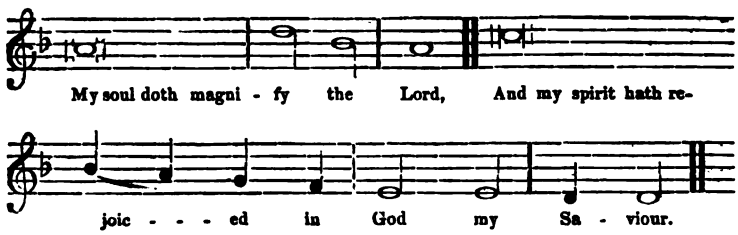
Aldrich.

Edward Purcel.

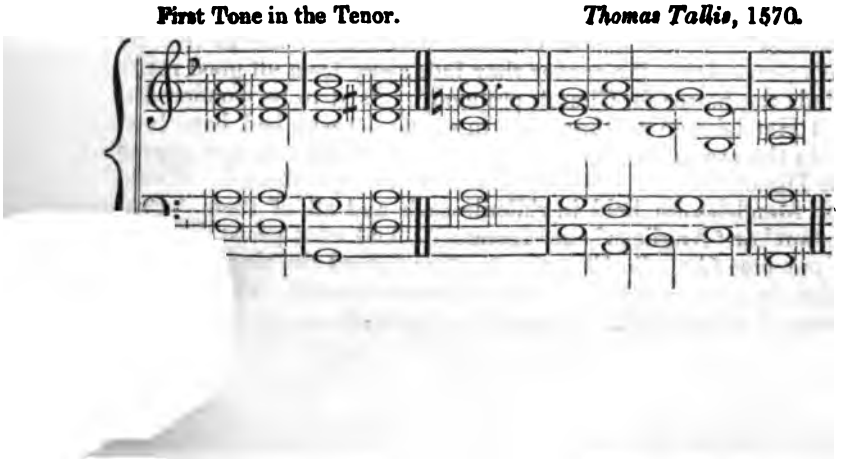
Langdon.

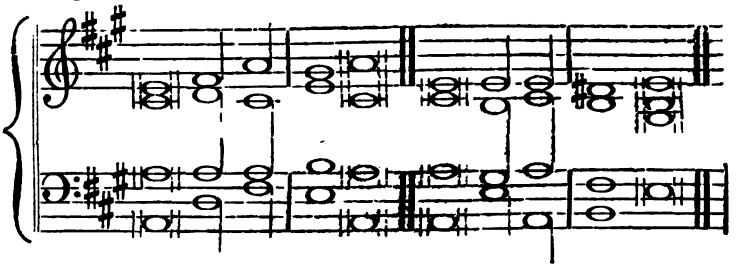
We firmly believe no other church in Christendom can disclose such a strange collection of musical absurdities in so short a compass. These sixteen chants are really such plagiaries one upon the other that they may nearly all be sung together. What difference is there between No. 1 and No. 2 ? between No. 3 and 4? or, 5 and 6? or, 7 and 9, 10 and 11? If there be any merit in any particular one, which composer is to lay claim to it? Can any thing be more frightful than No. 7, by Henry Purcel? We open Mr. Hullah's most objectionable Psalter: yes,—here is one in page 76, ascribed to Mr. Battishill, of St. Paul's.

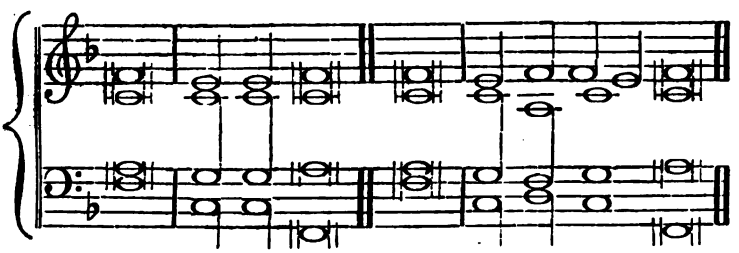
Battishill in G.

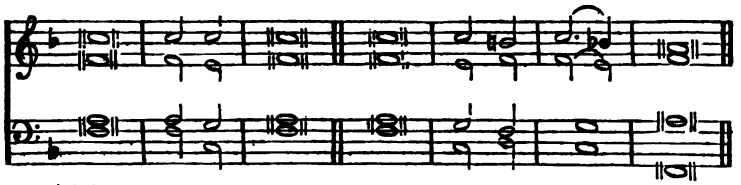
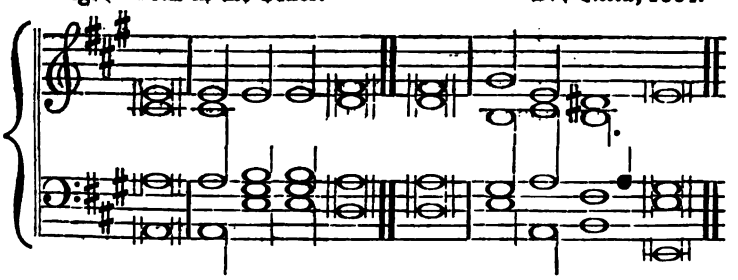
The platitude of a modern ballad is a veritable inspiration in comparison. Would these Church musicians ever have been heard of, were it that their reputations were built on such slender inanities? If the names of Blow and Purcel are to live by such perversities, the sooner they fade away from all good men's minds the better for Church psalmody. Is it to be wondered at that Handel held all these men in scorn: he who had been bred up in the atmosphere of real Church Music, and who had nursed the Directorium of Lossius as his musical horn-book? Would not Mendelssohn hold in ridicule each and all of these 'Protestant' or 'Anglican' excrescences? And what priest is there of our true Catholic Church who dare hazard the singing of the dolefully merry song ascribed to Edward Purcel? Think of the Dean of Westminster commencing the strain:—

And yet these things are permitted in Westminster Abbey. We should have sooner expected an invitation to luncheon with the Dean from a plesiosaurus, or dine off a megatherium, garnished with a rare fossil symbolizing a lettuce. We may jest; but the jest is accompanied with an under-feeling of the most profound melancholy. We have said it already, and we say it again, as an incontrovertible truth, as a maxim never to be out of the remembrance of the priesthood and quiremen,—wherever the Ritual tones of the Church have been thrown aside as things of no price or value,—the just but fearful result has been, that the celebrations have become unnatural, unscriptural, undevotional, and uncongregational,—and, looking at the chants we have quoted, we may add, unartistical; for truth and beauty are the *fundus* of all art, and there is neither one nor the other in such songs as these. But the Directoria of the Church make no mention of such things: one and all, from Cranmer to Playford, from 1544 to 1730, refuse to recognise them; and why they should be permitted is more than the most able casuist can support. Doubtless they grew up *from the practice of harmonizing the plein, or congregational chant.* We can trace them from such experiments as the following:—

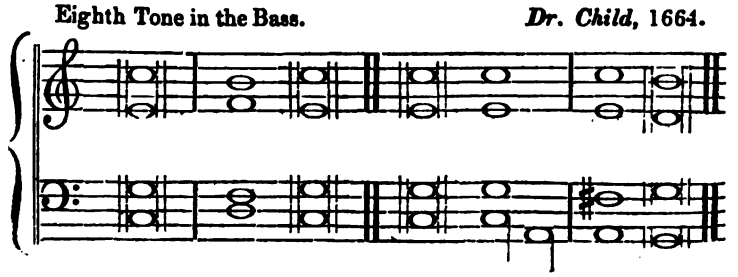
First Tone in the Tenor. ***Thomas Tallis*, 1570.**



Eighth Tone in the Tenor. *Thomas Morley*, 1590.

First Tone in the Tenor. *Adrian Batten*, 1646.

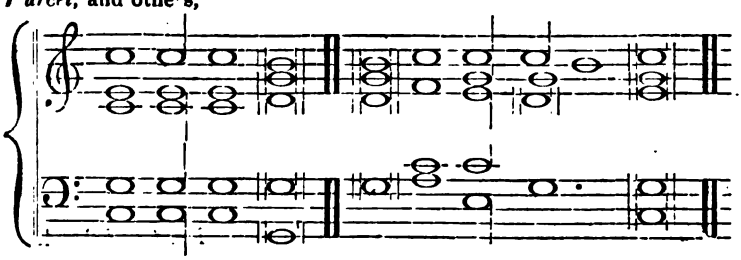


First Tone in the Tenor. *Dr. Child*, 1664.

Eighth Tone in the Tenor. *Dr. Child*, 1664.

Eighth Tone in the Bass. *Dr. Child*, 1664.

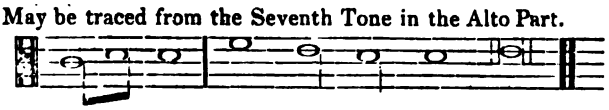


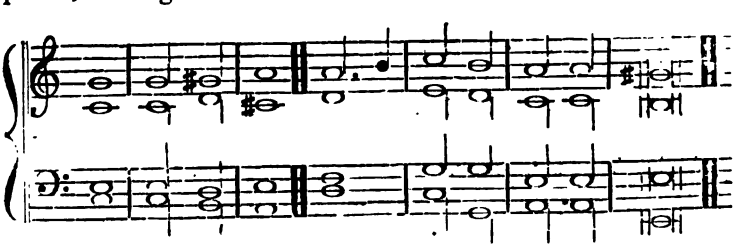
First Tone in the Tenor. *Said to be Tallis*, 1570.

The "Grand Chant," ascribed alike to *Batten*, *Blow*, *Humphreys*, *Purcel*, and others,

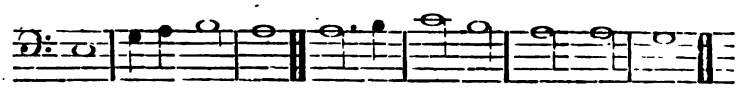


May be traced from the Seventh Tone in the Alto Part.



As many of these tunes (so they are called in the Directoria) were harmonized for equal, or men's, voices, it was natural the plein song would lose in some degree its distinct and prominent character; and were the tenors absent, the song itself would not have been heard. The harmonies are by no means favourable specimens of the talents of the Tudor and Stuart composers, although none are so absurd as this, ascribed to Tallis:—

there is not the slightest evidence that this clumsy harmony ed from the pen of Tallis, and if it did, we presume from ance between the second and third parts, the *plein* song

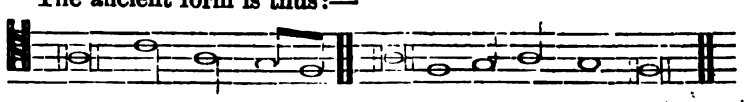
on which it was formed has been omitted. It will run along with the Ambrosian 'Te Deum' thus:—



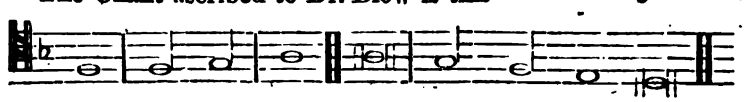
The sharp upon the final was a liberty allowed in harmonizing plein-songs. The new creation, called an Anglican Chant, would more naturally arise, however, from a *variation* of an ancient song. Thus the tune to Heath's 'Venite,' in 'Day's Church Harmony, 1560,' published in the 'Parish Choir' as an original chant by Heath, of the early date of 1560, is clearly a mere variation from an ancient one.

Heath, 1560.

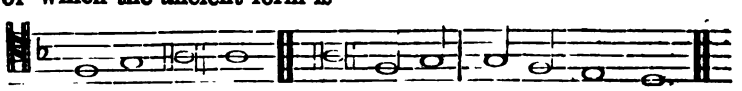
The ancient form is thus:—



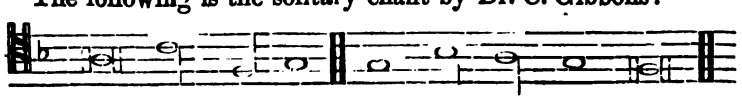
The Chant ascribed to Dr. Elow is this—



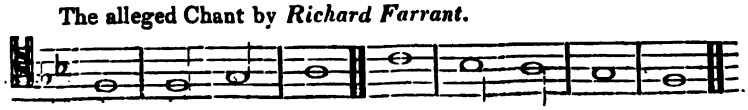
of which the ancient form is—



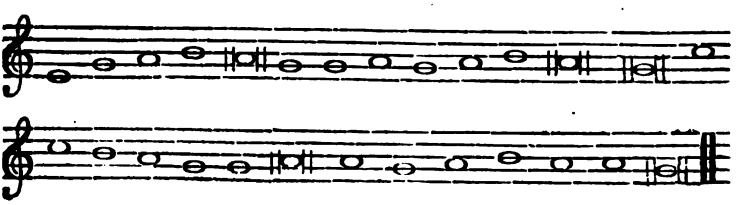
The following is the solitary chant by Dr. C. Gibbons:—



The Ancient Form:—

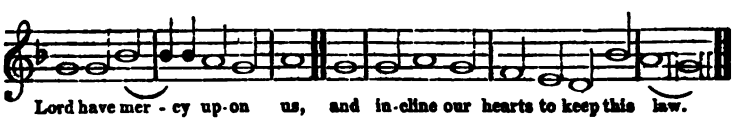
The alleged Chant by *Richard Farrant.*

The Ancient Form:—

The publication of a second Directorium in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the use of the Quire, forms a most important era in the history of the harmonized music of the English Church. It appeared in 1560, under the title 'Certayne Notes set forth 'in three and four parts, to be sung at the Morning Communion, 'and Evening Praier, very necessary for the Church of Christ, 'to be frequented and used: and unto them be added divers Godly 'Praiers and Psalms in the like forme to the honour and praise 'of God.' It appeared again in 1565, as 'Morning and Evening 'Prayer and Communion, set forth in 4 parts, to be song in 'Churches, both for men and children, with divers other Godly 'Praiers and Anthems, of sundry Men's doings.' This work divides into two parts, one as a Quire Manual, upon the ancient Ritual Song, and the other as an exhibition of that inferior kind of motet, or anthem, which was the offspring of the Psalm-tune fever. The Ritual music commences with the 'Venite,' so that we may conclude the preces and suffrages were sung in their ancient purity. Nor is there any new-fangled chant for 'the 'Psalter or Psalms of David, after the translation of the great 'Bible, pointed as it shall be songe in Churches.' Of the Morning-office, the Venite, Te Deum, and Benedictus, appear twice by Causton and once by Heath. The Ambrosian Te Deum forms the one by Heath, and thus opens:



The earliest harmony on this venerable song, is that of Sir Thomas Packe, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, for three voices, the words being in Latin and English. It is found among the Harleian Manuscripts, in a volume of Harmonized Music, by Mundye, Johnson, Heath, Aston, More and others.[1] The first Deum by Causton is on the plein-song,

[1] these MSS. is a rare collection in four vols. of the Royal Chapel music, 'voices for each day of the week,' and which is impressed on the covers as of King Henry and Catherine of Arragon.

Of the Evening-office there is only the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. The Communion-office music is formed of the Kyrie Eleison, Creed, Offertorium, Sanctus, and Gloria. The first Kyrie is a beautiful 'variety' on the seventh tone,—

The Letanie is nicely harmonized in the sixth tone by Causton. The Communion-office music is in the same school. The anthem music is curious for its medley of words, and for its harmonical structure. As it was the custom to sing two anthems in each service, the Quiremen ransacked all kinds of publications for words, and 'the godly praiers' which were invented seem almost innumerable. Although our revisers had cut away the ancient Hymns of the Church, the quiremen would not resign them, and the 'Hymns of the Chapel Royal,' in use from 1558 to 1668, would form a curious and amusing volume. For instance, the following Anthems by Mundye and others:—

'The secret sins that hidden lye
Within my pensive heart.' (Mundye.)

'Ah! helpless wretch—what shall I do,
Or which way shall I go or run?' (Mundye.)

'Lord, to Thee I make my moan!' (Weelkes.)

'In Bethlehem Town, O happy Town!' (Batten.)

'Behold, O God, the sad and heavy case
Wherein we stand as simple sheep forlorn!' (Byrde.)

'The twelve Apostles in a ring
Sat round the Table with their King.' (Cook.)

'Hearken, O God, unto a wretch's cries,
Who low, dejected, at thy footstool lies.'
(Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester.)

'The simple sheep that went astray,
Good Lord, call home again.' (Tallis.)

'O all true British hearts, with one accord,
United in one head sing to the Lord.'

A Christmas anthem by Ford is curiously absurd,—

'Look shepherds, look! why? where?
See you not yonder? There!
'Angel loquitur.'
'Post to Bethlehem—post about;
Post and find this infant out.'

Some are from the 'Handful of Honeysuckles,' by Hunnis; and this erotic language of the Amiens and Wesley hymns was prototyped in expressions like these,—

'O Jesu meek—O Jesu sweet.'
'O Jesu sweet, grant that thy grace.'
'O Jesu dear, do Thou with me.'
'O Jesu meek, grant that I may.'
'O Jesu mild, Thine ear bow down;'

and an anthem by Tomkins is set to the madrigalian dittie,—

'Above the stars my Saviour dwells,
I love—I care—for nothing else;
There—there he sits and fits a place,
For the glorious heirs of grace.
Dear Saviour! raise my duller eye,
Let me but see thy beams divine;
Ravish my soul with wonder and desire,
Ere I enjoy—let me thy joys admire;
And wondering let me say,
Come Lord Jesu—come, away!'

We have selected these lines from the curious folio containing 'Words of Anthems by English Composers, sung in 'the Chapel Royal, from the time of Hen. VIII. until the close 'of the 17th century.'[1] We often hear the argument—the Protestant Chant is 'a great fact' in the Anglican Church, and cannot be gainsayed: the Hymn Anthem is, if possible, a greater, and is supported by the authorities of kings, queens, bishops, doctors, and numerous great lights of the Church; but are we on this account to return to the burden,

'Post to Bethlehem, post about,
Post and find this infant out,'

and sing the melancholy rhymes above quoted?

The Anthems in Day's Directory demonstrate clearly, that there were two styles of composition adopted by Tallis, Mundye, Johnson, White, Byrde, and the great Tudor composers. Comparing their compositions in that work with the first publications of Palestrina,[2] the difference in an artistical view is immeasurable. eadth of phrase, the purity of harmony, the facility in

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e given in Clifford, 1664.
a Festorum totius anni,' 1563. 'J. P. A. Prerestini missarum liber 67. 'Liber primus Motettorum,' 1569.

texture, the variety in cadence, all show, on the part of the Roman composer, a power and depth of poetical and æsthetical feeling, for which he was never at any loss to give expression in artistical symbols. We find, however, many of the same features in the 'In Nomines,' 'Misereres,' 'Kyries,' and 'Cantiones,' of his English contemporaries.[1] But these things were written for the Latin Church, not for the Puritans of Edward and Elizabeth, and the only opportunity for a Tudor artist to give scope to his imagination, was in the composition of the madrigal, or a Latin motet. The dull uniformity of the octo-syllabic psalm with its Pavan kind of melody, had blighted the spring of Church harmony, and although the early metrical psalm counterpoints exhibit much ingenuity, the 'note to a syllable' order of composition was a death-blow to all fine and grand writing. Now and then, such as in the splendid anthem for two quires, 'O! praise the Lord,' of Robert White, we see an escape from the trammels of the Protestant school, a school which, at a later period, Dr. Orlando Gibbons extinguished, by his happy imitations of his continental contemporaries.

The next printed work to Day's, as a Directory for Church Music, was the 'Church Music,' by John Barnard, a minor canon of St. Paul's. In this work, consisting of ten volumes, we notice the first mention of the term 'service,' as applied to the quire harmony of the Matin and Even-song offices. The high service of the Communion-office—the only celebration to which the term 'Service,' as strictly synonymous with 'Liturgy,' in its true Sacrificial sense, can apply,—had fallen and passed away; the Dignitaries of the Ecclesiastical Corporation naturally declined to yield its celebration to the Quire, this service being, according to ancient practice, one peculiarly requiring their cooperation. But as the Dignitaries neglected to study the Ritual Song, the Communion-office soon became remarkable for a plain parochial use, that of the monotone, and the Quire left it solely to Priests, who knew nothing of the songs of their Church. But the higher forms of Church Song remained, and the modern Cathedral service of a morning and evening Prayer supplied the place of a noble artistical celebration of the Eucharistal office. The quire had undertaken the entire celebration of the people's ritual music, with the ex-

[1] Compare the 'Civitas sancti tui' of William Byrde, commonly known as 'Bow thine ear,' 'Aspice Domine,' and the other five-voiced motets of this composer, written for the Church in Queen Mary's reign, with the Anthems and Godly Praiers in Day's 'Quire Manual,' of 1560. See also the motets by Tallis, 'Miserere nostri,' 'O sacrum convivium,' 'Salvator mundi,' and others; the 'Aspice Domine' of Peter Phillips, 'Miserere' and 'Ascendo' of Tye, 'Ave lumen gratiæ' of Fayrfax, 'Esurientes' of Shephard, and others of the first Tudor epoch.

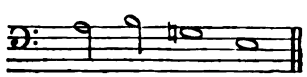
ception of the Confession,[1] the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Psalter. The people, to use Mr. Jebb's expression, were 'vocally represented' (in the teeth of the rubrics) by the quire; the Ritual Song of the preces and suffrages, and versicles, were 'set to music;' the capitulars who 'ought,' says Mr. Jebb, 'to celebrate, in the ecclesiastical tone, 'the greater part of morning and evening service,' were naturally confounded with the new forms, and shut up their lips. The congregation, as a great favour, were permitted 'to join with 'their lips in a whisper or subdued chant,' (Mr. Jebb,) as their 'inharmonious crash' was 'unnecessary'! Mr. Bennett is not so unkind; he thinks 'the congregation not mere lookers-on as in the Latin Church,' and that the duty of the quire is to lead, and that of the people to sing in 'an undersong'! These theories are decidedly pretty, and of a soft and gentle aspect; but they happen not to be Rubrical, and also impossible to put into practice. The people cannot do more than the priests, and we need not be told that the priests cannot sing a Ritual office if children are to lead them with an artistical harmony. There can be only *one song* for priests and people; this in modern days is given to children, and, to realize the theory of Mr. Jebb and Mr. Bennett, we must witness the children of the quire in cathedrals singing for the dean and chapter in the daily offices, and the parochial schools in parish churches, guiding and directing the rector and his curates. But the English clergy refuse this manner of teaching, and it is not to be wondered at that the people follow their example. Every incumbent is the precentor of his parish—the clerk or clerks respond, and lead the respondents: if the priest *precent*, it must be the *cantus*—the plein song that he delivers, as is required in cathedrals, and where that cantus has been deposed for boy tunes and Anglican Chants, he is silent. Example is stronger than precept; and although the people are told to sing 'to the praise and glory of God,' they no more do so than do their priests. Thus the service becomes one of deputy celebration, in all parts of musical expression.

Although Barnard's work offers a bad example in the harmonies to the preces and versicles, the handiwork of Tallis, Byrde, and Gibbons, it is valuable as showing that the Church retained the ancient songs to the Psalms; for there is no shadow of an Anglican chant throughout the ten volumes. And the evidence of Ravenscroft is directly in favour of their continuance. The

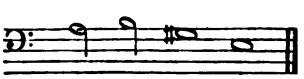
[1] Mr. Jebb recommends a Quire harmony to the Confession, this last relic of a '...'s church service! The whole of his arguments on Church Music are based on '...ral mode,' forgetting the part which the people ought to take in the public ...Mr. Bennett falls into the same error, and the services at St. Paul's, ...ridge, are, in this respect, as unchurchlike, though of course not so as the Gallery Quire manifestations of the Foundling Chapel.

'Musicall and Evangelicall' Psalter of this composer was published first in 1621, and re-issued in 1633. In the preface[1] he says, 'the Psalms, Responses and Anthems, *usually sung in the Church in prose*,' are sung 'in the playne song;' and the playne song he describes as the *sing-weise*, or *phonascus* of the Ritual-song. The 'phonaskes' he declares is the 'tenor part of the playne song,' and is divided into the three kinds of 'Gregorian, Ambrosian, and Peregrine.' The testimony of Bachelor Ravenscroft that the *phonascus* was used in his day to the singing of the prose Psalms, throws more than a suspicion on the chant-ballad tunes ascribed to the Tudor writers.

We may also mention the name of Thomas Morley, the theorist, in corroboration. In the 'Plaine and Easy Introduction to 'Practical Musicke' he says, 'churchmen have devised certain 'notes commonly called the Eight Tunes,[2] of which the tenor be 'the playne song. Here they be.' Then follow the eight chants, in equal notes, and in a four-part harmony. The seventh tone ends in the minor, but the fourth, instead of closing,



terminates in this manner, for the sake of the harmony:—



Nor does Dr. Dowland omit the subject of the Church Songs in his translation of the 'Theory of Ornithoparcus,' published in 1609. After referring to the works of Guido, Joannes Pontifex, Barnard, Gregory, Berno the Abbot, John Tinctor, and quoting the rules of Michael Galliculo de Muris, he says, 'respecting

[1] We much regret Mr. Havergal should have omitted the preface in his beautiful and otherwise accurate reprint of this work (1845). He is an excellent musician of the Neapolitan school, but we have no sympathy with his approval of the vulgar melodies that ousted our Sarum Hymnarium. The 'Tunes Evangelicall' are infinitely beneath our own noble Songs to the Hour and Festival Hymns, and are far below even those of Veise and Luther. We regret to have found this really clever musician adding 'One Hundred Antiphonal Chants' to a Church which has ever possessed an authoritative Psalmody, and which has never sought 'man's wisdom to provide it for her.' And had she been so deserted, the Durante School of Mr. Havergal, that of tonal harmony upon two scales, and a system of melody unknown to the ancient Church musicians, is but a poor and unsatisfactory substitute for the gorgeous variety and sublime uncertainties of a wider and more wondrous mechanism.

[2] The usual designation was 'the Church Tunes,' although this term became applied to the Metre Psalm Tunes. Alison in his Psalter (1599) styles the Metre Psalm Tune 'the Common Tune.' 'The Playne Song,' he says, 'is the Common Tune to be sung.'

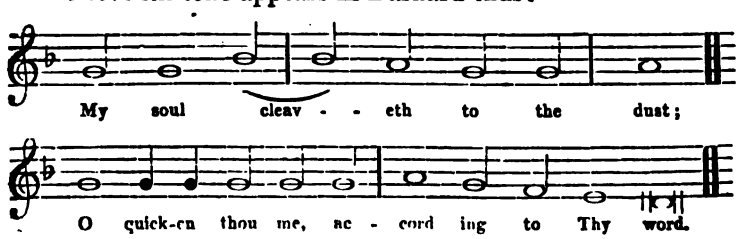
'the true manner of singing the Psalms, there is such diversity, 'that every one has his own fashion of singing. Neither do 'they observe the statutes and precepts of their forefathers; 'there is such dissension grown up in the Church, such discord 'and confusion, that scarce two sing after one manner. This 'doth Pontifex, in his 22d chapter, very much reprehend, and 'surely with good reason.'

Thomas Mace, one of the Clerks of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was born in 1613, and published his 'Music's Monument,' in 1676, ascribes the defects of Church Psalmody to 'the thinness of the Quires, thro' the paucity of Clerks and 'the disability and insufficiency of most of the Clerks, very few 'of whom are *Masters of Song*, much less of the art of music 'generally.'[1]

Barnard gives examples of a high order of Psalmody, a harmonised 'variety' upon certain passages from the Psalms, which are found in MS. also in the Lambeth Library; and which, in the absence of all other evidence, we are content to take as the true style of Tudor and Stuart chanting; and a noble and magnificent declamation it is.

As the MS. in the Lambeth Library contains only the bass part, we can give no specimen of plein chant from that collection. The same remark applies to those in Barnard's Church music, the only known perfect copy of which is said to be in the Royal Library at Berlin. But as the tenor part is among those deposited in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, Hereford, we make one extract, but which we are compelled to give without the harmony:—

The seventh tone appears in Barnard thus:



It would be very difficult to trace any resemblance of the 'Anglican chant' in this example of the Psalter music of the

[1] 'I have known,' says Mace, 'a reverend Dean egregiously baffled by a Clerk, who was more ignorant than a boy might be who had learned only one month. This Dean reproved this bold, confident dunce of a Clerk, by reason of his great dunstical insufficiency; when the Clerk, with a stern and angry countenance, and with a vehement rattling voice, made the church ring, saying, "Sir-r-r-r, I'd have you to know I sing after the rate of so much wages a-year; and except ye mend them, I am resolved never to sing any better as long as I live."'

Caroline epoch. It is no part of our intention to notice the anthem music in Barnard's book, of which we may remark, that it formed one great link in the revival of Church practices consequent on the exertions of the great Archbishop Laud. He is noticed in connexion with the curious broad-sheet, published in 1641, entitled 'The Organ's Echo to the Tune of the Cathedral Service,' and which commences—

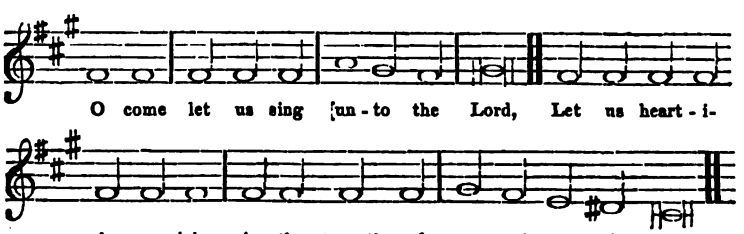
'Memento mori—I'll tell you a strange story,
Will make you all sorry, For our old friend William,
Alas, poor William!
Some say he was in hope, To bring England again to the Pope,
But now he's in danger of an axe or a rope; Farewell old Canterbury,
Alas, poor Canterbury!
There's another of the same litter, Whose heart cannot but twitter,
He was against all goodness so bitter; 'Twas the Bishop of Ely,[1]
Alas, poor Ely!
Deans and Chapters with their retinue, Are not like long to continue,
They have so abused their great revenne, That down must come ceremony,
Alas! Popish Ceremonies!"

The Prayer-book was a much dreaded book during the Great Rebellion. 'By daily familiarity and reading of this Book of Com-'mon Prayer,' says the writer of 'A Search after God's wrath,'[2] 'so corrupted and transformed by bishops, we abate and cool in 'our devotion, cast water upon our zeal, quench the Spirit, 'practise a standard temptation, prove a sad occasion to the 'godly, build up that we have destroyed, and intangle ourselves 'again in the yoke of bondage!'

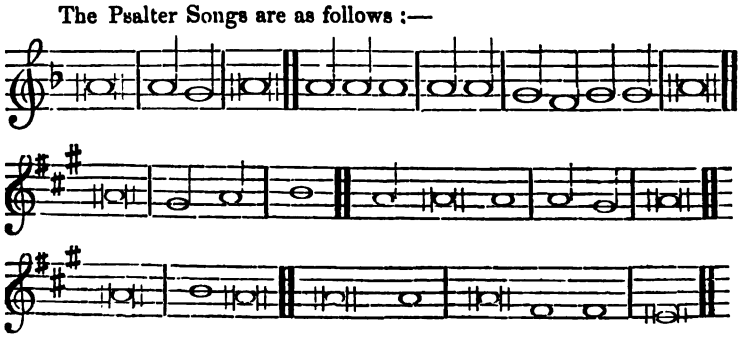
The Restoration was the occasion of the issuing of two Directories containing the Ritual song. The one was by the Rev. James Clifford, a minor canon of St. Paul's, which was published in 1663; and the other was by Edward Low, the chapel organist, issued respectively in 1661 and 1664. Both publications are interesting, but that by the priest particularly so. He inscribes his work to Dr. Walter Jones, the sub-dean of the Chapel, and the imprimatur is that of Bishop Hall. To the Sub-dean he says, 'You have the supreme mastery in religious music, by which 'you charm the soul and all its affections; for higher works 'God hath fitted and prepared your most artful hand, and hath 'placed you in an orb from whence your melody (as of the 'spheres) of holiness and constant goodness, in and for the 'Church, is universally heard with joy and delight.' In his preface he states, 'That I may inform and direct all other quires 'that are remote, with the exact and uniform performance (!) 'both at His Majesty's Chapel Royal and at (the mother of all 'Cathedrals) St. Paul's, in London, I have here inserted *all the*

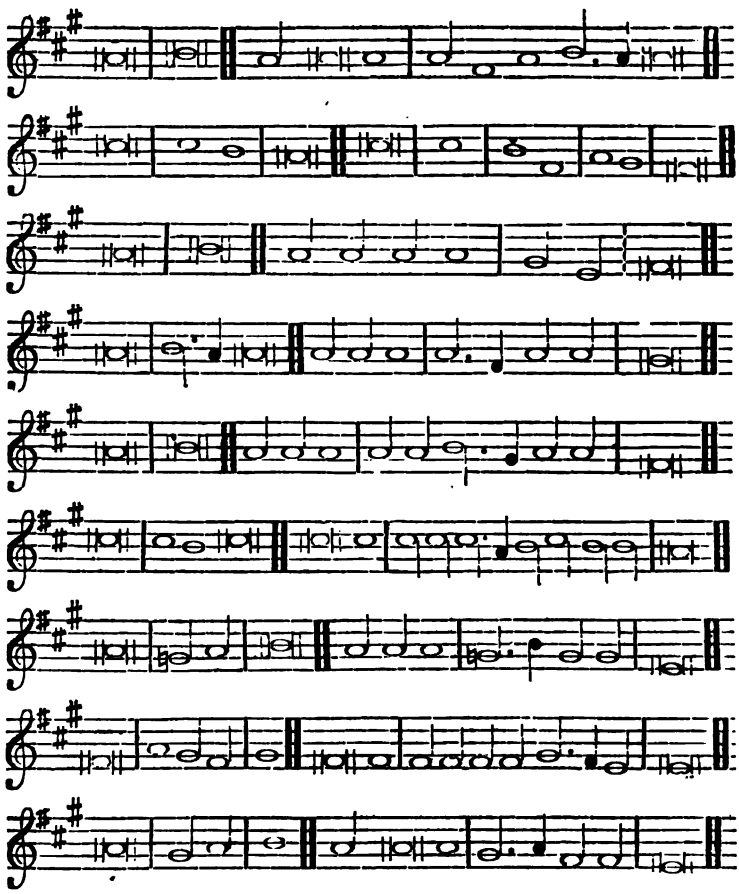
[1] The loyal and learned Matthew Wren.
[2] Search after God's Wrath on Cathedrals. 4to. London, 1644.

'*tunes* [tones] *now in use with us in all parts of the service:* namely, 'The Venite, Te Deum, Benedicite, Benedictus, Jubilate, Mag-'nificat, Cantate Domino, Nunc dimittis, Misereatur, (when more 'solemn composures[1] are not used,) and also *in the Psalms for the* '*month*, and for the Quicunque Vult upon its proper days. Thus I 'hope in some measure to encourage the studious, inform the igno-'rant, and abate the malice of the foul detractor, when he shall see 'we make use of nothing in God's worship that we are either 'afraid or ashamed to publish.' Mr. Clifford seems not to have known of any such word as 'chant,' much less of any such term as 'an Anglican chant.' His Psalm songs he calls by the good old termody of 'the common tunes,' and his 'common tunes' are the tones of all Christendom, the holy songs of the Catholic Church. He says—'the reader is to observe that although "the ordinary 'tunes" are done in notes, yet they are not intended to signify '*any exact time.*' And he is further cautioned to observe 'that 'the minim or semibreve are only put where the syllables are to 'be sung slower, and more emphatically than the rest.' For example:



The Psalter Songs are as follows:—

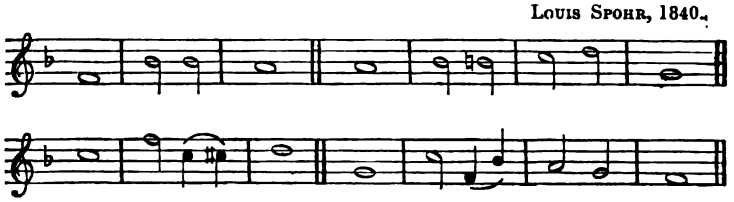


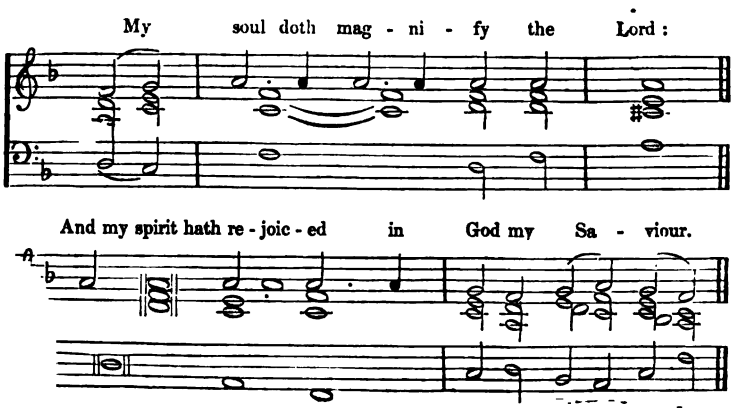
[1] 'Solemn,' in the sense of High or Festival; and 'Composures,' as contra-distin-guished from the specimens of harmonized Ritual Songs which he gives in his

We have heard lately of 'Dr. Hook[1] and the Anglican chant,' of 'The duty of learning to sing,' and to sing the uncalled-for interpolation of 'a Protestant chant,' but why any Dean or any Canon of a Cathedral should permit any other chant than those which were in the Church at the time of the reformed epoch, and which were restored to us again under such authority as Bishop Hall and Dr. Walter Jones, is more than we can reduce to reason. Does not Mr. Clifford plainly asseverate his list contains *all* that were in use, *all* that he was 'neither afraid nor ashamed to publish?' Neither are they in measure,—a fact

[1] We have noticed at Leeds that Dr. Hook takes no share in the 'Anglican Chants.' Nor can his congregation. It is a Choir service, not a Congregational one.

he most particularly points out and guards against,—neither are they in harmony,—but he adds four of them in harmony for 'solemn occasions,' which he terms—Mr. Adrian Batten's Tune (not chant); Christchurch Tune; Canterbury Tune; and, The Imperial Tune.

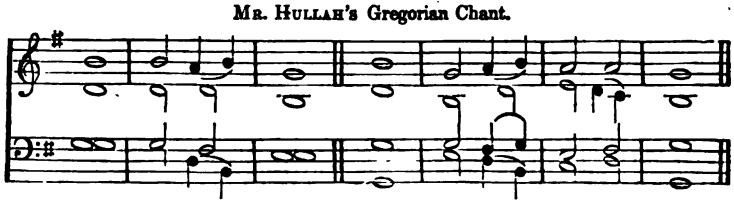
But we are told, 'the present style of Church composition is 'at once so solemn, grand, and elevated;' and as a specimen of the new style we are presented with this 'phrase, or motivo, 'taken from one of Spohr's compositions, and arranged by 'Mr. Turle of Westminster Abbey, for the Psalms of the 13th 'day of the month.'

Louis Spohr, 1840.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Turle can find leisure for such perpetrations. The English Church needs no new Ritual music; and with respect to this chant, we can truly affirm Dr. Spohr would say, 'I never wrote it;' and what is more, he would object to have his name, so justly celebrated, in connexion with a Psalter chant; for he, of all men, well knows he can never equal the weakest of the Church songs. To Mr. Turle he would surely remark, 'Has your Church no Ritual music,—no 'Psalterium, that you should transmute my thoughts into such 'an harlequinade?' How poor and contemptible is this modern changeling compared with a genuine Psalm tone:—



'It is well known,' says Mr. Hullah, in that farrago of absurdity, the preface to his Psalter, 'that the chant in the 'English Church has, *for several centuries*, maintained a definite 'form of two short phrases; the one usually divided into three, 'the other four bars; and that to these all verses, of whatever 'length, are adapted.' How can this be true? Merbecke, Day, Morley, Ravenscroft, Barnard, and Clifford, all prove the contrary. This gentleman, in order 'to trace a style of harmonization suited to the character and construction of our Psalm songs,' went on 'a visit to Paris!!' The result is, beyond measure, formidable. Mr. Hullah has found out that the lovely and imperishable Psalm song, the sixth tone of the Church, in order that it may not be 'totally devoid of that peculiar accent so happily fitted to the genius of the English language,' that it may not be 'new and strange to Protestant ears!' and lastly, that 'it may not betray its Roman origin!!' should be printed thus—

Mr. Hullah's Gregorian Chant.



We recollect a Royal Chapel anthem of Lawes, beginning with the words—

'His angels shall direct his legs;'

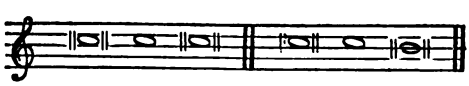
being a metrical version of the text—'He shall give his angels 'charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear 'thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.' Mr. Hullah is of a kindred spirit with the poet, and quite as successful in turning sublime and beautiful images into ridiculous and stupid ones. It is well for him that he did not flourish in the days of Bishop Hall and Dr. Walter Jones; for no bishop, with the slightest knowledge of our Ritual music, would have given Mr. Hullah an 'imprimatur' to so much absurdity as is contained in his Psalter. He is, as he says, an advocate 'for the employment of high art in the service of religion.' So are we; but we want our people's songs for the people's voice, and not 'the high art' of Flintoft and Fussell, Hindle and Hawkins, Beckwith and Woodward, Randall and Robinson, Felton and

Marsh, all of whom were utterly ignorant of Church music, and unacquainted with every principle of high art in musical composition.

But the directory of Edward Low, organist of the Chapel Royal, offers another proof that our Ritual music was held in its proper estimation, and that the Anglican or Protestant chant was then unknown. The first edition was printed at Oxford in 1661, under the title 'Directions for the performance of 'Cathedral Service, published for the information of such persons 'as are ignorant of it, and shall be called to officiate in Cathedral 'or Collegiate Churches, where it hath formerly been in use.' After giving the ancient tones of the pieces without harmony, he gives the tones for the Venite, one for the week day,

the other for Sundays and holy-days—

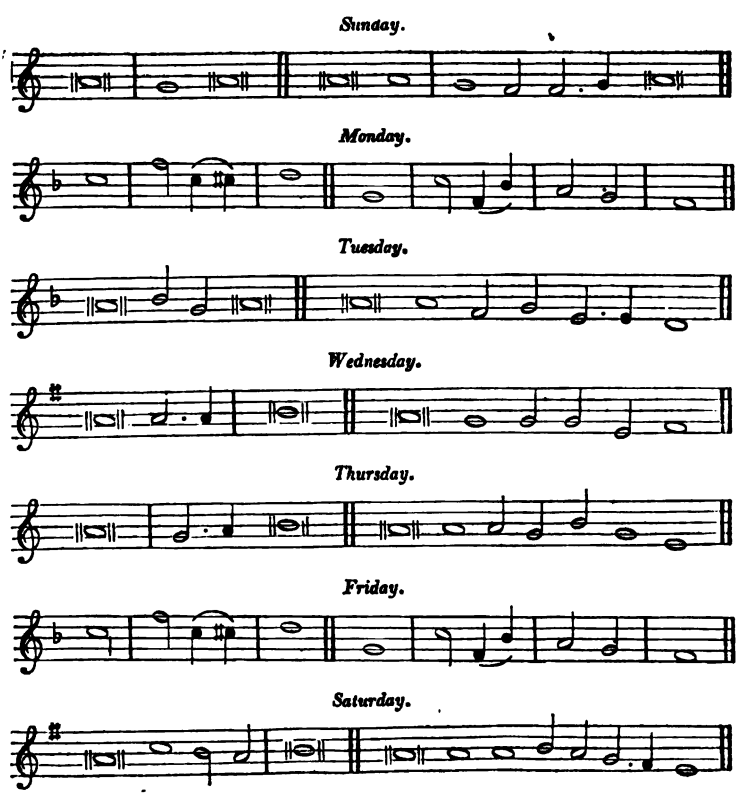
'The notes,' he says, 'signify no exact measure.'

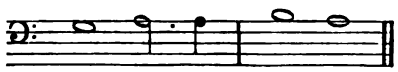
He adds the Christchurch tune, (first tone, fourth ending,) 'the Canterbury tune;'

and the eighth tone, in a harmony of four parts, for the Canticles. The second edition contains a great addition of the ancient Psalm songs, of which he gives thirteen forms without harmony, and four with. He directs 'the Psalms for the day to be sung (for sides) to either of the tunes.' The notes 'signify no exact 'time; the breves are where the syllables are to be sung slower 'than the other.' The Te Deum is to be sung as 'set in variety 'by Tallis, Bird, and others, or else to one of the tunes in four 'parts.' At Salisbury, he says, the Athanasian creed was always sung to the seventh tone, and the 137th Psalm to the Peregrine. The eighth tone, with Dr. Child's harmony, was Windsor always sung to the Te Deum on ferial days, but ...n days' it was used to the Psalms. The book is also ...o Dr. Walter Jones; and in the preface he writes,

'It hath been convenient to revive the general practice of the 'ordinary performance of Cathedral service. To this end a 'person (meaning himself) is willingly employed who hath seen, 'understood, and bore a part in the same from his childhood. 'He hath published the ordinary (ferial) and extraordinary '(festival) parts, both for the priest and the whole quire.' Of the hymn and canticle music he observes, 'The four-part 'tunes are to serve only so long till quires are more learnedly 'musical.'

Having quoted the chants from Clifford we forbear from further extracts from Low, as the tones appear in his publication in a form almost identical.

The Directory of John Playford is found in his 'Introduction to the skill of Music'—which was first published in 1655, and again and again reprinted up to 1730. We take the edition of 1724, printed in the time of Dr. Croft. His Psalter chants are these:—



The 'Te Deum' he directs the Priest to begin in the Ambrosian tone thus:—

We praise thee, O God.

This Hymn is 'set in four parts for sides by several authors, 'but sometimes it is sung to one of the following tunes in four 'parts, with the organ or without it.' So also with the Benedictus and Jubilate. Then follow the plein chants in harmony, called 'Canterbury Tune,' 'Imperial Tune,' &c.

Such is the accumulated testimony for the rule of conformity in the English Church with the Catholic tones of Christendom, in all places where the Office-books are celebrated in song. We find that the English Church commenced a purification of the Ritual music in 1550, thirty years before the same labour was performed at Rome, and that it was no less a work of authority than that of Rome. The diversities of the Latin Church were restrained by the publications of Guidetti, who was occupied ten years in this necessary but delightful task. His edition of the Ritual Music is comprised in four volumes, the first entitled,

'Directorium Chori ad Usum Sacro-Sanctæ Basilicæ Vaticanæ et aliarum Cathedralium et Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum collectum,' &c. 1582.

In 1586 this was followed by the

'Cantus Ecclesiasticus Passionis, D. N. J. Chr: Secundum Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam et Joannem,' &c.

In 1587 was issued the

'Cantus Ecclesiasticus Officii majoris hebdomadæ juxta Ritum Capellæ, S.S. D.D. U.U. Papæ ac Basilicæ Vaticanæ, Collectus et Emendatus a Joanne Guidetto Bononiensi.'

And in 1588 he sent forth his last volume under the title,

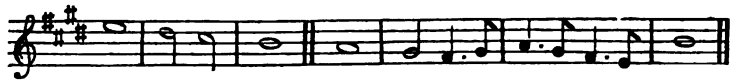
'Præfationes in Cantu firmo juxta Ritum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ emendatæ et nunc primum in lucem Editæ à Joanne Guidetto Bononiensi,' &c.

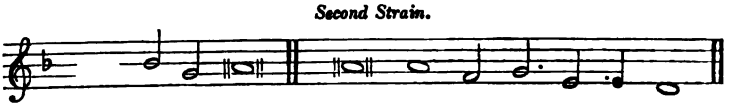
In these works, he was assisted by the great Palestrina, 'Joannes Petrus Aloysius Prænestinus me in eam opinionem 'adduxit, ut credam librum hunc pro emendatissimo atque abso-'lutissimo in hoc genere haberi posse.' But there was no new song; it would have been a heresy, a schism, for even the great and mighty genius of Palestrina to have added what could only be considered a 'purpureus pannus,' on the prescriptive rity of the Ritual Song.

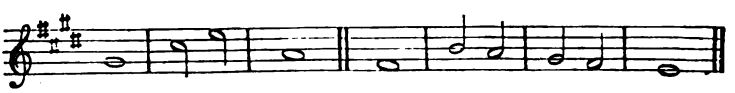
But we cannot conceal the fact that the Psalm tones of the rch have, for the last century, been generally laid aside,

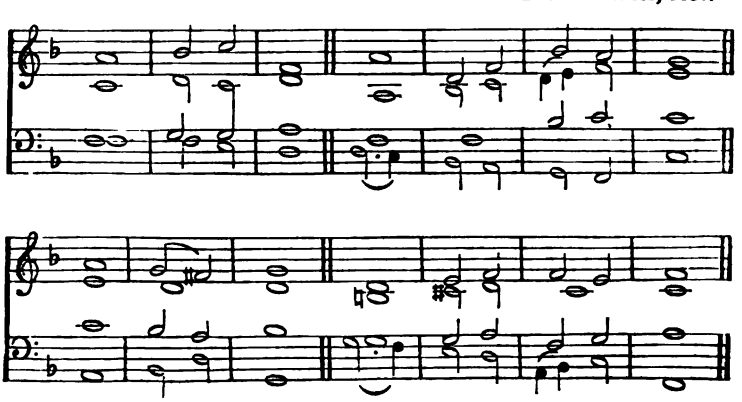
although a remarkable return has been made within these few years. We need hardly allude to Mr. Dyce's well-known volume, with its learned and interesting Prefaces, as among the chief means of bringing about this revival. They had been superseded by a tune of anybody's composing, but always written in the same shape; namely, a song of seven bars, if single, divided into two parts at the close of the third, and fourteen, if double, divided at the third, seventh, and tenth bars. Thus:[1]

First Strain.



Second Strain.

First Strain. JOHN DAVY, 1815.

Second Strain.

This composition is termed the Protestant, or Anglican Chant, and is sung in harmony. For example:

DR. GAUNTLETT, 1830.

[1] The first example is 'a Plain Song' from Mr. Hullah's Psalter, composed by Battishill.

Now, in these chants, we find the great rule for conformity altogether deposed. There is no agreement *as to the reciting note;* it may be E above or E below, G or F, as in the second chant. It may be A or D, as in the third. The point of unity, the declamation tone, becomes like a dissolving view, fading into a series of changes. This of itself is destruction to a congregational service. Who is it, if he can chant upon E in alto, can fall the octave, and chant equally well eight notes lower? The first chant is a perfect absurdity, for no priest in England could sing a psalm upon it. The third is less disagreeable, because, out of the four reciting points, three are upon the A, which is, perhaps, the identical point of unity adopted for centuries in the Catholic Church. But then the reciting note is in harmony, and hence certain confusion. What chance has the congregation of hearing an *alto* singer in his head voice gabbling upon some under-note in a psalm song? None whatever. Let any of our readers attend the next service at St. Paul's, and judge for himself.[1] But we hear Mr. Hullah say, 'But if you give up harmony, what is to become of "high art" in the Church?' High art in a psalm song! Who ever heard of such a thing? This gentleman thinks there can be no *art* unless wrapped up in the twaddle of a four-part harmony. Can there be no art in a single-voiced phrase? What the Church wants in a psalm song is a point of unity to declaim upon, and a development which shall breathe so much of expression as shall adapt itself with propriety to the words, and at the same time fall within the compass and capabilities of the great congregation. The Church has done all this; she has exhausted the varieties of a chant gamut, and exhibited every possible shade of feeling and expression. Hence it is that all really great musicians forbear the construction of new chants. They cannot construct new chants without creating new mechanism; and they well know if they do, although they may tickle the ear, they will close the mouth of the worshipper.

But let us examine the historical question. When did the Church gain this seven bars of variety, and who commenced the change? Not the great English musicians. There is no chant by White, Shepherd, Johnstone, Brimle, Southerton, Hake, Damon, Mundye, Parsons, Tye, Alison, Blancks, Wilbye, Weelkes, Bull, Phillips, Kirbye, Bennett, Tomkins, Stonard, Cosyn, Cobbold, Ford, Bevan, Edwards, Child, Lock, Ellis, Batten, Barnard, Pierson, Wilson, Gibbons, Rogers, Aston, Warwick, Arthur Phillips, Colman,

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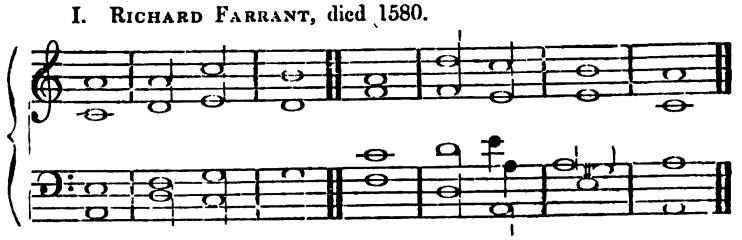
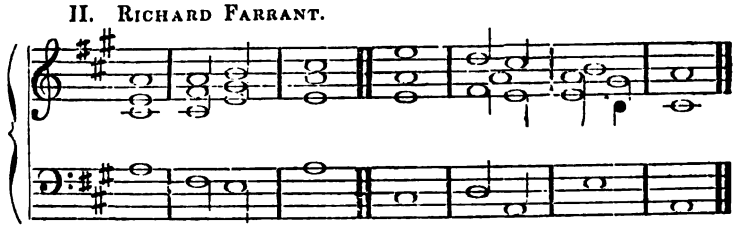
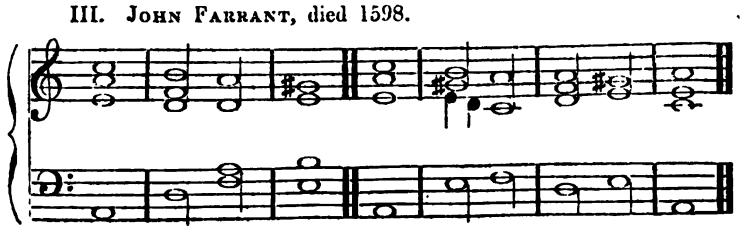
the small chapel of St. George's, Windsor, it is quite impossible to tation with any comfort or intelligence.

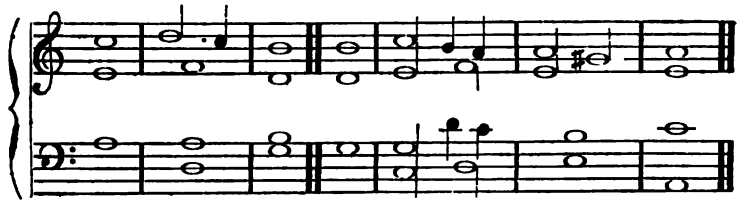
Este, Lugg, Oxford, Amner, Bishop, Bryan, Church, Clarke, Chreyghton, Dowland, Farmer, Farnaby, Hooper, Ravenscroft, and some fifty or a hundred others. If there were a new chant determined upon, would not those meddling Puritans, Whytingham and Cartwright, have taken care it should have appeared by authority; and would not the popular writers, Damon, Este, Cosyn, Tallis, Ravenscroft, and Playford have taken steps to send out a variety of specimens? How many chants are there alleged to have been written between 1550 and 1600? There are none to be found in any library in England. Dr. Rimbault, who professes to have collected 'a volume of chants by the most eminent church musicians of the last three centuries,' favours us with four names only—Thomas Tallis, Richard Farrant, John Farrant, and William Byrde; but where they come from, in what particular MSS., and how they have been identified, we are not informed. But we will let them speak for themselves.

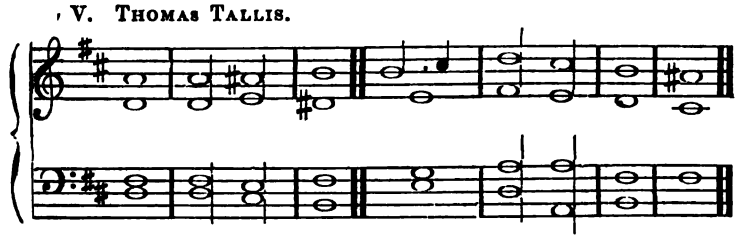
I. Richard Farrant, died 1580.

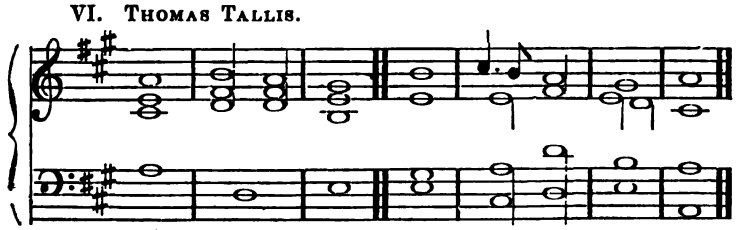
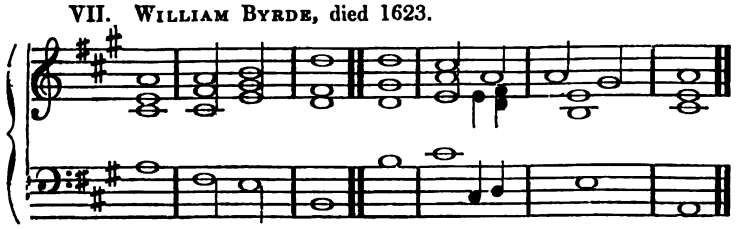


II. Richard Farrant.

III. John Farrant, died 1598.

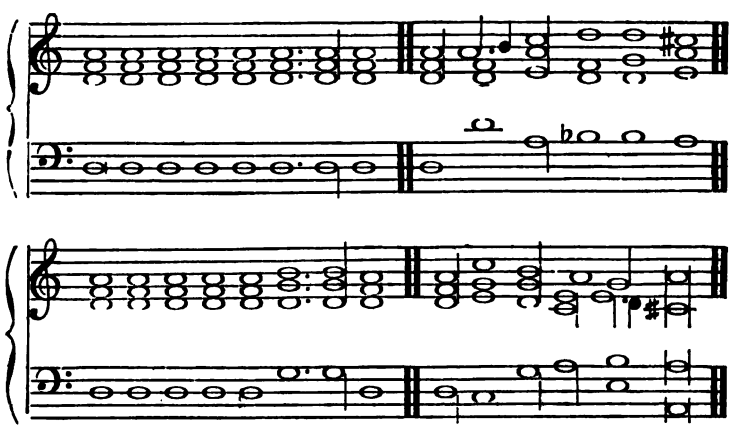


IV. THOMAS TALLIS, died 1585.

V. THOMAS TALLIS.



VI. THOMAS TALLIS.

VII. WILLIAM BYRDE, died 1623.

We believe all these chants to be spurious, for these reasons: There is such a sudden departure from the spirit of the ancient Ritual songs in declamation and cadence; there is no attention to the characteristics of the Church mode, which, be it remembered, were the only keys the Tudor musicians knew, as the Tonal gamuts were not settled until the era of Durante; there is a total absence of the quaint, terminal phrases that we find Day's, Este's, and even Ravenscroft's, Psalters, and which re the only cadences, in and out of the Church, then in

vogue; there is nothing of the progression, dispersion, and collocation in the counterpoints to mark the Tudor peculiarities, but much of modern manner, and that which is opposed to these essentials of the period; and, in addition to these characteristics, as the plein songs must have been written in the tenor, the parts will not bear any such transposition without assuming a phase quite inconsistent with the styles of the alleged composers. They are each wanting in that grave and solemn character, that terse and, so to say, epigrammatic variety, the strong and adventurous bearing which we find in the harmony-music of Day's first quire book. In order that our readers may judge of the *metrical chant*, really written in the days of Tudor writers, we extract one from the celebrated Psalter, composed, printed, published, and sold by that remarkable character, the Rev. Robert Crowley, Vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and which appeared in 1549.

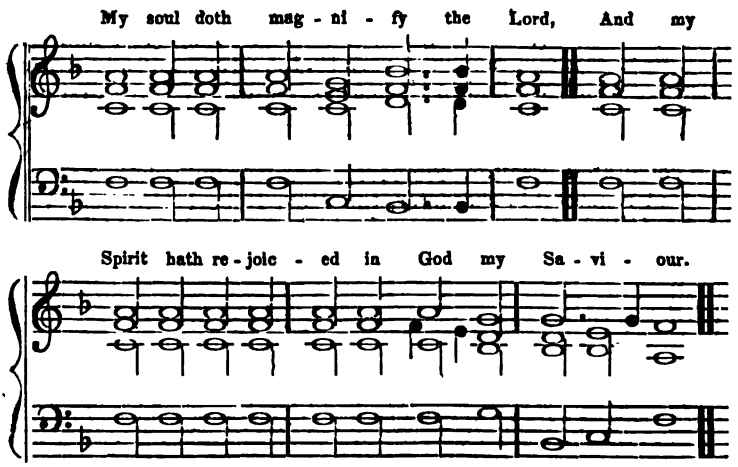


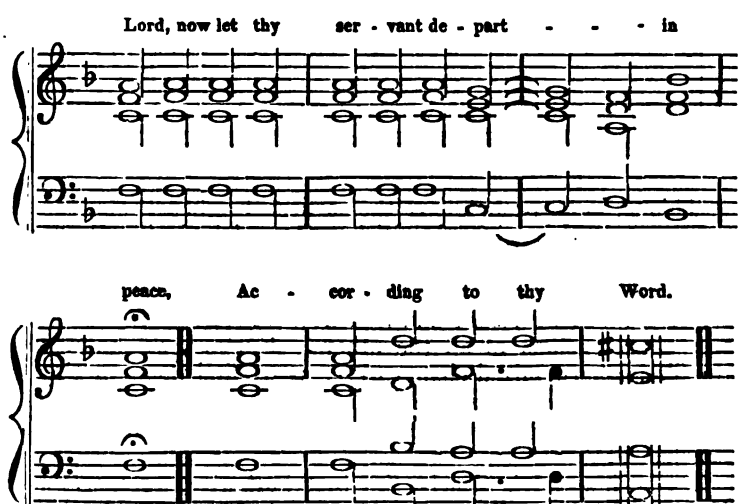
This is, in all probability, the earliest English Psalm tune in existence, as that given by Bishop Coverdale, in his Psalter of 1539, is one of Luther's. Compare it with the pretended chants of Tallis and Byrde; it is redolent of the Gothicisms found in Day's Church Services; and its transparent genuineness is fatal to the pretensions of all the others. Further, we know what the Tudor harmonized chants were, as we find them in Day, at Lambeth, and in Barnard, and these demonstrate that the others are impositions. No reasonable man can come to any other conclusion.

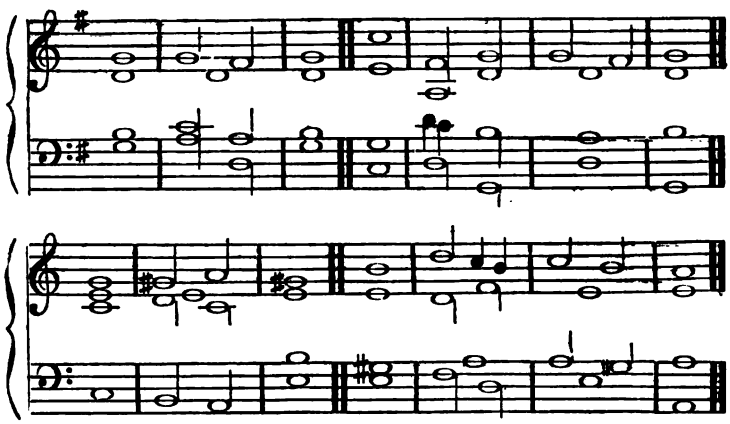
Day's Manual is clearly the best authority for a Tallis or Farrant chant,—a chant, we conceive, to have been slowly and deliberately recited in the ancient manner by the Ecclesiastical body, and such of the congregation as could sing, led by

the tenors of the quire, and accompanied by the others in a harmony music when applied to a Canticle, or if sung on a Festival Day; and the effect of which was that the Psalms could be heard, understood, and followed by the congregation in the nave. We give from Day a specimen of the mode of recitation:—

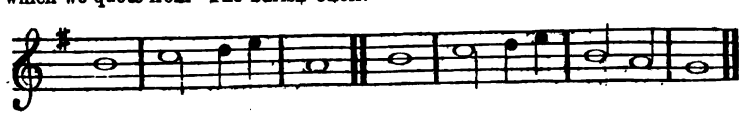
MAGNIFICAT, *Thomas Causton*, 1560.

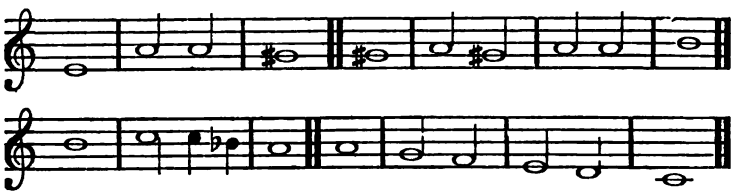
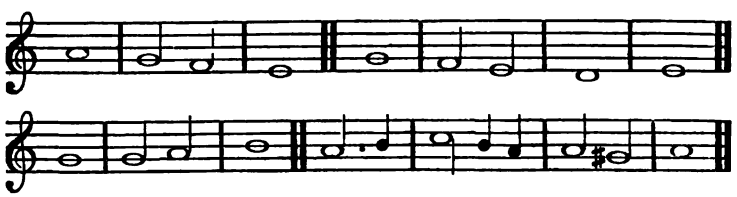


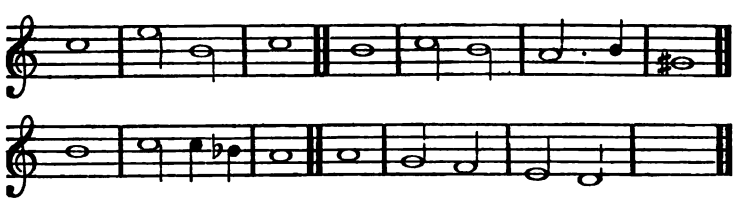
NUNC DIMITTIS, *Thomas Causton*, 1560.

And what say the Bibliographists of the progress of the ant from 1600 to 1700? They profess to have found seven

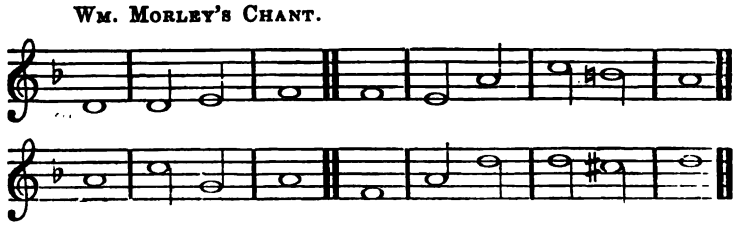
composers only out of the long list of Church harmonists that flourished in this course of a hundred years, namely—Dr. Christopher Gibbons, Thomas Purcel, Edward Purcel, Henry Purcel, Daniel Purcel, Pelham Humphries, and Dr. Blow.[1] We have shown that the solitary chants of the two Doctors are, in fact, varieties of two Church songs; and of the paternity of the other compositions there is great confusion, for that of Edward Purcel is given to Henry, and that of Humphries now to Weldon, now to H. Purcel. The following are two of the three ascribed to Henry Purcel, and are fair samples of the rest.

It was in the 18th century that the Anglican Chant sprung up in its present state of fourteen bars. Whether it was generated at Hereford, Ripon, or Southwell, is a matter of doubt, or it is possible that it came from that place of general misrule, the Chapel Royal. The first five double chants were composed by Henry Hall, organist of Hereford Cathedral, who died 1713; Thomas Preston, organist of Ripon Cathedral, 1720; William Lee, organist of Southwell Minster, 1724; William Morley, of the Chapel Royal, 1738; and John Robinson, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1764. They are these:

[1] The name of Michael Wise we omit, as the chant attributed to him contains a harmony at once proclaiming its modern origin. Nor do we include the name of Dean Aldrich. Surely the Dean never wrote such a Wesleyan phrase as this, which we quote from 'The Parish Choir.'



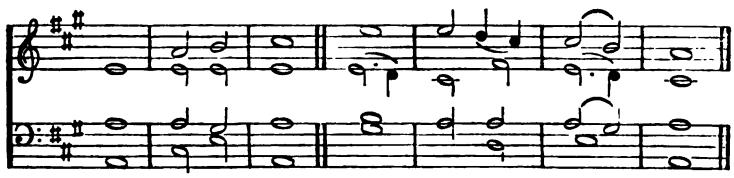
HALL'S CHANT.

PRESTON'S CHANT.

LEE'S CHANT.



WM. MORLEY'S CHANT.

The sixth double chant is ascribed to Dr. Greene—but of this we acquit the Doctor, as it is found in an accredited MS., *single*. Nor is it difficult to imagine each of the five we have quoted may consist of two single chants put together. The harmonies given are very poor and mean. Mr. Lee in particular shines with a 'disastrous lustre;' and Mr. Preston would ...e been better employed in blowing than playing his organ at ...n, for his harmonics, in addition to their unskilful character, ...l of bad grammar. He was evidently the man to spoil a ...ought, if vouchsafed him by any fortunate accident. But

all five are of a very Methodistical flavour, and as unchurchlike as any Denominationalists could well desire.

The 'Dr. Rippon' of 'the Anglican' Church, who first ventured on publishing these departures from authority, was a Mr. Vandernan. His Collection of Chants appeared about the time of George the First. He was a member of the Chapel Royal, and has left the following specimen of his accomplishments in 'the high art' of a Psalm Song:—

MR. VANDERNAN'S Chant.

It is a singular circumstance that the instant some amusing absurdity is introduced into a Cathedral, it becomes classical and is invested with a *quasi* consequence of rectitude and authority. The organ builder laughs at the Westminster Abbey organ, and organists decline to play upon it save as an accompanying instrument; still it is considered a beautiful instrument. Take away that in St. Paul's Cathedral, and put it into one of those large Churches in the North, it could not be endured two consecutive days. And so it is with the 'Anglican Chant:' musicians smile and storm, but the quiremen and organ accompanyists bear them up triumphantly through cloud and sunshine, and thereupon those who ought to know better fall down and do homage to the false idol. 'A rich addition,' says Mr. Burge, (following Mr. Jebb,) 'to the single chants was made at the 'Reformation by some of our most eminent composers. They 'are characterised by all the gravity of the Gregorian Chant, 'and are admirably calculated to awaken sentiments of the 'purest devotion.' We admit an unlimited amount of 'gravity,' their leaden weight is incalculable: and of each we may say that it is

'lethæo rore madentem,
Vique soporatum Stygiâ.'

Mr. Hullah may think them to be the very essence of 'an apostolic salt,' but as our readers have seen the whole collection of original chants from 1549 to 1623 in the specimens we have quoted, they have only to turn back to Merbecke's Chants and ascertain the degree of correspondence; and for ourselves we believe them to be much more calculated to drive honest people out of the Church than to retain them in. If Tallis, Byrde, and Farrant really made the chants assigned to them, they each

must have been taught on Dr. Cooke's easy and convenient principle of one lad teaching another. And Dr. Rimbault falls into sympathetic raptures with Mr. Burge; so also Mr. Edward Taylor, who deprecates 'any attempt to Gregorianise our Protestant Chant.' We have no desire (using Sidney Smith's phrase) 'to gore a Unitarian,' and therefore let the Gresham Professor pass scatheless; but one word on Dr. Rimbault, who thinks 'the beautiful harmonies of the 16th and 17th centuries 'and their admirable fitness for religious worship are beginning 'to be felt and generally acknowledged; and the time is rapidly 'approaching when the flimsy and undevotional chords of later 'times will be banished the house of God, and the works of the 'fathers of English harmony be once more restored to that ser-'vice for which they were originally intended.' All this is like the redoubtable Greek quotation everlastingly on the lips of the gentle Jenkinson, the friend of the Vicar of Wakefield. We have read it before in Mr. Jebb's Lectures, price 1*s.* Now where is there anything more flimsy in harmony, and less appropriate for worship, than the chants we have brought before our readers? What matters it whether Mr. Lee, Mr. Preston, Mr. Hall, Mr. Morley, or Mr. Robinson first invented the Anglican Chant in its double form—are they not each and all nonentities? Did these men ever write a line worth preservation, or that cost them a thought? And yet certain it is, one of these dissenters from Church feeling and Church art did invent the mode of singing now universally adopted in our Cathedrals; and Westminster Abbey is aping either Hereford, Ripon, or Southwell; and St. Paul's revelling in the '*rus in urbe*' inventions of the epoch of 1720! Next to writing such absurdities, the most discreditable act is that of approving them. Dr. Rimbault considers them 'Chants by the most eminent of Church musicians.' They are nothing of the sort; no eminent Church composer ever attempted to rival the ancient Psalm songs by any such absurdities as he has chronicled without authority, and with a gravity of face worthy of a better cause. All real musicians demur and laugh at them, as unfit for the exigencies of religious worship; and although it may befit Mr. Hullah to appear singularly indiscreet, is Dr. Rimbault willing to join him company and share in the credulity? We hope not. It is not a question of quire harmony, because there is no tone of the Church, however ancient, but will bear the superstructure of the noblest and most exalted harmony; and for any person to entertain the notion that any of our Ritual music is of too 'meagre' or 'barbarous' or 'simple' a character to refuse the clothing of a majestic, and highly artis-

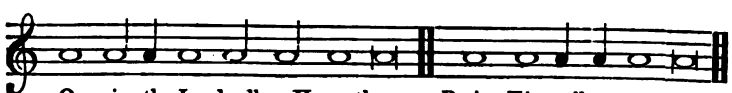
' counterpoint, is of all absurdities the most preposterous.

rde, Parsons, and Gibbons, could clothe the simple

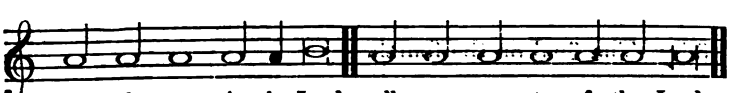
intonation of the Preces, Versicles, and Litany in the 'rich,' 'strange,' 'full,' 'grave,' 'chaste,' 'solemn,' 'grand,' 'incommunicable' harmonies they did, how much easier were it for these masters of harmony to have developed the more pathetic and exalted Psalm tones of the church? Does Mr. Hullah know what he means when he styles the Church Chants 'simple, meagre and barbarous?' If they are, how much more so must be the Preces and Versicles—the Litany and Suffrages. Of course every portion of the Ritual music is capable of receiving a varied development by means of counterpoint; but the question is, whether as there are certain parts peculiarly the duty of 'the great congregation' 'to hear and answer,' those parts are not better retained in their original purity and integrity, for the sake of a clearer intelligance and a more certain rule of conformity.

The rule of conformity is beyond measure easy, were it but laid before the priesthood and people in some simple class book.

The great foundation of the ancient Psalm tones is the fact of *one—and but one*—reciting note,[1] which may be A, G, or F. For example:



Now here is the one tone—the point of unity—the rapidity of utterance—and the elongation of the finals required in the singing of the oriental Psalms. The next point is that of the rising inflexion at the close of the first hemistich.



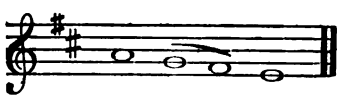
There can be no further expression given without a pneuma or cadence, which may be terse or developed. But this cannot be effected without deciding how the motion is to be made; for as all musical melody consists of tones and semitones, nothing can be determined upon until the situation of the semitones be ascertained. All the Church songs of the first or simple character are comprised within the fall of the tetrachord. There can be only one semitone in a tetrachord. The Church therefore admits

[1] The reciting note of the seventh tone is commonly chanted on A, but it forms in strictness the third of the tetrachord.

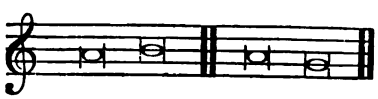
three kinds of tetrachords in her Ritual music. First, that where the semitone is the final.

2dly, that where it follows the prime or tonic, the word tonic being used in the sense of tone or reciting note,

3dly, where it follows the second, and precedes the final:[1] thus—



The chants arising from the first tetrachord are as follows—
1st. The final on the tone below the reciting note.



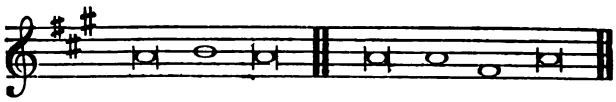
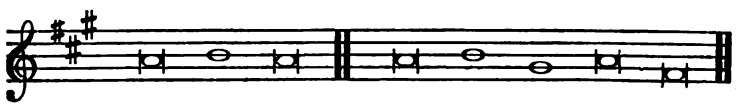
2dly. The final on the third below the song tone.

3dly. The final on the fourth.

The chants in the second tetrachord are these,
1st. The final on the second.

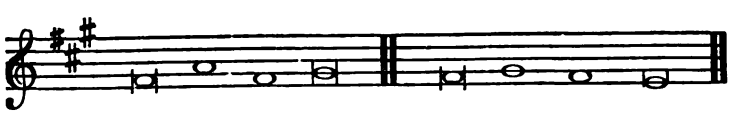
[1] There is no Psalm tone in this tetrachord, it is the supplication one.

This is one of those attributed to Tallis, and usually sung to the 'Quicunque Vult.'

2. The final on the tone, but preceded by a fall to the third.

3d. The final falling from the tone upon the third, preceded by an inflexion on the semitone.

4th. The final on the third, preceded by a fall from the tone to the fourth.

5th. The final on the fourth, preceded by a fall from the tone to the third.

6th. The song tone on the third, and not the tonic, with the final on the fourth.[1]



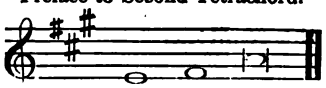
In the singing of the Canticles, and grandly-developed chants, these chants are preceded by an Intonation or Preface, which arose in the first instance from the desire to announce as speedily as possible to the quire and congregation, the particular tetrachord about to be used. The first tetrachord has its Preface opening upon F.:—

Preface to First Tetrachord.

[1] See note, p. 167.

As there is no F natural in the second tetrachord—and it does not appear as an integral part of the chant called the fourth tone—the choice of the F was the most calculated to assist the quire in the knowledge and bearing of the first tone. The second tetrachord is preceded by an announcement of the final note and the penultimate of the tetrachord Gamut; the penultimate F sharp at once deciding the tone:—

Preface to Second Tetrachord.

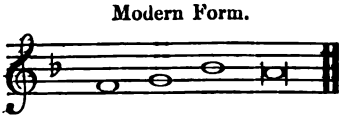


The third intonation opens upon the intoning or reciting note—falling to the full tone below—G natural: this decides the gamut, as it denotes the semitone is not upon the sub-tonic, and as it omits announcing the F natural, demonstrates that the chant will not be one of those forms, having that note as an essential.

Preface to Third Tetrachord.

In later times, when the gamuts of Guido had caused an alteration in the Church tones, the B flat became a part of the new hexachord, and the following intonation for the first tone became necessary to introduce those chants which admitted the B flat in their development.

Modern Form.

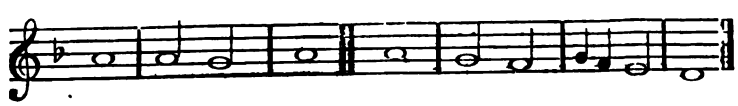


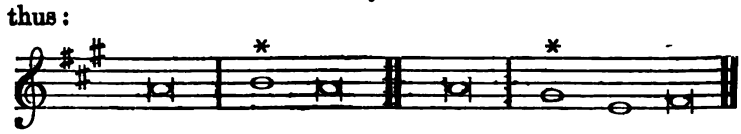
Such is the artistical and wondrous system on which has been founded an imperishable system of the noblest psalmody in the world. Of the pneumas or developments, we have no space to enlarge; and this subject must be left to another opportunity. Enough has been shown to lay open the secret mechanism of the ancient songs, and to point to *their accents*, because it is in the accents that their beauty and real symmetry consist. Like the ancient poetry, they are rhythmical, but not trical—full of a noble parallelism, but refusing to be scanned sured by the feeble rules of modern melody. 'I deprecate n a rhythm, too marked a measure,' says Mr. Mason in

his Essays on Church Music; and the remark is one of much wisdom. The rhythm or proportion must exist, or otherwise there is no foundation or element of art present. But it does not follow that our Christian songs are not thoroughly artistical, because they decline to fall within the laws of secular song; they have a law within themselves.

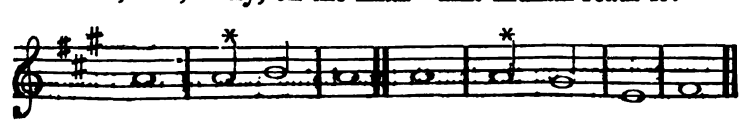
But what shall we say of Mr. Hullah, who went to Paris to buy a copy of Alfieri's Manual; copies a great part into the preface to his Psalter; puts himself *in statu pupillari*, to learn how to harmonize the psalm chants; and yet prints the result after a manner that would expose him to the derision of every precentor in Christendom? And all this, too, that he might preserve the ancient (!) ballad measure of the Anglican chant. So he says; but this was not the true reason, which exudes in a sly corner—he has endeavoured so to frame them, that they should not 'betray their Roman origin.' Who has told Mr. Hullah that Rome ever originated them? Did we not have them as soon as Rome, nay, for ought we know, even sooner? Are they not oriental; and how can Mr. Hullah prove they were not sung in the gorgeous temple of the first church?

The first tone, the cadence of which is on the second of the tetrachord, and with the pneuma, thus:—

Mr. Hullah prints in this fashion, and with a harmony ludicrous in the extreme.

The second tone is—as every one but Mr. Hullah knows—thus:



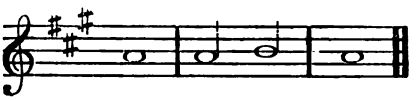
The accent being on B, the rising inflexion; then on G, the semitone; and, lastly, on the final. Mr. Hullah reads it:

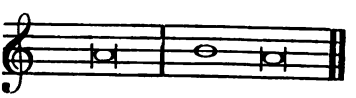


The third tone proper is:

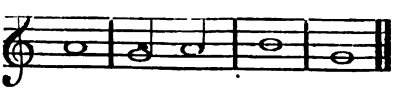
the first hemistich being accented on B and G, and the last on A and A, with the pneuma from A to E.

Mr. Hullah understands it to be:

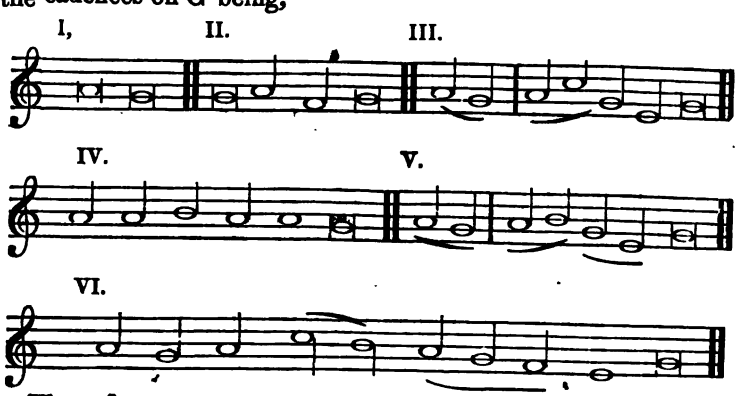
Mr. Hullah opens the fourth tone:

The only opening of the fourth tone is just the reverse, with the accent on the B.



And there is no such terminal as,



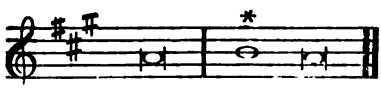
the cadences on G being,



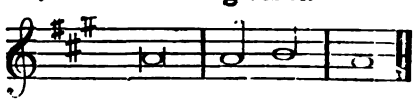
The cadences on the fourth tone being part of the Phrygian
rich and most extraordinarily diversified. What does

Mr. Hullah think of the few specimens we quote? which is 'the meagre' one and which 'the barbarous'? We recommend his pupils to try the last (No. 6) to that pathetic Psalm, 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept,' and the result will be, that one and all will tell him to throw away his Psalter, and let them have some more from the same well-spring of pure grace and beauty.

The fifth tone Mr. Hullah commences wrongly—the accent is on the B,

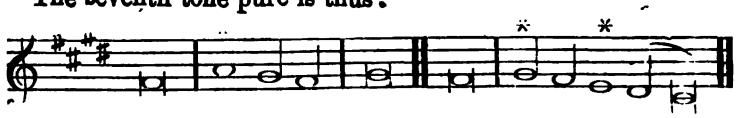


and not on the A, as Mr. Hullah gives it.

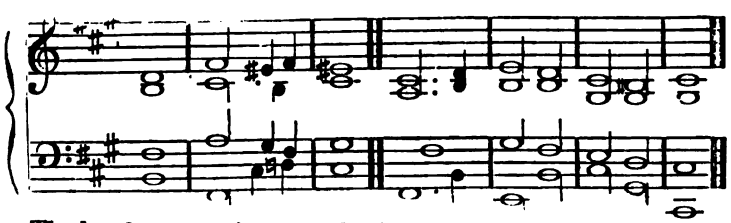


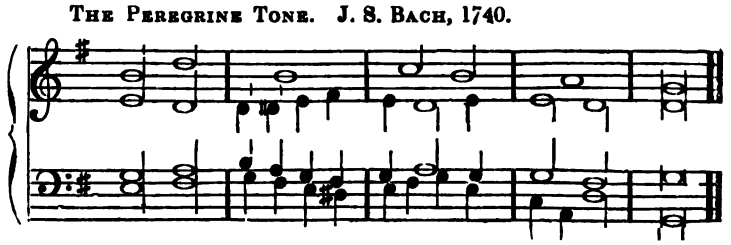
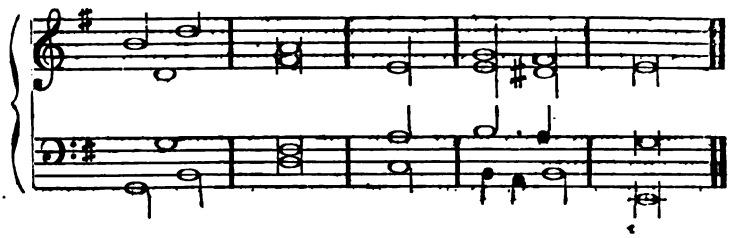
The sixth tone we have already quoted.

The seventh tone pure is thus:

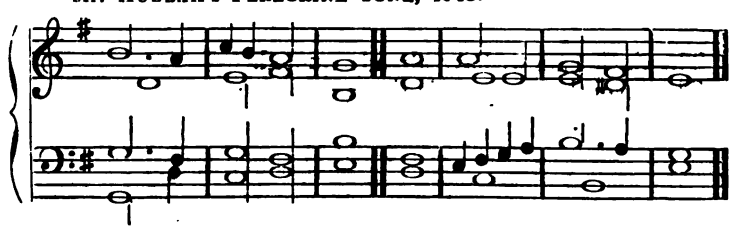


the first accent on A, the second on G, E, the final, and D, and C forming the pneuma.

Mr. Hullah has it in this disguise; and we must quote one specimen of his harmony, although the others are all equally unartistical and uninviting.

The lovely Peregrine tone Bach gives thus:

THE PEREGRINE TONE. J. S. BACH, 1740.

We insert this example to show that Bach not only could endure, but that he set in gold, this 'barbarous music,' and that by the Lutherans the ancient chants were neither crippled nor distorted. Mr. Hullah reads the tone as follows :—

Mr. HULLAH'S PEREGRINE TONE, 1843.



It may be noticed that the Peregrine tone has, properly, no preface or intonation; but it soon became customary to add one on high days and festivals, and its distinguishing peculiarity with the Germans was that of rising to the 3rd above the reciting note. Bach commences with the preface, and also repeats it at the commencement of the second hemistich; a practice common throughout the Catholic Churches, when sung to hymns or canticles.

As Mr. Hullah well observes, 'his Gregorians are no longer Gregorians,' although we must dispute his conclusion, that they still 'make very good chants.' We think them excessively bad.

Mr. Hullah, in his Psalter, gives his pupils chants by thirty-two composers; and he desires his chants to be considered 'treasures of ecclesiastical art,' and the result 'of the labours of the 'long and learned succession of organists and composers of eccle-'siastical music which this country has produced since the Re-'formation.' Our readers will be surprised to hear of the names f Fussell, Hindle, King, Marsh, Turner, Langdon, Goodenough, wkins, Flintoft, Beckwith, Randall, and Norris, as learned rch musicians. Abstracting another dozen names, applied to ts, of which the alleged composers would never have recog-l them, the catalogue of Mr. Hullah's worthies is very brief.

The misfortune is, that such writers as Mr. Hullah seem perfectly ignorant of the fact that the English Church has a Ritual song, and even those who know it, (like Mr. Jebb,) mystify it under the name of tradition and traditional usages. The Rubrics sanction nothing but the Ritual song and anthems; therefore it was that the injunctions of Edward and Elizabeth give the liberty for quire music and congregational hymns at the conclusion of each office. Another strange assertion of Mr. Hullah we must notice. He says the form of the Anglican chant 'was settled by the fathers of English church music,' meaning, we presume, the country organists, Messrs. Hall, Lee, and Preston; and this circumstance arose from 'the form into which Tallis threw' the Gregorian chant which has long gone by his name. Tallis did nothing to the chant—he took it note for note, and religiously preserved all its right accents; and as to the harmony form to which Mr. Hullah alludes, Tallis had nothing to do with it. That was the work of Adrian Batten. The Tallis harmony we have given, which is harmonized in the minor. Mr. Hullah is a man of one idea—a *tune* in three and four bars is his Psalter chant, and he declares his belief that we owe this tune 'to the genius and piety of a Tallis, a Purcel, and a Boyce.' After this, argument is useless. Mr. Hullah can, perhaps, chant upon every note in the gamut; Tallis could not, and he was not so clever a choir-master as to try.

It has been well observed, 'a little learning leads us from that result to which much learning would inevitably take us.'

Mr. Hullah's lecture 'On the duty of learning to sing' is based on the chimerical notion that the English people, when they celebrate Church service, are to divide themselves into classes of trebles, altos, tenors, and basses—that, in place of singing the plein song,[1] they are to take secular chants and ballad psalm tunes, and turn the Ritual into a performance of that which has been practised in Exeter Hall. The Genevan Claude le Jeune tried this plan three hundred years ago—so did also Walther among the Lutherans; both books were failures, and are now only curiosities. Mr. Hullah will fail—no one knows it better than himself. According to his plan, the priest may sing an alto or a bass; and should there be too many tenors or trebles in the congregation, they must be politely requested to withdraw, as their exertions might disturb the just balance of parts. He ridicules the notion of a man's song—the great fact of the fathers of our country standing up with their wives and children, each the precentor of his

[1] We use the word Plein Song from the ancient term, 'Plein Chant,' or 'Plenus Cantus,'—congregational Song in parochial churches, corporation Song in cathedrals and colleges. The term Planus Cantus arose after the 'Quiremen' had settled the habit of writing counterpoint on the Plenus Cantus, and converting it into an equal note song.

family, and yet uniting in one joyful noise before the Lord. He lectures the Leeds people in a style of which we can only say, that he has calculated too much on what he calls 'the musical 'ignorance of the great mass of English people, where nine 'English gentlemen out of ten show rather less practical skill in 'music than the Ojibbeway Indians;' and 'as to women of the 'higher or middle classes, what with living in hot rooms, want 'of exercise, and other sophistications, the majority pass through 'life without ever using their natural voices at all.' Nine English gentlemen out of ten would tell Mr. Hullah a Church song may be good whether in a square, a three-cornered, or a round note; that Mr. Hullah thinks it quite unnecessary to know any thing of the Ritual music before writing upon it; that it is useless to become a teacher of singing before learning to sing; that it is quite possible to know a little of thorough bass, and yet know nothing of Church harmony or of its gamuts; and that it is possible for a maestro to starve his pupils amid the splendid resources of a magnificent and ancient Church song. He derides the Psalm tones, but qualifies his sarcasms by declaring 'he holds them in the highest admiration.' They are 'meagre and barbarous,' yet withal 'simple and noble.' He would 'starve' if fed on 'such melody, to invent which there was no need of great musicians;' yet he is 'not insensible to their grandeur, pathos, and sublimity'! The truth is, Mr. Hullah dislikes Church song because he is profoundly ignorant of it; but he well knows it would not be wise or prudent to let all the world see this.

Dr. Burney's ignorance is no excuse for Mr. Hullah's. He knew that the 'Church tones' had been our 'common tunes;' and the manuals published during the last century, for the use of the Latin Catholics in England and Ireland, might have led him to a change of opinion. Mr. Coghlan's or Mr. Webbe's Manual of Church Chants would have enlightened Mr. Hullah on the subject, and his journey to Paris, after M. Fetis' description of Gregorian in that city, must be looked upon as an act of very simple extravagance.

We should have been better pleased if Dr. Rimbault had offered some authorities for his statements. It is not because he places a distinguished name opposite a dull chant that we can consent to have that name lowered in our esteem. Had he said, 'I have 'been to such a library, and found this and that chant, and you 'will find it in such a book,' some deference might have been aid him; as it is, we take the liberty of withholding our ief. We would fain hope the Dean and Chapter repudiate Westminster Use;' if not, that service is more to be red than is possible to conceive. His edition of Low's tory was well intended, but not so well executed. He

has changed the title, omitted the preface, disguised the Psalm Songs, and, in fact, the reprint gives little or no idea of the original. We hope Mr. Pickering, whose fac-simile reprint of Merbecke is beyond all praise, will produce the Cranmer Litany, and both Clifford and Low in the same manner. Mr. Novello's edition of Merbecke is if humble, less expensive, and when corrected, equally useful. The prefatory observations of Dr. Rimbault are interesting; but if he had said less of the Litany, and more of the ancient Processional—if he had traced out the Offertories and Post Communions from some Sarum Gradual, he would have conferred a valuable service on the Church, and rendered Merbecke's book of incontrovertible authority from first to last.

Mr. Novello's 'Cantica Sacra' is a fine name for a Vesperal Psalterium; as he has changed the name, so he has changed the chants, for they are in a very unorthodox shape. Mr. Warren's 'Gregorian Chants' are an impudent imposition on publisher and purchaser.

We regret we can say no other of those edited by Sir Henry Bishop. What Mr. Warren may publish is of no importance, but it is lamentable to find a work issued by the house of D'Almaine, and edited by a late Professor of Music in a learned university, which is a discredit to English literature, and a sharp satire on cathedral organists and singing men. Professor Walmisley, of Cambridge, has recently published the 'Cambridge Collection of Chants,' which contains some dozen of perpetrations equalling in absurdity those of his brother professor at Edinburgh. From Dr. Crotch's high character we feel that Oxford is safe from a similar irruption of Vandalism.

The 'Parish Choir' is a little monthly periodical, issued by a Society desirous of a reform in Church music. As the Treasurer is Mr. W. F. Low, the organist of Marylebone Church, and the promoters of the work are said to be connected with Westminster Abbey, we hail the undertaking with much gratification. No Ritual music can be in a worse state than that at the great church of St. Marylebone, and we soon hope to see Mr. Low reforming the Services; nor would those in the Abbey suffer by a change. The work consists of chants and anthems, extracts from classical authors on Church music, and notices on the present state of our Church song. The principle adopted is, that 'the English Liturgy requires the outward vocal expression of the people,' in psalms and hymns, and indeed all parts of the service—the priests chanting their parts, and the congregation 'taking up the response in full harmony.' Now, here is a great error: the Prayer-book requires no 'full harmony' from the congregation; it offers a Ritual Song,

nothing else, and demands no more. We are told, 'the choral mode of performing Divine Service is the most perfect;' but we answer, the service is not to be 'performed,' and the Prayer-book Clerk's song is not what is *now* understood by the term of 'choral mode.' But we are glad to find 'the Psalms and Canticles are to be sung by all the congregation.' If so, they must be sung to the Psalm songs, and not to Anglican chants, for the latter are not songs for men. In the March number there was a most unhappy description of the chant, which was stated to consist of 'a reciting note and three inflected notes, followed by a reciting note and five inflected notes.' The English people will never sing their Psalter; the priests will never sing, if the Psalms are to be chanted to *varying reciting notes*, followed first by three inflected notes and then by five. The editors have already found out their mistake, as in a later number the chant is rechristened, and described as 'a recitation on *a tone*,' which tone is slightly varied at the middle and end of a verse. This is a far more sensible definition, and we hope to see it amended still in a future number thus,—'The Church chant is a recita-'tion by priests and people upon one and the same tone, a tone 'within the best compass of the priests' and people's voices, which 'tone is raised one whole semitone or note at the close of the first 'hemistich; and must finally close on the reciting tone, or any 'of the three notes below it, unless it be in a high and developed 'form. The inflections vary, and can be readily ascertained by 'reference to a Manual or Psalter.' And may we hope to see the Anglican chants dropped, and the Manual commenced? We think we shall; for already we read, 'the Gregorian chants 'are the more ancient—the best of all chants—meat, and not 'milk for babes—adapted, not for children, but for men's voices, 'the bulk of the congregation.' All this looks pleasant, but we were sorry to read in the next column that they were 'unknown 'and strange,' and that, 'coming out, as it were, the voices of 'the dead, the songs of a thousand years ago, their severe and 'majestic simplicity grated harshly and inappreciably on the 'ear.' This, we thought, must have been written by Mr. Hullah, more especially as there is a chapter inscribed to the beatification of this worthy class-master; but no—another reason is alleged—a sly hit at Mr. Hullah,—'We have too 'sincere a respect for the Gregorian tones to expose them to the 'chance of mutilation or factious opposition.' The editors, therefore, intend to teach that they may at future opportunities unteach: they instruct in error because dreading 'violent tran-on;' they have a horror of 'running double chants,' 'vulgar arized tunes,' 'dancing psalm-tunes,' but still prefer sts' and singing men's chants to the voice of the Church, the

Psalm tones of all Christendom. The real cause of the delay in their good intentions is probably found in this sentence,—'Our 'critics say our choirs are degenerate, the cathedral clergy 'cannot sing, the lay-vicars are few, and the voices of the 'children are heard in their stead. *Granted.*' Then, we answer, of what use is it to humour the people? Will the people sing whilst the clergy are silent?—Certainly not. Will the clergy sing any other music than that of their Church's heritage?—Surely not, nor can they if they would. The thing is physically as well as rationally impossible. No one knew this better than our forefathers, and experience may show us that they were not mistaken.

Mr. Bennett, in his address on Church music, follows in the train of Mr. Jebb. The only result of this faint appeal to 'tradition'—meaning, we presume, the Church songs,—this strange adoption of a new terminology, such as 'choral mode of the Anglican Church,'—will be the transformation of our parochial services into quartett, or small quire exhibitions like those at the Foundling Hospital and the Magdalen. At Leeds, St. Giles's Camberwell, St. Paul's Wilton-place, and some other churches, we hear 'deputy celebrations,' the quires taking to themselves the Ritual music, disguised in some harmony or other, or otherwise 'a new song' altogether, an Anglican musical service which no degree of class-teaching or Church practice can ever make Catholic or popular. Such as can bring themselves to permit this diversity from the rule of conformity, have their reward in pain and mortification—they can neither sing themselves nor witness the voice of the great congregation. Thus it is that we have 'a male population, who, if they come to church, never open their mouths,' and who defend themselves by the example of those who ought to be their precentors.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have no desire to banish artistical song from our cathedrals or parish churches: quite the reverse. We seek to elevate the quires; and we viewed with deep regret the little gratifying effect produced in the Hanover Square Rooms, on a recent occasion, by so many members of our metropolitan and collegiate quires. Still it is but fair to Mr. Gantter to observe that he deserves very considerable credit for the spirited way and skill with which he selected his music; had he been well seconded by the quire, the results on the English mind would have been different. However, we consider this gentleman's lectures a step in the right direction; and the sympathy with which he was met was gratifying, we think, to all parties concerned. For the quire music we desire high art, in the form which the Church has originated and authorized. For the priests and people, no more of art than the Church has accorded, and

which, for the purposes required, is art in its highest estate; for the people's songs are at once natural and simple, and easy of apprehension; and can we think that this great result was accomplished by accident and the act of ignorance or barbarity? We trow not. They have ever been held in the profoundest reverence by the great and the mighty in mind and imagination; the Church has sealed them with her impress, and the universal attention now bestowed upon them is one sure and certain sign of the well-being of her economy, the zeal and piety of her members, and the deep devotional and apostolical character of her services.

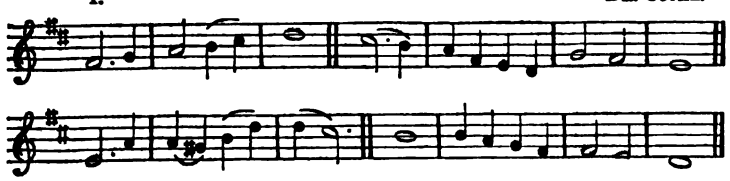
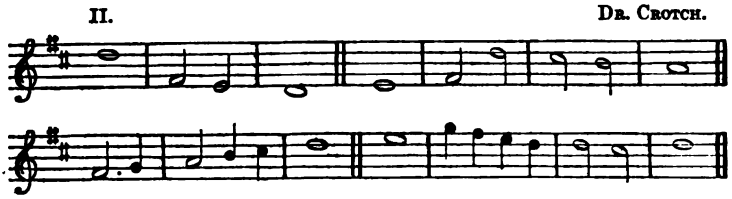
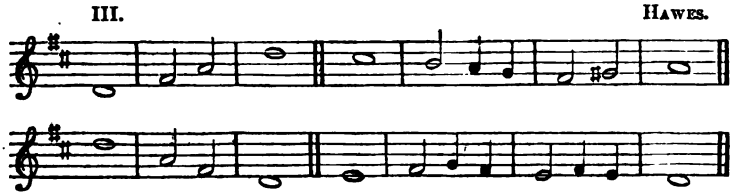
It has unfortunately happened that her songs have fallen in esteem with modern artists, from the impression that, being so simple in construction and so unworldly in character, they could hardly be considered as music. Dr. Burney, amongst other musical writers, may be quoted as a writer who thought meanly of 'the Lord's Songs.' The celebrated Mr. Jackson, of Exeter, followed in his wake, and thus expresses himself on the subject: 'I confess myself ignorant of the music preceding the time of 'Henry VIII., nor indeed, can such knowledge be considered 'necessary. Melody was, although not absolutely unknown, 'in a barbarous state until the last hundred years. Of the har- 'mony music, we may conclude it was more barbarous than that 'of the sixteenth century. Such of the motets, masses, and 'madrigals as have reached us, consist of a succession of chords, 'without art or meaning, and are perfectly destitute of air. 'Tallis and Byrde, Morley and Farrant, who appeared in the 'reign of Elizabeth, improved the barren style of their prede- 'cessors; and, although they made some little advances in 'melody, they displayed no choice in their harmony.' So Dr. Busby also, who complains of 'the common chords, antique modulations, and anomalies in polyphonics,' exhibited by Tallis and his contemporaries. This manner of writing has had its day; trash it always was, and so it is now universally received to be by all wise and sensible persons. But still, in order to preserve a good feeling in a right direction, it is necessary to disseminate reasons for the faith that is in us, so that our taste in Church art may be proved to be coincident with the realities of truth and beauty in art. Taste is merely the mental, or rather psychological, apparatus given to man for the perception of beauty; but, as it is a varying product, its results must not be confounded with principles. Our tastes differ according to organization, habits, associations, changes in age, life, position in society, and other circumstances. The amateur judges from effect, the m the means or mechanism, which, if he finds not ac- his knowledge and preconceived notions, he forthwith

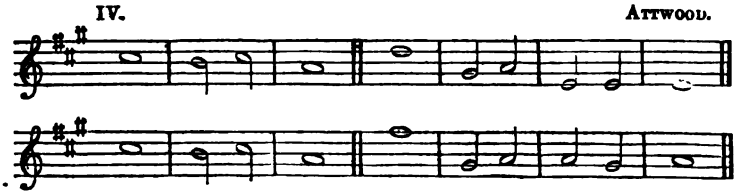
decries. But such opinions are no test of art, which must be referred to certain natural laws which proclaim their truth by reason of their immutability. The foundation of all art is symmetry or proportion, and in the exhibition of the myriad secret relations of this principle consists the life and labour of the artist. The relation which forms bear to one another is the abstract and absolute of the beautiful in art as well as in nature. The Church in olden times possessed her secret laws for the creation of melody, by means of relations and symmetries which are now but too little known, and scarcely ever put into practice. Modern melody is constructed on certain relations of the tonal harmony. Church melody is constructed without reference to any harmony whatever, and has its parallelisms and analogies as certain and definite, although not so transparent, as modern tonal melody. Modern harmony is, if possible, still more different from Church harmony than is modern melody from that of the Church. All relations of harmony are now calculated from two scales only in place of six, and these relations are derived solely from three central points; namely, the tonic, the fifth of the tonic, and the fifth of that fifth, for the theorists of this generation have discarded the fourth or subdominant. Church harmony is a totally opposite mechanism;[1] the bearings of one note to another note in Church harmony may be perfectly right and proper, though yet decried and rejected by the secular composer as bad and irrelative.

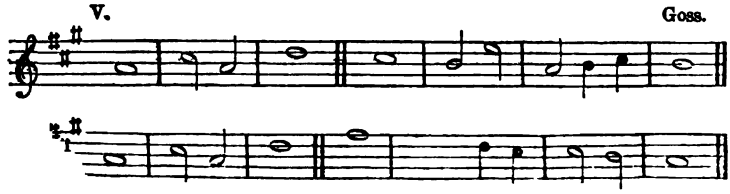
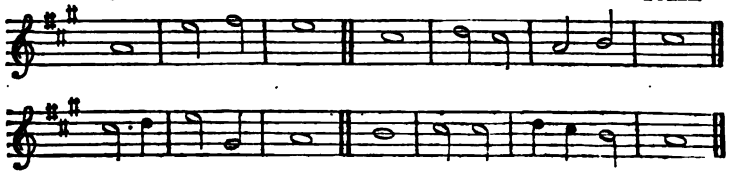
Of the particularities appertaining to Church melody and harmony, rendered sacred and authoritative by time, reason, artistic law, and the practice of the Church, nothing can be added atthe present, although we trust to enlarge on these points at a future time. In the meantime we recommend that our priests commence a purification of the melodies in use by rejecting all such as are beyond the compass and ability of the male register. All chants, all psalm-melodies, beyond the ordinary compass of the man's voice, are melodies disallowed by the Church, and for which no prescriptive claim can be raised. We have given examples of the ancient hymn melody in the Paschal and Advent festival tones; there is no Churchman living who could not command every note employed; but who can sing such melodies as 'St. David's,' 'London,' and all tunes of the like character, embracing the range of an octave, if not more? With respect to

[1] This subject has been treated in a curious MS. in the British Museum, entitled, 'The Old Church Composers in the early days of Counterpoint, neglecting the modern Rules of Relation, or rather not knowing them, and taking fearlessly two or more perfect Chords of the same kind diatonically, using every note of the Scale except the seventh as a fundamental Bass, the True Secret of Ancient Church Music.'

the chants, let no chant be permitted which has many varying reciting tones, or having reciting tones beyond an easy and natural expression. As familiar examples of chants, bad in every sense, artistically and practically, we have selected the following by Drs. Cooke and Crotch, and Messrs. Attwood, Hawes, Goss, and Turle:—

I. Dr. Cooke.

II. Dr. Crotch.

III. Hawes.

IV. Attwood.



V. Goss.

VI. TUBLE.

The first is a vulgar secular strain constructed on the principles of modern harmony, and opposed to all the essential characteristics of the true Psalm Song. It commences with the second strain of Mr. Jones's chant quoted at the commencement of this article; a strain which Dr. Crotch has taken in the third part of his chant. None but trained singers of skill can chant upon D, and yet Dr. Crotch opens on this note. The same person that can chant on D, cannot do so upon the E below; and who is there can chant upon the E above, or ascend a compass of twelve notes from the tonic? As to the others they have no symmetry or relation; and it is clear the writers have never studied the ordinary proportions and analogies of the melodial gamut. But such things should be discarded without reference to artistic properties, as not being adapted to the wants and facilities of either priest or people. If public praise be more than a name, it requires all present to take a part in it. Our remembrance of the primitive Church, and her practices, will forbid any reception of such music as the modern Anglican Chant, and in seeking for its substitute, nothing in nature or art can be found to equal those wondrous and sublime responses which the Ritual music of our Church offers alike to the ignorant and the learned, as neither above the grasp or comprehension of the one, nor unworthy the love and esteem of the other.

ART. VI.—*Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, previous to the Independence of the United States: chiefly from the MS. Documents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By* ERNEST HAWKINS, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London: B. Fellowes. 1845.

IN the middle of the nineteenth century England is the only colonizing state in the world. There is plenty of emigration, as from Germany and America, but only English colonization; for whatever may hereafter be the fate of Algeria, it is at present, as a colony, a total and confessed failure. The French emigrant does not know how to take root there, and no one can help him over his difficulties. Everywhere but in England colonization goes against the grain; there is no taste for it, no wish for it; and if attempted, as in Algeria, it is by a forced and unnatural effort. Only in England the country takes to it spontaneously and with zest: settlements of Englishmen follow one another here, there, and everywhere, without bustle, without noise, and on the whole succeed. The mother-country goes on without troubling herself very much about her progeny; views them with blended complacency and *nonchalance;* is glad to have them, but often grumbles about them; occasionally deigns to give them a lift or a rebuff; and so they go on, getting into scrapes and out of them, squabbling and wrangling among themselves, and with the mother-country, but on the whole advancing steadily in strength and consolidation, and rooting themselves kindly and firmly in their new land—vivacious and promising infant states.

England plainly has the genius of colonizing; every vacant corner of the world, for the last three hundred years, has shown the marks of it; and its results, displayed on a gigantic scale in Asia and America, have taken possession, as it were, of the whole interest of two continents, and eastward and westward occupy the whole field of view. And yet these great colonial empires, and her colonizing spirit, seem to have grown up almost without her intending it. Our neighbours, who look at
—thing in a logical point of view, will have it that we have
ong years pursuing a clearly foreseen and definite
mpire; that our colonizing has been the result of
ell-arranged plans, patiently and skilfully carried
vent certainly looks very like it; and probably by

this time we are become fully alive to the value of colonial greatness. We have learned our destiny and mission, as the French would say,—that we were meant to be a great colonizing state. But we were a long time about it. Nothing certainly looks less like deep and formidable policy than the process by which our greatest colonies grew up. No philosopher or statesman presided over their birth: we had no Louis XIV. or Colbert to imagine and aim at empire. It was not the state that founded our colonies. If a number of Englishmen, for reasons of their own, wished to transplant themselves across the sea, the state gave them its good wishes, perhaps also a patent or a charter, but it was with the understanding that they were to take care of themselves. It did not look for anything from them, and regarded their distant proceedings with extreme indifference. The interest and attention which they received from it were much of the sort which the ragged, unowned urchins, who play and thieve about in the streets, receive from the policeman: he would not, if he could help it, allow even them to be run over, and would perhaps interfere if they had provoked a thrashing. England certainly was long perfectly guiltless of any ambition or far-sighted designs in her colonies. Her modest aspirations never went beyond a humble factory or plantation, which should give her as little trouble as possible. Her colonies were the spontaneous and unprotected growth—some of English conscience—some of English discontent—some of English adventure—some of English crime,—but none of English policy. The mother-country looked stupidly on, as the colonists struggled and quarrelled, and died of the fever, and were cut off by the Indians, and contrived nevertheless to right themselves. If she spared them governors, and a few useless troops, she thought she was doing a good deal for them—their commerce was worth as much as that. But neither she nor they—amid her own mismanagement and indifference, her desultory and slovenly policy, and their apparent weakness—knew of the energy which all this veiled; neither she nor they imagined that they were going through their apprenticeship, or dreamed of the future which was preparing for each.

It was Spain which, first of modern nations, set the example of national colonization; and even at this day, when the boast of Spain has passed to another empire, the history of colonies can show nothing more magnificent in plan, and brilliant in result, than that first instance.

It was no question with her of petty settlements or factories: it was a New World, with kingdoms of its own, which had been given her to take possession of and inhabit; and the Vicar of Christ had traced its limits, and assigned her the title. It

kindled at once the enthusiasm of government and people. They entered without reserve into the full possession of their rich inheritance from sea to sea. It was received as an empire, and administered as an empire. The peculiar domain of the Spanish crown, it shared its splendours, and almost felt its presence. In the four great Vice-royalties of America, the majesty of the King was represented by great officers invested with all the circumstance and reality of government—exercising to the full their master's prerogatives, and surrounded by the pomp of a court 'modelled on that of Madrid:' and over them all presided the most august tribunal in Spain, the Council of the Indies. Capitals rose, with their squares and public buildings; there were reproduced all the features and members, civil and ecclesiastical, of peninsular society,—the etiquette and the aristocratic pride,—priests and religious orders; the Bishop in his cathedral, as well as the Viceroy in his palace. Every thing recalled the Old World, but recalled its splendours and civilisation amid the riches and gorgeous beauty of the tropics.

Compare with this vast and completely organized empire the shabby and miserable settlements of Englishmen in the North. The scene is in each case part of the contrast. Instead of a broad dominion, stretching without break from ocean to ocean,—a country already in some degree subdued to the use of civilized man, and overspread at once, and almost without resistance, by its invaders,—a land glowing in southern sunshine and beauty, and teeming with riches of every kind,—the English colonies were dropped one by one on the dreary sea-border,—on the edge of the dark, damp New-England forest, among the bare sand-hills and low beaches of Virginia, or the muddy creeks and swamps of Carolina and Georgia. An uneasy and precarious location on this narrow strip,—cooped up between the fierce Indians and the sea,—was all that, for a long time, they pretended to: and here they fought out their hard battles against famine and scurvy; against the bitter winters and the savages; and amongst themselves. There was nothing inviting in these melancholy settlements except to despair or reckless adventure: they were places only for poverty and hard work, and the profits of coarse and rough labour: and few came to them who had anything to hope for at home. Instead of the proud array and royal armaments of Spain, a few crazy ships from time to time carried out small knots of dispirited exiles,—some religionists, who found themselves uncomfortable,—some adventurers, who had no better speculation open to them,—some country gentlemen, who found time hang heavy on their hands;—some malefactors, who had to be sent out of England;—all of them little regretted, and soon forgotten at

home. Such was the style of English colonization; it went on languidly and in detail; Government had no plan or idea about it, and took no real interest in its distant subjects, as, bit by bit, they worked their way up the country. English in their basis, the colonies were not exclusively so: they were largely stocked by refugees from other nations. Each colony stood by itself; planted originally on a principle of its own, religious or civil, it endeavoured to maintain it by kindred laws and institutions, in framing which it enjoyed unrestricted liberty. New England witnessed for intolerant and belligerent Puritanism: Pennsylvania was found on a universally tolerant Quakerism, and the negation of the right of self-defence; and while the 'Pilgrim-fathers' of New Plymouth were defying the Star-Chamber, and exulting in their deliverance from the surplice, in Massachusetts Bay, Lord Baltimore was opening an asylum for Roman Catholics on the Potomac. At New York,—popular and commercial,—a fusion of races, English, Dutch, and Swedes, laid the foundation of the great capital of Western trade; in Virginia, Lord Delaware's aristocratic cavaliers eschewed towns, lived on their estates growing tobacco, and stood out bravely against Cromwell. Later still, experiments were varied: Carolina had the advantage of being granted to a joint-stock company of eight lords and gentlemen, 'with the privileges of a County 'Palatine as large and ample as those of the County Palatine 'of Durham,' and a model of a Constitution 'compiled by the famous philosopher, Mr. Locke;'—in which,—'to avoid erecting a numerous democracy,'—the renowned Constitution of the mother-country was bestowed with improvements and local adaptations on the Province. The eldest, for the time being, of the 'lord proprietors,' among whom were Clarendon, Albemarle, and Shaftesbury, was to be *Palatine;* for the remaining seven, great offices were created—*Admiral,* and *Chancellor,* and *Chief Justice,*—the ordinary dignities of a great court:—there was an Upper House, and three orders of landed and titled nobility; and in that privileged and aristocratic plantation its legislators were styled, not an *Assembly,* but a *Parliament.* Georgia was founded on the opposite plan; meant to be an out-post against Spain, it was settled on Spartan principles of military simplicity and frugality, with a strict agrarian law, exact divisions of land, and exclusively male fiefs, and a rigid prohibition of either negroes or rum. But these artificial constitutions would not suit the settlers for whom they were made. Mr. Locke's Palatine of Carolina, with most of the Carolinian nobility of '*Landgraves,*' '*Caciques,*' and '*Barons,*' staid in England, and soon gave up what they found to be a bad speculation: in Georgia, the 'tail-male grants' proved impracticable; and for want of

rum in that sweltering and swampy country, the settlers died of fevers and agues. Thus each colony was from the first almost an independent state. It had nothing to do with its neighbours, whose principles were probably its abomination: it was left very much by England to do as it liked, and to look out for its own safety and interests. In such neglect and isolation the American colonists practised their strength, and learned their hardihood, keenness, and self-reliance. They grew up unnoticed; —clearing forests, or pursuing a rude and laborious commerce. Nothing can be more flat and unromantic, and devoid of incident, than their early history: its records are about as interesting as those of a parish vestry or a municipal corporation. In one State only is there anything beyond instances of Puritan longwindedness and peevishness, or petty official insolence, or commercial sharp practice and vulgarity, or the adventures of Indian forest war. The early history of New England, when its settlers were fresh from the ferment at home which soon issued in the Rebellion, shows symptoms of a kindred spirit to what was working in the old country: they took to persecuting Anabaptists and hanging Quakers, till they had to be stopped by an order from England; and when 'their hands were tied up from persecuting Quakers,' their ferocious zeal broke forth in another direction, and in 1692 New England was a scene of a 'Terror,'[1] on a smaller scale indeed, but not much less frightful than that of France one hundred years later; only the fatal crime was, not aristocracy, but *witchcraft*.

Thus, while the Spanish colonies were from the first the pride of Spain, dearly prized, and jealously watched, brought into the closest relations with the mother-country, and administered by a government as uniform and as dignified as her own, —it was a long time before England awoke to the conviction that the gradual accumulation of her little heterogeneous settlements of private adventurers had grown up into a colonial empire worth caring for. Less than twenty years before she lost it, a writer, who is said to have been Mr. Burke, complains that she was not yet alive to the advantages which, without foresight or policy of her own, had been gained for her by the energy and courage of her scattered and neglected children. 'The reader will see,' he says, on concluding his rapid but instructive account of the rise and fortunes of the various settlements,—'the reader will see how far the colonies have served 'the trade of the mother-country, and how much the mother-'country has done, or neglected to do, towards their happiness

[1] Account of European Settlements in America: London. 1756. ii. 149. Some ious details are collected in 'Waylen's Ecclesiastical Reminiscences of the 'ed States.' London. 1846.

'and prosperity. Certainly our colonies deserve, and would 'fully reward an attention of a very different kind from any 'that was ever yet paid to them.'[1] But the mother-country could not yet make up her mind to believe that they were worth so much attention; or, till she had lost them, that such irregular and casual settlements could become so strong.

Every thing in English America was the work of individual effort. When not even ambition, or the considerations of political safety, could rouse the State from its apathy and coldness, it is not surprising that it should have left to individuals the charge of taking care of religion. The case was quite different in the great colonies of Spain. The extension of the Spanish monarchy into America would naturally, at all times, have carried with it the extension of religion also; but much more in the days of Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic, when the zeal of the Crusades, long dormant in Europe, revived in the crown of Castile. The tenure on which they claimed to hold their empire involved the preaching of the Christian faith. It was for this purpose that they had received it from the Vicar of Christ. 'Pope Alexander VI.,' says Las Casas, 'in whose 'pontificate the Indies were discovered, in virtue of the indis-'pensable obligation lying on him to procure the preaching and 'propagation of the Faith throughout the world, was bound to 'choose some Christian king, to whom he could commit the care 'of providing for the advancement of the Universal Church, of 'the Catholic Faith, and the worship of God, in the New World, 'and for the conversion and salvation of the nations who inhabit 'it; and, for this end, he chose the kings of Castile and Leon."[2] Privileges and exemptions, which, in Europe, had been the causes of fierce dispute between popes and kings,—tithes, and patronage, and the absolute disposal of benefices,—were freely lavished on the kings of Spain: and they fulfilled their trust with princely magnificence, and with their characteristic noble though not unalloyed zeal. As provinces were formed, and seats of government fixed, dioceses were defined also, and a hierarchy rose at the side of the great officers of the king, at the head of which stood the Patriarch of the Indies. The great orders—first, the Franciscan and Dominican, and later, the Jesuits, with the nephew of their founder—came over, and were naturalized in America. The religious establishment was simultaneous with the political, and on as grand, and complete, and exclusive a scale.

Such a system was not to be looked for in the English settlements. The very origin and foundation of our colonies

[1] Account of European Settlements, ii. 285.

[2] Las Casas; *Prop.* i. ii. xiv. xv.; p. 195, 202. (Amst. 1698.)

was Dissent. It could not be expected that the Church should be planted among populations whose very privilege it was to enjoy unrestrained sectarianism; a privilege which they had purchased by leaving England. The very object of their being in America was to be without the Church; there, Government connived at what it would not suffer at home, and having allowed them so much toleration, was not very likely to send the Church after them. Afterwards, when colonization ceased to be sectarian, it became mercantile: and the State, which kept so much aloof in political matters, and viewed its settlements very much as mere private and trading adventures, which it overlooked rather than directly governed, naturally did not interfere in religion. It would have been quite contrary to the whole analogy of its policy, if it had established the Church in the colonies; the apathy of the mother-country on this point is of a piece with the general want of interest which she manifested for so long towards them, and is not more wonderful.

English America was the field for individual and unassisted efforts. The settler had nothing to back him: he had neither a great advancing population, nor a great political power behind him; he stood alone, between the sea and the endless forest, and a mass of savage heathenism as deep and dense. But such hardihood and perseverance as his could safely be left to themselves; and he made good his position. That plain, steady, individual sturdiness which planted an English population in America, without the aid of the mother-state, planted the English Church there also. The priest went out as the settler had gone. He had neither the strength of a great system nor the sympathy of a powerful body to support and cheer him: it was individual charity which sent him out, and his own brave heart, and homely unpretending self-devotion, which carried him through his work. The personal energy which in forming settlements and in trade could do without encouragement, and quietly make its way through difficulties, was at work in the Church also. If it is a reproach to the English Church that she was so backward in organizing her system in the colonies, and that, when the state was indifferent and careless, she did not go beyond the state, and, without waiting for it, make use of her intrinsic powers—it is, in an equal degree, a striking instance of her real and living force, that in spite of the neglect of her rulers, and the coldness of Government,—and in a population so little disposed to be favourable to her,—a scanty body of her clergy, undistinguished by anything except their plain and et faithfulness, were able to maintain and extend her ence, and to lay the foundation of a yearly increasing copate, already as numerous as that of the mother Church.

The ecclesiastical annals of the plantations are as barren and meagre as their political ones. You look in vain for great names or great deeds; there are no traces among the clergy of striking ability, or of remarkable personal influence, and few of what might be more naturally looked for, original and strongly marked character. The present volume, which gives 'historical notices' of them from sources usually rich in interest,—their own writings and letters—fails to recall their image with any vividness and distinctness. We rise from the perusal of it—probably by no fault of the compiler's—with the definite recollection of scarcely one of the many missionaries whose names come before us. There is a sameness and uniformity about them all, and we try in vain to single out and realize individuals. All that remains is a vague but strong impression of heavy, wearing, single-handed work, with a *minimum* of external stimulus and compensation. They pass before us in succession,—a band of poor, careworn, drudging, homely men, conscious of the small account that is made of their persons and their labours, yet pursuing resolutely and steadily their beaten round of duty. There is no romance in the early missionaries or their proceedings. They are quite insensible to anything but the bare common-place business of their district: and it is seldom that they betray any consciousness that they are engaged on higher duties than those of a country cure in England. Nor is there any trace of the inquisitive and eager spirit which was so alive in many of the Roman Catholic missionaries to the wonders of the New World. Their daily monotonous, but heavy and wearisome, anxieties, absorb them, and seem almost to dull and weigh down their minds. Such is the picture which this book calls up in our minds: the general reader, whom the greatness of Xavier overawes, and who pursues with almost as much interest, if not always with as much admiration, the stirring or curious narratives of his successors, will see little here but a few hard-featured, uninteresting and unattractive figures moving about in scanty numbers among a coarse and rough population; ordinary eighteenth-century clergymen, wandering alone in their rusty black suits, for hundreds of miles, through the uncleared forests, crossing in fear and trembling the perilous ferries, or struggling through the mud of the swamps. And yet these common-place eighteenth-century clergymen—men of few words, and small pretensions, and humble aims—were individually at work with an energy and determination which no system can secure, and which supply in great measure the want of system. Mr. Hawkins's volume cannot be said, as we have already intimated, to be what is usually called an interesting one; but one conviction it does leave in the mind of the reader, who has toiled through its details,—a convic-

tion of the undeniable reality of the work of the early missionaries. Their dull and matter-of-fact reports, stiffly and provokingly refusing us a glimpse of all lighter and more characteristic features of themselves, or of the scenes and people among whom they moved, tell a story of constancy, and seriousness, and success which cannot be mistaken.

The English Government knew nothing of them; the provincial assembly, for the most part, knew nothing of them; the Church of England, as such, knew nothing of them; they were not overburdened with countenance or patronage; a charitable society in London contributed a small pittance to their support —an 'encouragement' of 50*l.* a year; and thus provided for, they started in their round of itinerancy, and applied themselves to the work of conversion, with the same cool but indomitable activity, the same dogged and inflexible pertinacity, as the rough settlers and squatters who were gradually clearing the forests. Slow-tongued and unimaginative men, they found little to write home about, except the bare fact that they had travelled so many hundred miles; baptized so many hundred people; reclaimed so many Quakers and Anabaptists; seen so many churches built, and found the work somewhat fatiguing. Statistical details are their favourite mode of representing what is going forward; details which we read with carelessness, and value little;—which have little in them to awaken sympathy with their prosaic reporter, till we recollect that these details stand for the man's own sweat and labour; that they speak of continual journeys in a wilderness, in burning heat, and blinding snow-storms; of hunger and thirst; of broad rivers perilously crossed; of the Indian scalping-knife barely avoided; of coarse and rude opposition sought out and faced among the half-barbarized settlers, —fanatic sectaries, or lawless unbelievers;—of a life such as this, sturdily persevered in, an enterprise undertaken single-handed and never abandoned, till its fruits became manifest in the aggressive and victorious appearance of the Church, in a land where she was meant to have no portion, and where everything seemed prepared and combined to exclude her.

The early population of the colonies, with a continent before them, seemed to exult in the liberty they possessed, of struggling and pushing forward as far from one another as possible; and the clergy had to adapt themselves to the spreading tendency of their flocks as they might. They talked of parishes, indeed: they were parochial clergymen, with vestries and churchwardens, and such other appendages of the home system. But ir parishes were fair-sized provinces. 'The parish of Goose- was one hundred and eighty miles long, by ten or four- road.' Mr. Boyd, of North Carolina, has 'North-west

parish' one hundred miles by fifty, and requiring a monthly ride of, at least, two hundred and sixty miles. Mr. Drage lives at Salisbury,—a very eligible situation for climate and country, but with a district of one hundred and eighty miles by one hundred and twenty, and forty 'preaching places' to look after. The following is the parochial round which Mr. Newnam's 'vestrymen have laid out for him:'—

'The first Sunday I preach, going by water and land some few miles, at Esquire Duckenfield's house, large enough to hold a great congregation till we have built a church, which is hereafter to be called Society Church, and, in order to it, we are now making a collection through the whole parish. The second Sunday, I take a journey up to a place called Maherin, about forty miles off, where there are abundance of inhabitants, who also are making a collection to build a chapel forthwith. Third Sunday, I perform divine service again at Esquire Duckenfield's. Fourth Sunday, I go up to a place called Wicacon, about thirty miles' journey. Fifth Sunday, I cross the Sound to go to Eden Town, where the vestry there have also purposed to have a church built out of hand. Sixth Sunday, I go to the chapel on the south shore, about twelve miles by water; and so the seventh Sunday begin *ut supra*, except once every quarter I go up to a place called Ronoke, about eighty miles' journey, and the five last Sundays of the year the vestries do give me that I may go my rounds, and visit the remote parts of the country, where the inhabitants live some 150 miles off, people who will scarce ever have the opportunity of hearing me, or having their children baptized, unless I go to and amongst them.'—Pp. 75, 76.

The following extract from a little volume that has just come before us—'Memoirs of a Missionary in Canada,'[1] will give a little more colour and filling up to these matter-of-fact details. The book itself, written after nearly thirty years' experience, and with unaffected honesty and much liveliness of description, recalls in a striking manner the ideas about early Missionary life, which are suggested by Mr. Hawkins's briefer notices; and the real hard work and genuine earnestness of the writer himself, taken with the absence of any very high profession of self-devotion, make him a fair representative of his old predecessors in North America.

'On Sundays, during summer, I performed divine service at one place fifteen miles off, at eight o'clock in the morning. Then in my own church at eleven. In the evening of the alternate Sundays, taking another horse, I rode nine miles to perform service in a schoolhouse at another settlement, about the same distance from my church, but in an opposite direction. During the winter I had only one morning service, and that in my church, and evening service only every third Sunday at each of the two settlements I have mentioned. This was owing to my taking in another station eighteen miles off. My labours at this settlement were generally, but not exclusively, confined to the winter, in consequence of the bad state of the roads, which were all but impassable during any other season.

'Sometimes, indeed, they were bad enough even in winter: on one occasion I had a fearful journey of it. There had been a heavy fall of snow

[1] Murray's Home and Colonial Library.

the day before, accompanied by a high wind, which drifted up the roads very much. In one place, about four miles from my destination, my horses fairly stuck fast: I sent my servant to a house, at a little distance, for a shovel, to cut out a path for my leading horse; for I was obliged to drive two, one harnessed in front of the other, as one horse would not have been able to drag my sleigh over the heavy roads; but the trifling favour was denied me, with many ill-natured remarks, on the "sinfu' practice o' breeking the Sabbath that gate: forbye travelling on that holy day." They "did na ken why sax days i' the week should na satisfee ony reasonable body." We had therefore to trample down the snow with our feet for more than a hundred yards, when the noble animals, as if instinctively aware of my anxiety to get on, plunged gallantly through of their own accord, after me. We soon afterwards got into the woods, where, of course, there had been no drifting, and at length arrived at our journey's end within a few minutes of the appointed time. The people, at least the greater part of them, had been waiting for me for hours. They had no clocks, they were all too poor in that settlement to buy them, and they were afraid of being too late. Our substitute for a church, a rude log-hut covered with bark, was crowded to suffocation. I read prayers and preached, and then administered the Sacrament to nearly twenty communicants. After which I christened three or four children, and churched as many women.

'I visited this settlement the following summer, on Trinity Sunday I think it was, when I had a congregation of more than three hundred, far more, of course, than the log-hut would contain. I therefore performed the service in the open air, or rather, under the shade of the lofty and majestic trees of the forest. My voice was indeed, literally, that of "one crying in the wilderness." It was a wild and moving scene. The most gorgeous temple, with its Gothic arches, its groined and fretted roof, its marble pavement and its high altar, all faded into insignificance before the dignity of such a shrine as this. From my elevated position, on the trunk of a huge elm-tree, some five or six feet in diameter, and which had been recently felled, I cast my eye over the dense crowd of those sincere simple-minded worshippers of Him "who dwelleth not in temples made with hands." They were kneeling before me on the cold damp earth, amid the rank weeds of the wilderness, with the everlasting forest over their heads, and responded in one solemn and harmonious voice to my prayer to "God the Father of heaven to have mercy upon us." During the service I baptized four children.'

The inconveniences of the parochial communications are dwelt upon with a frequency which shows how severely the incumbents had been jolted, and how often their horses had floundered in the bogs. 'The roads are exceedingly bad,' says Mr. Christian, the clergyman of five places, within a circle of thirty or forty miles radius:—

'The roads are exceeding bad, especially to Waccamaw, there being upwards of twelve swamps to cross, some of which are so deep that horses are frequently up to the saddle in crossing them.'—P. 88.

Or else, as another clergyman complains:—

'There are great rivers, from one, two, to six, twelve, and fifteen miles ... no ferry, *neither will they be at the trouble of setting me over*. He that ...swer the end of his Mission, must not only have a good horse, but a ...oat, and a couple of experienced watermen.'—P. 67.

The following simple-hearted and quaint account, from an old missionary in Connecticut, is the summary of a hard life; and he continued it ten years longer:—

'As it is now forty years since I have had the advantage of being the venerable Society's Missionary in this place, I suppose it will not be improper to give a brief account how I have spent my time, and improved their charity. Every Sunday I have performed divine service, and preached twice, at Newtown and Reading alternately. And in these forty years I have lost only two Sundays through sickness, although, in all that time, I have been afflicted with a *constant colic*, which has not allowed me one day's ease or freedom from pain. The distance between the churches at Newtown and Reading is between eight and nine miles, and no very good road, yet have I never failed one time to attend each place according to custom, through the badness of the weather, but have rode it in the severest rains and snow-storms, even when there has been no track, and my horse *near mining down in the snow banks*,—which has had this good effect on my parishioners, that they are ashamed to stay from church on account of bad weather, so that they are remarkably forward to attend the public worship.'—P. 213.

But these parish visits were by no means all the travelling which they had to go through. They were missionaries as well as parish clergymen, and were obliged to supply from time to time the large extra-parochial settlements, as they plunged deeper and deeper into the wilderness, or stretched further and further along the river banks. The following is an account of one of these journeys in Carolina. The writer's minute details of the 'mighty inconveniences' of travelling, and of the ways of the settlers; the surly Quakers of the ferry; the magistrates' perquisite, 'which he did not like to deprive them of;' the ruinous expense of having so many rivers to cross;—are characteristic, and told with amusing gravity. The map of North Carolina, patched all over with green swamps, which also line the river banks, and with its broken sea-border of creeks and sounds—'ponds,' as Mr. Blair calls them—may assist the reader's imagination:—

'I arrived amongst the inhabitants, after a tedious and troublesome journey, on the 24th of January, 1704; I was then obliged to buy a couple of horses, which cost me fourteen pounds; one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a desert country) it's a great hazard if ever he finds his road again. Besides, there are mighty inconveniences in travelling there; for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are, likewise, seven great rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them; one of which the Quakers have settled a ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the privilege of it, so that at the passing over the rivers I was obliged either to borrow or hire horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable, insomuch that, in little more than two months, I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried over for my own use to satisfy my creditors.

'I found in the country a great many children to be baptized, where I baptized about 100, and there are a great many still to be baptized whose parents would not condescend to have them baptized with godfathers and godmothers.

'I married none in the country, for that was *a perquisite belonging to the magistrates, which I was not desirous to deprive them of.* I preached twice every Sunday, and often on the week days, when their vestries met, or could appoint them to bring their children to be baptized. They have built in the country three small churches and have three glebes.

'Besides such a solitary, toilsome, and hard living as I met with, there were very sufficient discouragements. I was distant from any minister 120 miles, so that if any case of difficulty or doubt should happen, with whom should I consult? And, for my travelling through the country, I rid, one day with another, Sunday only excepted, above thirty miles per diem, in the worst roads that ever I saw; and have sometimes lain whole nights in the woods.

'I will now *endeavour to show you how ineffectual* a single man's labours would be amongst so scattered a people. In the first place, suppose him minister of one precinct, (whereas, there are five in the country,) and this precinct, as they are all, bounded with two rivers, and those rivers at least twenty miles distant, without any inhabitants on the roads, for they plant only on the rivers, and they are planted in length upon these rivers at least twenty miles. And to give all these inhabitants an opportunity of hearing a sermon, and bringing their children to be baptized, which must be on the sabbath, for they won't spare time of another day, and must be in every ten miles distance, for five miles is the farthest that they will bring their children, or willingly come themselves; so that he must, to do his duty effectually, be ten or twelve weeks in making his progress through one precinct.

'You may also consider the distance that the new colony of Pamplico is from the rest of the inhabitants of the country, for any man that has tried it would sooner undertake a voyage from this city to Holland than that; for, *besides a pond of five miles broad*, and nothing to carry one over but small foroughs, there are above *fifty miles desert* to pass through, without any human creature inhabiting in it.'—Pp. 65—67.

There is an amusing honesty about several of these missionaries. Without any attempt to make themselves interesting, they do not dissemble that they find their work hard. They work on all the same, as unflinchingly as if it were easy and smooth; but they are sufficiently human to enjoy the solace of an occasional grumble, or of a matter-of-fact account of their troubles:—

'I am at last,' writes Rev. John Urmston, with a whimsical sort of querulous resignation, 'I am at last, together with my family, in manifest danger of perishing for lack of food. We have lived many a day only on a dry crust, and a draught of salt water out of the sound—such regard have the people for my labours—so worthy of the favour which the Society has shown them in providing Missionaries and sending them books. Missioners, as the world goes, must be planters too, if they have families, or starve: the salary alone will not do. I am forced to work hard with axe, hoe, and spade. I have not a stick to burn for my use, but what I cut down with my own hands.'

There were glebes and parsonages in some places, but the residences, where the missionary was to be found when at home,

were often of a very rough kind. Stingy vestries could not be got to provide anything more respectable or convenient than some dismantled and deserted building,—such as the 'old tobacco house,' in which Mr. Rainsford was lodged, when he was posted on the western shore of Carolina, 'and had several 'conferences with one Thomas Hoyler, King of the Chowan 'Indians, who seemed very inclinable to embrace Christianity.' As late as 1756, Mr. Macclenaghan was not better off in Connecticut: he was a man of 'uncommon fortitude,' says the account, and

'His residence was "an old dismantled fort, where the wind, rain, and snow had a free passage;" and it was moreover exposed to the frequent attacks of the Indians. He says that his head, his heart, and his hands were all employed in directing, encouraging, and fighting for his people. In another letter he describes the fatigues which he underwent as excessive; all his journeys were by water, and he was "frequently obliged to tug at an oar."'—P. 225.

This 'fighting for his people,' which Mr. Macclenaghan was occasionally engaged in, recalls the rough days of unsettled Christianity in Europe. The military exertions of another missionary drew forth an eulogium, in a letter addressed, of all people in the world, to Mr. Penn.

'In the difficult position in which he found himself, in a district exposed to the incursions of the French and the Indians, Mr. Barton was compelled to organize his own people for defence against their enemies. And so much did he distinguish himself by his zeal and activity in the cause of his country, that his conduct was thus spoken of in a letter from Philadelphia to Mr. Penn the proprietary:—"Mr. Barton deserves the commendations of all lovers of their country; for he has put himself at the head of his congregations, and marched either by night or by day on every alarm. Had others imitated his example, Cumberland would not have wanted men enough to defend it; nor has he done anything in the military way but what hath increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister. In short, he is a most worthy, active, and serviceable pastor and missionary, and as such please to mention him to the Society."'—P. 131.

This hard service could not be carried on with impunity:

'I don't expect,' writes Mr. Barton, 'I shall be able many years to perform the duties of this mission. The fatigue of riding twenty miles to one church and eighteen to another, in the cold of our winters and excessive heat of our summers, has already much impaired my constitution, which I had reason to value as an excellent one. But I do not mean to complain.' —P. 132.

If the missionary's life was a hard and rough one, it was often soon over. In 1714, Mr. Clubb was appointed to a mission in Pennsylvania.

'Mr. Clubb,' says Humphreys, "was very earnest in all parts of his ministerial office, and very successful in his labours, and happy in engaging the love and esteem of all his people.—P. 115.

In the following year the churchwardens announced his death to the Society.

'Mr. Clubb, our late minister, was the first that undertook the cure of Oxford and Radnor, and he paid dear for it; for the great fatigue of riding between the two churches, in such dismal ways and weather as we generally have for four months in the winter, soon put a period to his life.'—P. 115.

The early missionaries in the south drop off with fearful rapidity. Mr. Clayton and Mr. Marshall, two of the Society's first missionaries, arrive at Philadelphia and Charleston in 1696; 'they are both carried off, two years after their arrival, of 'diseases caught in visiting the sick.' Mr. Thomas succeeded Mr. Marshall in 1702: he died in 1706. Mr. Maule began in 1707 'to ride up and down the plantations.' In Feb. 1716, he wrote as follows:—

'When I came into this country first, I thought nothing could hurt me; but I find by experience that the climate can break even the strongest constitution. However, I do not repine; if I be but serviceable in my generation, and answer the great ends of my mission here, I am satisfied not only to sacrifice my health, but (if that could be of any use) my very life, too, for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.'

And in September he died, and left all his property, 600*l.*, Carolina money, to the Society. Mr. Johnstone is sent out as Commissary in 1707: he was drowned in 1713. Mr. Ludlam arrived in 1724, and died in 1728, leaving all his little property to the Society which had sent him out. Mr. Adams went out to North Carolina in 1709. At first, in spite of 'abuse and contumelies in his own person,' a salary insufficient to pay for diet and lodging, and very hard work, he is cheerful and in good spirits—'I bless the Lord, that I have my health so well.' But 'after struggling for two years with a lawless and barbarous 'people,' he had to resign; and died before he could embark for Europe. Mr. Newnam came next, in 1722. We have already quoted his itinerary, which may explain his early death.

'The following year, 9th of May, he informs the Society that he and his family had been suffering severely from the fever of the country; that he had, however, resumed his journeys, and had baptized 269 persons; and that he proposed immediately to set out for Bath county, where 300 children were waiting for baptism. But his labours and exposure in all weathers brought on severe illness, under which he sunk, in 1723, much to the grief of his people.'—P. 77.

Mr. Boyd, a provincial, was ordained missionary in 1732: he had to preach in seven different places in a district one hundred miles by fifty; 'in 1735 he had baptized one thousand children and thirty adults,' and won over a number of Anabaptists to the Church—in 1738 he died. There is the same history of overwork and exhaustion, and of pertinacity in spite of them,

in the other provinces. We will only quote the account of a Nova Scotia Missionary in 1775:—

'Besides the many hardships he had to undergo in his voyage along the coast, Mr. Bennet was in constant danger of being taken by the privateers, and had the misfortune to lose his schooner, which was wrecked, but without loss of life. Almost incessant labour and anxiety seem to have affected Mr. Bennet both in body and mind: and, in 1781, the principal inhabitants of Windsor, headed by Michael Franklin, Esq. member of the Council, addressed the Society in his favour. The ruin of his health and constitution, they "attribute entirely to his indefatigable endeavours and unwearied exertions to perform the duties of his Mission." They state of their own knowledge, that he had "regularly attended four, and, part of the time, five different towns, some of which were twenty-five miles distant from Windsor, where he chiefly resided;" that "none of those towns could he come at, but by passing dangerous fords, almost entirely through woods; and that his zeal to promote the established religion in those new settled countries, abounding with all sorts of sectaries, made him remarkably assiduous to convert those wandering people, who, not being able to maintain preachers of their own, were thus often induced to join in the public worship of the Church of England. The memorial then proceeds to speak of the fatigue and risk which he encountered "in going into all the numerous bays, harbours, creeks, and rivers," along the coast; and of his forcing his way to some of the settlements through the wilderness, when the American privateers rendered a passage by water impracticable. In the preceding year he succeeded in getting to Tatmagouche and Pictou; but in returning lost his way, and was detained a whole night alone in the woods. "The horror of this hopeless and dismal situation is supposed to have affected his understanding, as it certainly did his health." On this representation Mr. Bennet, though disabled from performing any duty, was continued on the Society's list of Missionaries at a reduced salary.'

Nor was it only hard work which thinned their numbers. Many of them could not begin to expose their lives on the Continent till they had first exposed them on the Atlantic. In nothing did the want of a Bishop try the faith and zeal of the provincials more severely, than in subjecting them to this gratuitous hardship. No doubt many shrank from such a condition of orders; a condition which, besides the danger, involved expenses which the humble state of most colonial candidates for the priesthood could ill bear: but others went. They went, and some of them never returned. 'Twenty-five of us,' writes a Connecticut Missionary in the middle of last century, 'have 'gone a thousand leagues for Episcopal orders, of whom not less 'than five have lost their lives, and several others suffered the 'most dangerous sicknesses, and all at the expense of more than 'we could well afford.' And the warmth of the following letter, written a few years later, will be excused, when it is stated that the writer, himself a convert from Presbyterianism, had just seen his nephew, whom he had educated at his own charge, and sent to England for ordination, drowned, with a fellow-clergyman, within sight of shore:—

'Such, alas! are the misfortunes, and, I may say, persecutions, that attend the poor distressed Church of England in America, that, whilst the dissenters can send out an innumerable tribe of teachers of all sorts without any inquiries, we must send three thousand miles across the Atlantic Ocean, at the expense of all we are worth, sometimes, and as much more as we have credit for, as well as the risk of our lives, before we can have an ordination. This is a difficulty that has, and always will, prevent the growth of the Church in America. Few Englishmen that can live at home will undertake the Mission: the great expenses and dangers of the seas that the Americans must encounter with before they can obtain an ordination, damp their spirits, and force many of them (who have strong inclinations to the Church) to join the dissenters and become teachers among them. Thus, when a vacancy happens among *them*, it can be filled in an instant; when a vacancy among *us*, it is some considerable time before we can have a minister. All this time the dissenters are making such havoc among the Church people, that when a Missionary comes to one of these destitute places, he has all the work to begin again, and many years [must elapse] before he can collect his scattered sheep.

'The dissenters very well know, that the sending a Bishop to America would contribute more to the encouragement of the Church here, than all the money that has been raised by the honourable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Alas! we see and feel the power of our enemies, and weakness of our friends, and can only mourn in secret and pray for better times.

'I hope the Venerable Society will excuse my freedom in thus writing about sending a Bishop here, and only remember that, had a Bishop been in America, my nephew would not have come to such an unhappy end, nor I have been so distressed upon this melancholy occasion.'—Pp. 125, 126.

The small-pox in England was hardly less an object of terror than the ocean; London was like a plague-city to the provincial, to be escaped from as soon as possible. A writer from the colonies, introducing a candidate for orders to the authorities in London, betrays his fears:—

'There is one thing in particular wherein he desires your assistance—viz. that you would do what you can to despatch his business speedily, because he has never had the small-pox, which he is fearful of, it having proved fatal to many New-England men in London.'—P. 219.

But the prize was worth the race. English America had to be won back to the Church, almost to Christendom. Those who went out from England expecting to find a Christian population from which to act upon the heathen Indians, had to 'begin from the beginning' with their own countrymen. They required missions in the full sense of the word. In the Southern provinces, indeed, the Church was professedly established. The 'Lords Proprietors of Carolina had—much to the dissatisfaction of the framer—spoilt the symmetry of John Locke's constitution inserting in it an article to this effect:[1] but its illustrious r might take comfort that it existed only on paper. nor Eden's account of things, about fifty years after the r had been founded, and two years before the 'Lords

[1] amental Constitutions of Carolina; Art. 96. (Locke's Works, iii. 676, note.)

Proprietors' gave it up in despair to the Crown, shows how much they had done to support the Church which they so ostentatiously patronized in their 'Fundamental Laws.'—

'"It is now almost four months since I entered upon the government, where I found no clergyman upon the place except Mr. Urmston, one of your Missionaries, who is really an honest painstaking gentleman, and worthy of your care; but, poor man! with utmost endeavours, is not able to serve one-half of the county of Albemarle, which adjoins to Virginia, whereas the county of Bath is of a much larger extent, and wholly destitute of any assistance. I cannot find but the people are well enough inclined to embrace all opportunities of attending the service of God, and to contribute, to the utmost of their ability, towards the support of such missionaries as you shall, in compassion to their circumstances, think fit to send amongst them; but our tedious Indian war has reduced the country so low, that without your nursing care the very footsteps of religion will, in a short time, be worn out, and those who retain any remembrance of it will be wholly led away by the Quakers; whereas a few of the clergy, of a complaisant temper and regular lives, would not only be the darlings of the people, but would be a means in time to recover those already seduced by Quakerism."'—P. 69.

Such in the American colonies seems to be the meaning of the Church being 'established;' in the latest of them, Georgia, where some disposition seemed to be shown in the first instance by the trustees to give the Church more than a nominal existence, the case was the same.

'Although the Church of England was established by law in Georgia, the province divided into parishes, and commissioners appointed to see to the erection of a church, and the setting off a glebe in every parish, yet all these provisions were nugatory, as no one seemed to consider himself responsible for carrying them into practical operation.

'In 1769 there were but *two churches* in the whole of Georgia, and these were 150 miles apart. The condition of the people may easily be imagined. "Without using any rhetorical figures," says Mr. Frink, "they seem in general to have but very little more knowledge of a Saviour than the aboriginal natives. Many hundreds of poor people, both parents and children, in the interior and extreme parts of the province, have no opportunity of being instructed in the principles of Christianity, or even in the being of a God, any further than nature dictates."'—P. 104.

But on the other side of the Susquehannah the Church had barely a legal existence; she was often not tolerated. There in its forbidding and gloomy paradise, emancipated dissent revelled and brought forth fruit; there pressure of every kind being removed—of authority, of tradition, of custom, of opinion—Protestantism expanded into a hugeness unknown as yet in Europe; there Burke was struck with a religion which was a 'refinement on the principle of resistance; the very dissidence of dissent, the Protestantism of the Protestant religion.'[1] There seriousness and intelligence, as well as the daily growing mass of blind and wild extravagance, were leagued to keep out the Church. In

[1] Speech on Conciliation with America.

the New England States, besides the effects of a system of popular education, singular in those times for its effectiveness, and entirely under the control of the Puritan clergy, the force of a rigidly intolerant law was directed against her. In 1730 a clergyman at Boston was tried, convicted, and fined for reprinting Leslie's Discourse on Episcopacy. As late as 1743, the Independents of Connecticut enforced the acts of the 'Blue Code' against the Church:

'In October of the same year he informs the Society that his people were building a Church in the hope of having a minister settled amongst them. "But the Independents, to suppress this design in its infancy, having the authority in their hands, have lately prosecuted and fined them for their meeting to worship God according to the Common Prayer; and the same punishment they are like to suffer for every offence in this kind, although it is the common approved practice of the same Independents to meet for worship in their own way when they have no minister. . . The case of these people is very hard. If on the Lord's-day they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner they can, the mulct is still greater; and if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrines and worship of the Church vilified, and the important truths of Christianity obscured and enervated by enthusiastic and antinomian dreams."'—Pp. 204, 205.

Lower down, where sectarianism was not organized as in New England, the Quakers, with a rabble of sects defying all classification and description, preoccupied the country — coarse-minded and foul-mouthed fanatics, who were every year exchanging their extravagant notions for open blasphemy and unbelief. Such was the religious temper which had already taken strong hold of the Plantations, before the Church began fairly to work among them.

There can be no question, and no need to prove, that she has recovered her influence over a large proportion of those confused multitudes who broke away from her in England, or were brought up in ignorance or hostility to her, in America. Here we see the process. It was not by controversy, not by the combined and continual action of a system, that they were won over; but by the individual efforts of a few simple men, almost lost in their wanderings in the huge mass of population. Year after year this handful went out, each one by himself, on their wide circuits, seeking out the lost and wandering, preaching and baptizing. They met with every variety of temper and recep-
n; they found the people sometimes well disposed, sometimes
ferent, sometimes fiercely hostile. Sometimes they speak of
ple making nothing of riding twenty miles to church,—of
rches crowded every Sunday with people of every denomi-
ion, who come, many of them, thirty or forty miles,'—of
ple bringing their children a distance, between eighty and

'two hundred miles, to be baptized.' One report is, that 'the 'congregations were very numerous, and the people behaved 'exceedingly well,'—are 'very devout and orderly,'—'are truly 'serious and religious, and attached to the Church of England,' '—the churches are filled on Sundays and holidays, and the 'missionary is obliged to preach under the green trees for room, 'for shade, and for shelter.' At other times they complain of 'the vilest race on the face of the earth'—'a hotch-potch of 'bankrupts, pirates, and enthusiasts;' that 'the Church-of-'England people are disheartened, and scattered like sheep;' 'the dissenters are making havoc among the church people.' The 'Quakers in Paquimans, they write, are very numerous, extremely 'ignorant, insufferably proud, ambitious, and consequently 'ungovernable; those of Pasquotank 'are still worse, and stir 'up all the ignorant and irreligious' to insult the clergy and profane the sacrament;—on the other hand, the Philadelphia ones would secretly come and 'stand under the church windows 'at night, and many plucked up courage to come to the Church 'itself, and were baptized.' Every shape and element of this motley population the missionaries had to encounter, and with every variety of success;—now a few were reclaimed—now many; one man is driven from the field and his labour lost; another is checked for a moment, and then rapidly triumphant. Still, looking on the whole body, they were steadily gaining the ground on which they had spread themselves. The spectacle of that hard life, so resolutely persevered in—of a faith which spoke a common-place language, and showed none of the ordinary signs of enthusiasm, but which yet steadily carried men on to their lives' end in a rough and discouraging work of charity—was, on the whole, appreciated by the rude settlers. It told upon them sometimes more, sometimes less; but it told distinctly, and in a peculiar way. The Christianity of these old-fashioned missionaries was too unexciting to take at all, unless it took in earnest. The people came to it from sectarianism, when they were tired of amusing and puzzling themselves with religion, and wanted to be serious at last. They came to it, not as a novelty, but as a refuge when novelty ceased to be an attractive element. There is a strong and deeply fixed instinct among many dissenters, an instinct often overborne, but often involuntarily disclosing itself—that the Church is, on the whole, right—that she is something higher in kind than the sects round her; and this instinct would work more powerfully in the back-woods of America than in a cathedral town in England. Many returned to her when she sought them in the wilderness, who had been offended with her in her seats of grandeur and power. In many, who from long absence had forgotten

her, the old hereditary feeling of attachment and respect revived when they saw her again. Thus she was built up, as the formal and dry statistics of the missionaries show, out of materials heterogeneous and waste;—they reclaimed, they conciliated, they reanimated, they gathered into union, they took up the neglected and unclaimed, they restored Church ministrations to those who despaired of them—they carried them to others who had never known them;—this is the purport of their uninteresting arithmetical reports. They tell, indeed, of loss and gain alternately, but they believed that they were steadily gaining; and the present American Church proves they were not calculating on bad grounds.

The Quakers were the first body on whom the Church made an impression. The first missionary employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was George Keith, a man of more remarkable stamp of character than most of his fellow-missionaries. He had joined the Church from Quakerism; a man of great earnestness and ability, he had, while among the Quakers, endeavoured to carry out their principles with a rigorous logic, which the worldly and half-infidel leaders of the sect were not at all disposed to accept. He is mentioned by the liberal author of the 'Account of European Settlements in America,' as the single exception to be found to Quaker toleration. After mentioning the 'prodigious diversity of religions, 'nations, and languages in Pennsylvania,—Quakers, Churchmen, 'Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, Menists, Mora-'vians, Anabaptists, and the Dumplers, a sort of German sect 'that live in something like a religious society—wear long 'beards and a habit like friars;'—and, bursting into warm admiration of the 'edifying harmony' in which they all live, he notices the shock given to it by the troublesome enthusiasm of Keith:—

'I do not observe that the Quakers, who had, and still have, in a great measure the power in their hands, have made use of it in any sort to persecute, except in the single case of George Keith, whom they first imprisoned, and then banished out of the province. This Keith was originally a minister of the Church of England, then a Quaker, and afterwards returned to his former ministry. But whilst he remained with the Friends, he was a most troublesome and litigious man; was for pushing the peculiarities of Quakerism to yet more extravagant lengths, and for making new refinements, even where the most enthusiastic thought that they had gone 'r enough: which raised such a storm as shook the Church he then adhered to the very foundations.'—Vol. ii. p. 193.

Keith, after he had joined the Church, went out again to ıerica, with a companion, on a mission of 'enquiry.' He had rcely landed when his companion died. But a man of equal ıl and energy with himself, and of somewhat similar character,

Mr. Talbot, the chaplain of the ship which brought him out, had already volunteered to accompany him. Talbot's letters are some of the most lively in the volume before us.

They started in the autumn of 1702, and shortly after Talbot reports their proceedings to his friend 'Mr. Gillingham.' He is hopeful and in high spirits, has his eyes about him, and has seen a good deal to strike and interest him; 'the priest who lived for half-a-year without a shirt' among the Indians, and got banished by Lord Bellamont, whom he asked for one, has plainly made an impression on him:—

'*Mr. John Talbot to Mr. Richard Gillingham.*

'New York, 24th Nov. 1702.

'My dear Friend,—I take all opportunities to let you know that I live, and shall be glad to hear as much of you. Friend Keith and I have been above 500 miles together, visiting the Churches in these parts of America, namely, New England, New Hampshire, New Bristol, New London, New York, and the New Jerseys, as far as Philadelphia. We preached in all churches where we came, and in several Dissenters' meetings, such as owned the Church of England to be their mother Church, and were willing to communicate with her, and to submit to her bishops, if they had opportunity. I have baptized several persons whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism; and, indeed, in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel; even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury, the Governor here, has had with them at Albany. Five of their Sachems, or kings, told him they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's death. They did admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a *squaw sachem*—namely, a woman king; but they hoped she would be a good mother, and send them some to teach them religion, and establish traffic amongst them, *that they might be able to purchase a coat, and not go to Church in bear skins;* and so they send our Queen a present, —ten beaver skins to make her fine, and one fur muff to keep her warm. After a many presents and compliments, they signed the treaty, and made the covenant so sure, that they said thunder and lightning should not break it on their part, if we did not do as the Lord Bellamont did, throw it into the sea.

'The Papists have been very zealous and diligent to send priests and Jesuits to convert these Indians to their superstitions. 'Tis wonderfully acted, ventured, and suffered upon that design; they have indeed become all things, and even turned Indians, as it were, to gain them, which I hope will provoke some of us to do our part for our holy faith, and mother, the Church of England. One of their priests lived half-a-year in their wigwams (that is, houses) without a shirt; and when he *petitioned my Lord Bellamont for a couple, he was not only denied, but banished;* whereas one of ours in discourse with my Lord of London, said, who did his lordship think would come hither that had a dozen shirts? If I had their language, or wherewith to maintain an interpreter, it should be the first thing I should do to go amongst the thickest of them. Mr. Keith says, if he were younger, he would learn their language, and then I am sure he might convert them sooner than the heathen called Quakers. Indeed, he is the fittest man that ever came over for this province. He is a well-studied divine, a good philosopher and preacher, but, above all, an excellent disputant, especially

against the Quakers, who used to challenge all mankind formerly; now all the Friends (or enemies rather) are not able to answer one George Keith; he knows the depth of Satan within them, and all the dwellings and windings of *the snake in the grass.* In short, he has become the best champion against all dissenters that the Church ever had; and has set up such a light in these dark places, that, by God's blessing, will not be put out. The clergy here have had a sort of convocation at the instance and charge of his Excellency Colonel Nicholson, governor of Virginia. We were but seven in all; and a week together we sat considering of ways and means to propagate the Gospel, and to that end we have drawn up a scheme of the present state of the Church in these provinces, which you shall see when I have time to transcribe it; and I shall desire you to send it afterwards to my good brother Kemble. We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all.

'We pray for my good Lord of London; we cannot have better than he whilst he lives; therefore, in the mean time, we shall be very well content with a suffragan. Mr. Keith's mission will be out about a year hence; by that time I hope to get some tokens for my good friends and benefactors. But, as for myself, I am so well satisfied with a prospect of doing good, that I have no inclination to return for England; however, be so kind as to let me know how you do, which will be a comfort to me in the wilderness. You know all my friends; pray let them, especially my mother and sister Hannah, know that I am well, God be praised, and shall be glad to hear so much of them. I cannot write many letters, much less one two or three times over, as when I had nothing else to do. I pray God bless you and all my friends! I desire the benefit of their prayers, though I can't have that of their good company. I know you will take all in good part that comes from—Your old friend,

'JOHN TALBOT.'

The next year he is in equally good heart—

'Philadelphia, 1st. Sept. 1703.

'Sir,—We have been the grand circuit from New England to North Carolina, and are now returned to the centre of our business. . . . .

'Mr. Keith and I have preached the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men; we have baptised several scores of men, women, and children, chiefly those of his old friends (and the rest are hardened, just like the Jews, who please not God, and are contrary to all men). We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and, what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province and the next. That at Burlington is almost finished. Mr. Keith preached the first sermon in it before my Lord Cornbury, whom the Queen has made governor of Jersey, to the satisfaction of all Christian people. *Churches are going up amain,* where there were never any before. They are going to build three at North Carolina, to keep the people together, lest they should fall into heathenism, Quakerism, &c.; and three more in these lower counties about Newcastle, besides those I hope at Chester, Burlington, and Amboy.'—Pp. 35, 36.

Mr. Keith is doing good service:—

'Being zealous for the honour of the Church of England, which is the mother of us all, upon her account it was that I was willing to travel with Mr. Keith. Indeed, I was loth he should go alone, now he was for us, who, I am sure, would have had followers enough, had he come against us. Besides, I had another end in it, that, by his free conversation and learned disputes, both with his friends and enemies, I have learned better in a year deal with the Quakers, than I could by several years' study in the schools.

We want more of his "Narratives," which would be of good use here, where we often meet with the Quakers and their books; more of his "Answers to Robert Barclay" would come well to the clergy of Maryland and Virginia, &c. Barclay's Book has done most mischief; therefore Mr. Keith's answer is more requisite and necessary. Mr. Keith has done great service to the Church, wherever he has been, by preaching and disputing publicly, and from house to house; he has confuted many (especially the Anabaptists) by labour and travel night and day; by writing and printing of books, mostly at his own charge and cost, and giving them out freely, which has been very expensive to him. By these means people are much awakened, and their eyes opened to see the good old way, and they are very well pleased to find the Church at last take such care of her children. For it is a sad thing to consider the years that are past; how some that were born of the English never heard of the name of Christ; how many others were baptized in his name, and have fallen away to heathenism, Quakerism, and atheism, for want of Confirmation.'—Pp. 35, 36.

But a Bishop is wanted, and he puts the case in a common-sense way, to which it would be hard to find an answer:—

'It seems the strangest thing in the world, and it is thought history can't parallel it, that any place has received the word of God so many years, so many hundred churches built, so many thousand proselytes made, and still remain altogether in the wilderness, as sheep without a shepherd. The poor Church of America is worse on't in this respect, than any of her adversaries.

'The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands one on another, but, after all, I think they had as good stay at home for the good they do. The Independents are called by their sovereign lord the people; the Anabaptists and Quakers pretend to the Spirit; but the poor Church has nobody upon the spot to comfort or confirm her children; nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve, were they authorized, for the work of the ministry. Therefore they fall back again into the herd of the dissenters, rather than they will be at the hazard and charge to go as far as England for orders; so that we have seen several counties, islands, and provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister amongst them, which might have been supplied, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan *apud Americanos*.'—P. 37.

Later he urges this point again, with his characteristic energy:—

'I believe, and am sure, there are a great many learned and good men in England; and I believe also, did our gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow 1,000*l.* per annum, rather than so many souls should suffer; and then it would be a hard case if there should not be found one amongst so many pastors and doctors (*de tot millibus unus qui transiens adjuvet nos*). Meanwhile, I don't doubt but some learned and good man would go further, and do the Church more service with 100*l.* per annum, than with a coach and six one hundred years hence.'—P. 37.

What this strong feeling ultimately led to, we shall see in the sequel; meanwhile we will extract one of Keith's own reports—part of his 'Narrative.' He is on his mission through New England; the Church has not yet found a resting-place; he has to preach among enemies or aliens, as St. Paul preached in the synagogues of the Jews.

'15th Sept. 1704.

'We went together from Boston to Lin, and next morning we went to a Quaker's house of my former acquaintance, and from that to the Quakers' meeting, 9th July, where, after I had kept silence until divers of their preachers had spoken, I offered to speak, but was rudely interrupted and threatened by them, and accused for transgressing the Act of Toleration; I told them I had not broke it, for I did not interrupt any of their preachers. After this I remained again silent, and quietly sat down till they had all done, and then I rose up to speak, and offered to show them, in a friendly manner, how their speakers had perverted the Scriptures, and asserted many things of false doctrine. But most of them went hastily away, though some staid, with many that came to the meeting who were not Quakers, to whom I spoke many things with little interruption, until I took Edward Burroughs' folio book, which I brought with me from Boston, and began to read many antichristian passages out of it, which yet the Quakers did generally justify; and particularly Sam. Collins, and other Quakers, did boldly and earnestly defend that assertion, that the light within them, and in every man, was sufficient to salvation, without anything else; the falsehood and hurt of which assertion, and how contrary it was and prejudicial to the Christian religion, I laboured to convince them of, but did nothing prevail. Mr. Shepherd, the Independent minister of Lin parish, did civilly accompany us to the Quakers' meeting, but they treated him very rudely and abusively, as they did us, with abusive and ill language, as their constant manner is.

'10*th July*.—We arrived at Hampton, and lodged at Mr. John Cotton's house, the minister of Hampton, where we were kindly entertained by him several days, and had much free discourse with him about religious matters, and the Church of England, to which we found him very favourable, as also we found divers other ministers of New England. At Mr. Cotton's request, both I and Mr. Talbot preached in his pulpit to his parishioners in their meeting-house (which they do not commonly call a church), the one of us in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon. I again, at Mr. Cotton's request, preached the Wednesday's lecture there; my text both days was Acts xxvi. 18; where was a great auditory both days.

'19*th Sunday*.—I preached at Salisbury meeting-house, in the pulpit of Mr. Cushin, minister of that parish, at his request; my text was Philip. i. 12, 13; and so did Mr. Talbot, the one of us in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, where also we had a great auditory, many coming to both places from neighbouring parishes purposely to hear us, and who were civil, and showed great satisfaction, and so did the minister, who kindly treated us, and with whom we lodged that night, and whom we found in discourse very favourable to the Church of England.

'16*th July*, 1702.—We went to the Quakers' meeting at Hampton, accompanied with Mr. John Cotton, and where Mr. Cushin came to us, and very many civil people of both parishes came, who were not Quakers, hoping to have heard some fair dispute between the Quakers and me; and there, at the Quakers' meeting at the house of Abraham Green, a Quaker, we heard two Quaker preachers; the first was one Edward Wanton, a ship carpenter at Scituate, who spake about half an hour or more, but very ignorantly, and most grossly perverting several texts of Scripture, particu- John xvii. 3, and Rom. i. 19, which he brought to prove that the people there (to whom he addressed his discourse, and not to the s he accounted them, had a little babe within them lying in a er the earth, to which if they would hearken, that little babe (meaning the light within) would give them the knowledge of was life eternal: he confessed he could not read the Scriptures, m he hoped they would excuse him if he did not so exactly

quote the words. After him another Quaker preacher, a planter, at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, continued speaking very long, above two hours, and did mightily heat himself (as the sweat that ran down his waistcoat in great abundance did show); he also most ignorantly spoke many things, and grossly perverted and misapplied many texts of Scripture to prove the sufficiency of the light within to salvation, without anything else; and, as the Quakers' ordinary way is in their preaching everywhere, they have a set of texts of Scripture, which they commonly quote to prove the sufficiency of the light within to salvation without anything else, but which they miserably pervert and misapply; such as John i. 9; Rom. i. 19; John iii. 19, 20; John xii. 36; John xvi. 7—11; Rom. x. 6—8; Tit. ii. 11: all which, and many more, Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, has produced in favour of the Quakers, and to all which I have fully replied in my Answer to his said book; and many of these, and the like texts of Scripture, this Jedediah Allen did grossly pervert and misapply to prove his false doctrines. And the like perversions of Scripture he used against Baptism and the Supper in the common road of other Quakers, as extant in their printed books. After he had done, having mightily tired and wearied all his hearers who were not Quakers, I offered to speak, but their preachers went away in all haste, and so did many of the Quaker hearers; but a great many who were not Quakers, with the two New-England ministers, staid, and so did many Quakers; and the house being very hot, all the people who were desirous to hear me, and several Quakers, with the ministers above mentioned, went out into a yard or orchard, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, where they heard me about an hour refute the false doctrines and perversions of Scriptures which the two Quaker preachers had made.'—Pp. 38—41.

The path which he thus opened was not left untrodden: and the indications which he notices of a disposition among many of the sectarians to return to the Church were not fallacious. In Quaker Pennsylvania the Churches increased in the course of less than a century—from the foundation of the colony till the war of independence—'from five to two hundred and fifty.'[1] In Puritan New England the high places of sectarianism were not safe from the encroachments of this spirit: it attacked the Colleges. In 1722, not by any effort at proselytism from without, but by a spontaneous movement within, several graduates of Yale College, the President himself among them, gave up their preferment, and conformed to the Church:—

'On the 18th January, 1722-3, letters were read at a general meeting of the Society, strongly recommending to its regard and good offices Mr. Timothy Cutler, late President of Yale College; Mr. Daniel Brown, late tutor of the same; and Mr. Samuel Johnson, late pastor at Westhaven.

'The history of their conformity is remarkable. They were intimate friends, of literary character, and an inquiring disposition. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, learning was at a very low ebb in New England, and those who had been educated in traditional hostility to the Church of England had but little chance of acquiring more correct notions on the subject of church government by the study of ecclesiastical history. But, about the year 1714, a library containing, besides many valuable works of science, several of the best writers of theology, as Barrow, Patrick, Lowth, Sharp, Scott, Whitby, and Sherlock, was sent over to

[1] Dorr's Church in Pennsylvania.—See Hawkins, p. 140.

the College, which was then at Saybrook. This importation was as springs of water to the thirsty land.

'The young friends entered upon the course of study thus opened before them with avidity. The doctrines and practices of the primitive Church came under examination; and they could trace but little resemblance to the apostolic model in either the discipline or the worship established among themselves. This naturally occasioned them great uneasiness and misgiving. They determined candidly to re-examine the whole subject, and to read the best works on both sides of the controversy. The consequence was, that their doubts of the validity of congregational ordination were changed into a serious conviction that it was altogether without authority. The frequent meetings and conferences of the friends, two of them occupying chief places in Yale College, could not fail to excite attention. The trustees became alarmed at the reports which were circulated on the subject; and, accordingly, the day after the Commencement, they requested an interview with them in the college library. Messrs. Cutler, Brown, Johnson, Wetmore, Hart, Eliot, and Whittelsey, attended, and were desired, from the youngest to the eldest, to state their views on the matters in dispute. Thus challenged, some of them confessed their doubts of the validity of Presbyterian orders, while others plainly declared that they considered them invalid. This was in September 1722. They were entreated to reconsider their opinions, and a formal disputation was subsequently held; but the ultimate result was, that three of them, Messrs. Cutler, Brown, and Johnson, determined upon resigning their respective stations, and seeking holy orders from the Bishops of the English Church.[1] Mr. Wetmore adopted the same course a few months later. Messrs. Hart, Eliot, and Whittelsey, although apparently preferring the episcopal regimen, yet not deeming Presbyterianism unlawful, remained in their old position; honourably abstaining, however, from taking any part in opposition to the Church.'—Pp. 174—176.

They came to England and were ordained: one of them was seized with the small-pox a week after his ordination, and died in London; the other two returned to America, and spent their lives in the service of the Church.

We have already referred to the 'Memoirs of a Missionary in Canada.' We will borrow from it again, for the purpose of illustrating the way in which the influence of a Clergyman is found to gain on settlers originally Dissenters. The mixture of distrust, and unconscious and involuntary confidence is curious, and under the circumstances very natural.

'In my new charge I found the people, with the exception of two or three families, not only extremely ignorant concerning the things of the Church, but imbued with strong and deeply-rooted prejudices against her formulary services. They were all, save the exceptions I have mentioned, immigrants from the old settlements in the eastern portion of the American States; and were consequently the descendants of the "pilgrim fathers," from whom they naturally inherited some portion of that intolerant spirit which ated their curious but characteristic system of jurisprudence, called Blue Laws of Connecticut."

fore, however, they commenced building their church they sat down unted the cost, in more senses of the word than one. They knew

[1] e change in their views is said to have been effected mainly by 'Scott's n Life.'

and felt that, in conforming to our mode of divine worship, they would have to do violence to their feelings, and make great concessions and sacrifices: but better this, they prudently thought, than to see their children brought up in a state of utter ungodliness. In short, to pray out of a book, as in their simplicity they expressed themselves, was certainly better than not to pray at all. They did in reality try hard to overcome these prejudices; and in a very short time I had the satisfaction of seeing them give way, one by one, under the system of instruction I had adopted, until few, if any, were left. With the rising generation, where the ground had not been previously occupied, the good seed, with the Divine blessing, had only to be sown, when it sprang up, and flourished, and brought forth fruit. Indeed, all the people not only listened to me as they would have done to one "who spoke with authority," but they watched my conduct, even in the merest trifles, with a keen and a curious eye, not for the purpose of finding fault, as is too generally the case, but solely for the sake of following my example; and this in matters where I could little have expected it. For instance, my barn stood nearly in front of my house. It was a large, heavy, wooden building, forty feet long and thirty wide. I proposed to move it back some forty or fifty paces. Every farmer in the settlement came with his yoke of oxen to assist in what they all considered a hopeless undertaking. It was, however, accomplished: and, behold! in less than a week afterwards, the schoolhouse, which had been very injudiciously placed at one end of the settlement, was seen moving off through the fields to a more central position. I had brought with me a few fruit-trees to plant in my garden; in a few years every homestead had an orchard. I purchased a hive of bees; at that time there was hardly such a thing in the whole neighbourhood. Before long, everybody in the place had one, not even excepting a poor widow, who could not afford to buy one; but, strange to say, a stray swarm came and settled in her garden. It was soon discovered, or *imagined*, that I had a most perfect knowledge of agriculture, and my management of my farm became the practice of the parish. A roller, for instance, had never before been seen in the parish; now there is hardly a farmer without one. The turnip had never been cultivated; now the Agricultural Society of the district award prizes annually to the three best crops of that useful root.'

The main object of the early missionaries was, as is well known, to keep religion alive in the European population; but, though they could ill be spared for any other duties, they kept the claims of the negroes and native Indians before their eyes, and taught them as they were able. In spite of the opposition of the slave-owners, who had an idea that a 'slave who was christened became free,'[1] they opened schools for them—they baptized them, they taught them to value the marriage service. The Indians were a far more difficult class to make an impression upon. The Puritans of New England, to their great credit it must be spoken, were the first to set the example of endeavouring to win over savages by peaceful and Christian means: and they appear, for a time at least, to have found in them apt pupils in a form of worship not uncongenial to the excitable melancholy of the Red men:

[1] Hawkins, p. 73.

'How the ordinary congregations among the Indians are inclined,' says the Report of the New-England ministers in 1704, 'and how instructed, may be a little apprehended from some lines in a letter now lying before us, dated not many weeks ago, from a very valuable servant of God, namely, Mr. Samuel Danforth; he says, "They met me at Little Compton, about two months since, to hear me preach. Had you been there with me to see how well they filled up the seats, with what gravity they behaved themselves, what attention they gave, what affection they showed; *how powerfully Pawquachoise (an Indian) prayed (for I put him upon it to pray,* having never before heard him pray, and being willing to have some trial of his ability in order to his approbation for office); how melodiously Jonathan George (another Indian) set the tune for the psalms, and carried it out; and *how dexterously the young lads of twelve years old could turn to the proofs throughout the sermon;* and how thankful they were to me at the last that I would take so much pains as to come so far from home to preach to them, I am sure you would be much affected with it.'—Pp. 260, 261.

Another of their correspondents notices the same feature —their love of the 'exercises' which the Puritans had taught them:—

'He says, "You may remember that yourself, with some others, were pleased once to bear me company to a lecture to Assawanpset, and were an eye-witness of their grave, serious, attentive deportment in their exercises, and of their excellent singing of psalms with most ravishing melody. They begin their exercises with prayer; they sing a psalm, they preach, and so conclude with prayer. The administration of Sacraments among them is like ours, and as they were taught by their apostle Eliot. His name is of wonderful authority among them; and the rules he gave them for the form of marriages among them, and for admonitions and excommunications in their Churches, are not to be found fault with by any, but it will provoke them." '—P. 262.

Later still, the Jesuits in Canada claim to have had equal success. But accounts varied. The Jesuit reports were not always confirmed by the experience of others; and with respect to the New-England converts,

—'Mr. Elias Neau, a catechist who was sent out specially for the instruction of the Indians and Negroes, and who laboured most devotedly amongst them, says, "I have been nineteen years in this country; I have seen the Indians of New England, and formerly I knew Mr. Eliot, who took much pains with them; but I never see any of them that were true converts, although these gentlemen boast of the conquest that they have made over souls; but must needs say, that if the purity of manners be not joined with that of doctrine, I have no good opinion of such professors of Christianity." '—P. 263.

The early reports of the missionaries who were sent among them by the Society are honest, and almost uniformly discouraging. 'I have frequently conversed with some of them,' writes one, 'and been at their great meetings, of "*pawawing,*" as they call it. I have taken some pains to teach some of them, but to no purpose, for they seem regardless of instruction; and when I have told them of the evil consequences of their hard drinking, &c., they replied, the Englishmen do the same, and that

it is not so great a sin in an Indian as in an Englishman, because an Englishman's religion forbids it, but an Indian's does not.' Later still, in 1718, another writes in the same tone of hopelessness:—

'Heathens they are, and heathens they will still be. There are a few, and but a few, perhaps about fourteen or fifteen, whose lives are more regular than the rest.'—They showed no devotion in church, where they came to get a dinner, and slept most of the time. They frequently spent the Sunday in a hunting excursion. He sums up his description of their character in the following words:—"They are a sordid, mercenary, beggarly people, having but little sense of religion, honour, or goodness among them; living generally filthy, brutish lives: they are of an inhuman, savage nature; kill and eat one another." And in another letter, dated six months later, he states, "that though he had been by the death-beds of several among them, he did not remember to have seen any one of them that he could think penitent." '—Pp. 268, 269.

Still the missionaries persevered. Mr. Miln 'used to visit 'the Mohawks four times a year, and remain five days with 'them at each visit.' The English commander at Albany wrote home, that improvement was becoming visible:—

'The commanding officer of the garrison wrote to the Society, in 1731, that Mr. Miln had taken indefatigable pains in instructing the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion; and, in 1735, he repeated and confirmed his favourable testimony, stating, "that the Indians were very much civilized of late, which he imputed to the industry and pains of the Rev. John Miln; that he was very diligent in baptizing both children and adults; and that the number of the communicants was daily increasing." The same authority added, that "many of the Indians are become very orderly, and observe the Sabbath." '—Pp. 283, 284.

Mr. Barclay, who had been a catechist among them, was sent over to England to be ordained. He appears to have found out the secret of influencing them. 'On his return, he was 'welcomed with hearty good will by both his congregations, 'especially by the poor Indians; who, many of them, shed tears 'of joy.' His Mohawks learn to behave properly in church;

'On occasion of the gathering of the Six Nations to renew their league of friendship with the English, he preached to large numbers of them, and had the satisfaction of being understood by all the Indians, while the Mohawks behaved so devoutly, and made their responses so regularly, as to excite the admiration of all the congregation.'—P. 284.

He manages to keep down drunkenness; 'not so many cases 'occurring in a summer as frequently occurred in a single 'day on his first coming among them.' At last he is able to write home, that two or three only of the whole tribe remain unbaptized; and he is able to trust some of them with teaching others; he has appointed two schoolmasters,

'Cornelius, a sachem, at the lower, and one Daniel, at the upper town, who are both very diligent, and teach the young Mohawks with surprising success.'—P. 285.

But a war, or the loss of their teacher, brought back old habits, and exposed them, without protection, to the bad influences of European traders. An invasion of the terrible and untameable Iroquois, the scourge of North America, undid most of Mr. Barclay's work. Still they continued to profess Christianity; their teachers recovered their influence from time to time; and in spite of their difficulties, and the smallness of their number, and the painful sense of neglect, they persevered with the characteristic obstinacy of most of our American Missionaries.

This unflinching resolution has been noticed before; it is in fact the feature in their character, that, after a long undistinguished series of them has passed before the reader's mind, remains impressed on his memory; it is their peculiar and crowning virtue, the one by which they earned their harvest and reward, and by which they ought to go down to future generations of the Church. Christian faith shows itself differently, and characteristically, in different men, and different bodies of men;—for instance, in the special excellences of the different religious orders; so among these men it showed itself, not perhaps in its most graceful, or touching, or inviting, but not the less in one of its highest forms—inflexibility—tough, determined, hard pertinacity. It was the virtue of the new Colonies—the Missionaries showed it in the service of the Church. No body of men, employed as they were, made less show, or had fewer points to excite interest, or extort admiration; and we know of none so plainly bearing the marks of thorough genuineness and soundness of heart—of honest, unconscious devotion to their work. Homely men of unpractised intellect, and without much refinement of feeling, they seldom show in it any elevated feelings or expansion of heart—it is their ordinary business. Never does a syllable escape their pen which betrays, in the faintest degree, either in its good or its bad shape, anything which could be called sentiment. The world round them, moral and material, is all as flat and tame to them as a Quaker's drab-coloured suit; they have no eyes or thought except for the persons and spiritual safety of concrete individual Anabaptists, and Dumplers, and Red-Skins, with whom they happen to come in contact. There is no visible fervour or enthusiasm about
[illegible]: if they wish to express sorrow, they grumble; if the
[illegible], they express their feelings of content as ungracefully.
dry men, of a very narrow range of ideas, with imagi-
spell-bound to common-place, and by no means stuff
heroes out of, they were hard, steady workers,—
fixed principle and firm purpose. There was much to
[illegible], not merely in the external difficulties and opposition,

which every Missionary makes up his mind to, but in their peculiar position. Ministers of a visible Church and a sacramental system, they found the mass of society round them contradicting both, and but little in their own circumstances to keep up their own sense of either. They were left to themselves, without control or advice; with every temptation to compromise and relax, to slight discipline, and imitate the more popular doctrines and forms of the Dissenters; with very much to try their loyalty and attachment to the Church. But in spite of neglect and discouragement, they stick doggedly to her—to her practices and orders. She trusts them, rashly, we must say, and unkindly, by themselves in the wilderness; but she *can* trust them safely; her hold on them is strong enough. She forces them to come 3,000 miles for Orders, and they come: case after case occurs, of men giving up, not merely employments, but the preferment and station which they held as Dissenters, to cross the sea on this dangerous errand. They are all cast in one mould, and that a strictly ecclesiastical one; with the smallest stock of learning, they are habitually imbued with a strong Church feeling; their teaching is of one kind—stiff, formal, wanting in warmth and feeling, and variety—so it appears to many—but at least, steadily and sturdily orthodox—a teaching which makes much of the Sacraments; which is severe and intolerant to vice, however disguised, and lays its chief stress on a life of quiet plain obedience. No doubt if we knew them better, we should see all those shades of character, and variety of power and genius, which make the most private circle full of such marked differences among its members, and so different also from its first aspect; but such a memorial of these men is perished. Little remains of them but this—that they taught, not merely *any* form of Christianity, but the definite creed and religion of the English Church: and that through good report and evil, in hardship and solitude, left without sympathy and the consolation of companionship, their faith in her never wavered.

This is shown in the part taken by the Clergy in the war of independence. This is not the place to discuss the merits of the insurgent cause. But it was an occasion which made men take their sides, and abide the result: and, to an American, the temptation must, we cannot help thinking, have been very strong, to think his countrymen ill-used. In most it was a severe trial of the force of opposite principles. In the Clergy, almost to a man, the tie of the Church was at once decisive. Their attachment to the Church carried them, with an indifference, which no doubt many now would rather wonder at than admire, through the provocations which so galled their fellow-provincials. They were not philosophers, not politicians: it

may be said, not patriots: they certainly thought that the obligations which the Church had laid them under to a particular temporal authority absolutely superseded every other: but they stuck to the Church, when mixed up with an unpopular cause, with the same unflinching steadiness with which they had stuck to their missions. They had been taught loyalty; when political events made it a dangerous doctrine, they were not shaken in their belief: they professed it as strongly as ever, and took the consequences. And they were severe ones. The royalist Clergy suffered most things short of violent death; and more than once, the prison and ill-usage did as much as the executioner could have done.

And yet to these men, the English Government had steadily refused the boon of a resident Bishop. The claim to have one, was a claim of simple sheer necessity. It is quite understating its force, to put it upon grounds of ecclesiastical propriety and order, much more on grounds of political advantage. We cannot for ourselves think that the course of things at the Revolution would have been much influenced by even a numerous Episcopate: the seeds of independence were far too deeply sown in the temper and constitution of the Colonies; but it sounds almost like trifling, to allude to such a reason, even if based on probability, for sending Bishops to America. The claim was more even than that most natural one for advice and government, and for the enjoyment of those sacred rites which are appropriate to the Episcopate: it was a claim to be spared the gratuitous sacrifice of life. The claim is expressed in the following extract, in reference to a case already alluded to:—

'We have lately had a most affecting account of the loss of Messrs. Giles and Wilson, the Society's Missionaries, the ship they were in being wrecked near the entrance of Delaware Bay, and only four persons saved out of twenty-eight. Their death is a great loss in the present want of clergymen in these colonies; and, indeed, I believe one great reason why so few from this continent offer themselves for holy orders is, because it is evident from experience that not more than four out of five who have gone from the northern colonies have returned. This is one unanswerable argument for the absolute necessity of bishops in the colonies. The poor Church of England in America is the only instance that ever happened of an episcopal church without a bishop, and in which no orders could be obtained, without crossing an ocean of 3,000 miles in extent.'—P. 300.

A very 'unanswerable argument,' indeed; which is reiterated over and over again. The following, for instance, is pithy and intelligible:—

'w, at the same time, my lord, there are a considerable number of romising young gentlemen, five or six I am sure of, and those the best re educated among us, who might be instrumental to do a great deal d to the souls of men, were they ordained, but for the want of episcopal

ordination decline the ministry, and go into secular business, being, partly from themselves, and partly through the influence of their friends, unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of the seas and distempers; so terrifying has been the unhappy fate of Mr. Browne. So that the fountain of all our misery is the want of a bishop, for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country do impatiently long and pray, and for want do extremely suffer."—Pp. 386, 387.

They had been 'longing and praying' ever since the Colonies were planted; every mail that reached England, brought the same cry: it was repeated in letters and reports, representations and remonstrances, public and private, from missionaries and 'considerable persons,' from governors, churchwardens, and vestries in all parts of the country: year after year, every possible mode of importunity was resorted to. And it was not without support in England. The Propagation Society sent in its memorials also: it 'was at the charge' of buying land for episcopal residences; 'unknown benefactors' gave donations; and Archbishops—'surely no high churchmen'—left legacies. Bishops preached about it, had interviews with the great officers of state, presented addresses to the Crown: nay, an Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a pamphlet, to answer objections against the plan. But it was all in vain: prime ministers were most courteous, but nothing could be done. It was the age of State patronage and Church humiliation all over the world, and court favourites were every where exulting in what they could do, and could prevent. At the same time that the Regent Orleans was making Cardinals in France, Sir R. Walpole was politely shelving Colonial Bishops in England. There seemed a kind of fate against them. In Laud's bold and sweeping policy, the appointment of a Bishop for New England had a place;[1] this, of course, was stopped by his troubles. At the Restoration, Clarendon took up the subject again. A patent was actually made out for a Bishop of Virginia; but the 'Cabal' ministry came in, and found something else to do with his salary. The checks are most provoking to read of. At the last Convocation, Archbishop Sharpe made some proposals about Bishops in the plantations: '*but my Lord of London was not there,* and so the thing dropped.' Queen Anne returned a favourable answer to an address from the Propagation Society, and shortly afterwards died. They memorialized her successor, stated their own exertions, the wishes of the Colonies, suggested a plan, offered land and episcopal residences, and appealed to the royal bounty for assistance: but Sir R. Walpole was a cautious man, and a Bishop in America might encourage Jacobitism.

[1] Hawkins, ch. xvii. where the history of the 'Struggle for the Episcopate' is collected.

One Bishop of London was bold enough to send over for a clergyman from Maryland, to consecrate him Suffragan; but 'Mr. Colebatch was served with a writ *ne exeat regno;* and 'so this scheme, like others, fell to the ground.' The Bishops of London naturally enough found the charge an inconvenient one; as Sherlock puts the case to his correspondent, Dr. Doddridge:—

'For a Bishop to live at one end of the world and his Church at another, must make the office very uncomfortable to the Bishop, and, in a great measure, useless to the people.'—P. 391.

But though Dr. Doddridge possibly might have been reasonable on the subject, his dissenting brethren were jealous enough, and formidable enough, to make Sherlock's appeal to the King of no effect. Secker took up the subject with much interest,—and with equal success. It was true that 'Lord Willoughby, of 'Parham, the only dissenting peer, and Dr. Chandler, have 'declared, after our scheme was laid before them, that *they saw no 'objection against it:*' true, also, that 'the Duke of Bedford, Lord 'President, hath given *a calm and favourable* hearing to it, hath 'desired it might be reduced to writing, and promised to consult 'about it with the other ministers, at his first leisure.' But though Lord Willoughby and Dr. Chandler were so condescending and liberal, and the Duke of Bedford so benignly gracious, the plan came to nothing. Probably his Grace had no 'leisure.' Secker worked on still—importuned ministers; got promises, interested the King, but could not interest his ministers; they were fully occupied with intrigues and changes; '*proper persons could not be persuaded to attend,*' when they were wanted.

'In the latter end of Mr. Grenville's ministry, a plan of an ecclesiastical establishment for Canada was formed on which a Bishop might easily have been grafted, and was laid before a committee of council. But opinions differed there, *and proper persons could not be persuaded to attend;* and in a while the ministry changed. Incessant application was made to the new ministry: *some slight hopes were given*, but no step taken. *Yesterday the ministry was changed again*, as you may see in the papers; but whether any change will happen in our concern, and whether for the better or the worse, I cannot so much as guess.'—P. 393.

At length the war burst out, and then, of course, objections became insuperable—besides, ministers had other things to think of. Such is the miserable and shameful history, as Mr. Hawkins tells it out, of the 'Struggle for the Episcopate.'

Though, as we have said, the grievance was painfully felt, and some of its consequences one of the most irritating kind, the loyalness of the clergy was equal to the trial: they combated but worked on as resolutely and earnestly as if they had

been listened to. In one or two cases only, the contemptuous neglect of England produced serious consequences. We have already quoted some letters of a certain Mr. Talbot, an energetic stirring man, whom we saw then full of hope and spirits, at the prospects opened to his zeal, during his visit of inquiry with Mr. Keith. But in the course of years we find his tone changed. The daily unaided labour of a missionary's life he found to be a rude tamer of too eager expectations. No intermission, no refreshment—miles and miles of country dependent on the health and energy of one man—even *he* finds his heart sinking:—

'I got home about our Lady-day [1708], where I was very welcome to all Christian people, but alas! I could not stay. I am forced to turn itinerant again, for the care of all the churches from East to West Jersey is upon me; what is the worst, I can't confirm any, nor have not a Deacon to help me.'—P. 144.

Six years pass, and still no relief, no sign of sympathy from home; his enthusiasm turns to bitterness, and he begins to think of giving up his post:—

'In 1714, Mr. Talbot, disheartened at the want of support, and enfeebled by sickness, requested permission of the Society to come home. "For all this province of West Jersey," he says, Oct. 28, 1714, "there never was any Minister of Christ's Church settled but myself. I have built three churches since I came here, but have nobody to help them nor myself neither. We have had a very [sickly] time this year; I have buried more than in ten before, and many Christian people died that had nobody to visit them when sick, nor bury them when dead. Let them that have the watch, look out; 'tis they must give account; I am clear of the blood of all men abroad and at home, and so I hope to keep myself. The Society were once upon a good resolution to send Deacons to be schoolmasters; if they had done so to Burlington, to Bristol, or to Hopewell, they might have kept the church doors open: they could read the prayers and homilies, baptize and catechise,—they could visit the sick, and bury the dead, but now they must bury one another." '—Pp. 144, 145.

But he wavers only for a time; his hopelessness and discontent are growing; but he still holds on; he will not flinch—not even if he wants '*tobacco!*'

'In May, 1718, he writes to the secretary of the Society, "All your Missioners hereabouts are going to Maryland, for the sake of themselves, their wives, and their children. For my part, I cannot desert the poor flock that I have gathered, nor will I, if I have neither money, credit, nor tobacco. But if I had known as much as I do now, that the Society were not able for their parts to send neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, Lecturer nor Catechist, I would never have put the people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building churches; nay, now they must be stalls or stables for Quakers' horses, when they come to market or meeting." '—P. 146.

'A more honest, fearless, and laborious missionary, the Society never had,' writes an American Church-historian: but his patience gave way at last. He had long and earnestly urged

the appointment of a Suffragan. The following is one of his later indignant and stern appeals:—

'The poor Church of God here in the wilderness, there's none to guide her among all the sons that she had brought forth, nor is there any that takes her by the hand of all the sons that she has brought up. When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out two of the chief, Peter and John, to lay their hands on them, and pray that they might receive the Holy Ghost: they did not stay for a secular design of salary; and when the apostles heard that the Word of God was preached at Antioch, presently they sent out Paul and Barnabas, that they should go as far as Antioch to confirm the disciples; and so the Churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily. And when Paul did but dream that a man of Macedonia called him, he set sail all so fast, and went over himself to help them. *But we have been here these twenty years, calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and the cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that's all one.* . . . I don't pretend to prophesy, but you know how 'tis said, the kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits of it. God give us all the grace to do the things that belong to our peace.'—Pp. 383, 384.

'Only,' he says, 'for poor America there is a *nolo Episcopari.*' At last he came to England, and was with another consecrated by the non-juring Bishops. But he died soon after. It was more than could have been expected, that under such monstrous provocation, his should have been almost the only services withdrawn from the Propagation Society, and that only for the last few years of his life; but one such man as Talbot it was a heavy punishment to lose.

Such were the circumstances under which the Church fixed herself in North America. Politically and ecclesiastically, the spectacle is much the same; there is the same remissness and slovenly management, the same dulness on the part of the mother country to open her eyes to the greatness of her own work. Yet we cannot help thinking, that this analogy in the fortunes of the Church to those of the Colonies generally, has been for her benefit. She grew up with the States; she took her chance and roughed it with them; her childhood was spent like theirs in the swamp and forest and log-hut. There was no favouritism to spoil her, or make others jealous; she did not make her way by the favour of men, or under the smiles of power. She started fair; no one can deny that she has worked what she has won. And thus she has been spared the temp- n of becoming aristocratic; a fatal mark in America, which, s, popular prejudice has been ready enough to fix upon her. grew up, as Christianity itself grew up at first, in the l way, from the bottom—from the people; by little and by labour and hard work, too hard not to be genuine;— ixing with the vulgar, the undisciplined, the self-taught,

and self-willed;—by not shrinking from contact and conflict with rabid sectarianism and coarse democracy; by accustoming herself to act without embarrassment in the eyes of keen and critical fellow-citizens, very tender of their liberty; by appearing as a teacher and comforter, before she appeared as a ruler; by showing her moral strength before she organized her system and imposed her rule. The anomalous condition in which she was left to make shift as she could, is no honour to us; but the absence of regular direction gave more scope to individual strength and reality of character, and much may be left to hardy and vigorous life. The experiment is not one to be repeated, but in her case it has fortunately proved a safe one. She earned her Episcopate.

ART. VII.—1. *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse, et du Peuple Hébreu. Par* J. SALVADOR. Second Edition, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris: Ponthieu. 1828.

2. *Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine; Histoire de la Naissance de l'Eglise, de son Organisation, et de ses Progrès pendant le premier Siècle. Par* J. SALVADOR. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: Guyot et Scribe. 1838.

3. *Jewish Intelligence, and Monthly Account of the Proceedings of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.* 1841—1846. London: Sold at the London Society's House, 3, Chatham Place, Blackfriars. Wertheim: Paternoster Row, &c.

4. *The Thirty-third Report of the London Society, &c.* 1841.

5. *The Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh Reports of the London Society.* 1842—1845.

6. *Three Letters humbly addressed to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, on the inexpediency and futility of any Attempt to convert the Jews to the Christian Faith, in the way and manner hitherto practised; being a general Discussion of the whole Jewish Question. By the* REV. JOHN OXLEE, *Rector of Molesworth, Hunts.* London: Hatchards. 1842.

7. *Israel's Ordinances; a few Thoughts on their perpetuity, respectfully suggested in a Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Jerusalem. By* CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. London: Seeley. 1843.

8. *Journal of Missionary Labours in Jerusalem, during the years* 1842, 3, 4. *By the* REV. F. C. EWALD, *Missionary of the London Society, &c., and Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.* Second Edition. London: Wertheim. 1845.

9. *The Church of St. James. The History, Character, and Constitution of the Primitive Hebrew-Christian Church of Jerusalem. By the* REV. J. B. CARTWRIGHT, A. M. *Minister of the Episcopal Chapel of the London Society, &c.* London: Wertheim.

10. *The Jewish Advocate for the Young, &c.* London: At the London Society's Office, &c.

11. *Scriptural Lectures to Juvenile Collectors for the Jewish Cause. By* H. S. HANCOCK. London: Nisbet.

12. *Map of the Diocese of the Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, extending over Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia.* London: At the London Society's Office, &c.

13. *The Star of Jacob; a Monthly Magazine. Edited by the* Rev. Moses Margoliouth, *Curate of St. Augustine's, Liverpool.* (Advertisement.)

14. *Extracts from 'A Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia.' By the* Rev. Samuel Gobat. 1834.

There are two objects which we propose to ourselves in the following paper:—1. To give some sketch of the mutual relations which Christianity and Judaism seem, in our own days, to bear towards each other, with especial reference to any approximation observable in the two systems. 2. To apply this view to the Anglican Bishopric at Jerusalem, with some account of the actual results of the establishment of that See.

There is, to our minds at least, one aspect of Judaism which seems scarcely to have received sufficient notice at the hands of some professed theologians. We allude to the silent change which, whether in words or not admitted, must have come over the estimate of the Gospel formed by thoughtful and candid Jews themselves. As a fact, the Church of the Gospel and Judaism are not in the same relative position as in the first ages of Christianity. Neither can the Jews themselves regard it in the same light. The existence of the law, as an actual dispensation, reaches through seventeen centuries at the utmost, from the Exodus to the destruction of the Temple. The Church, as an actual fact, whether a Divine dispensation or not, has existed for eighteen centuries. For many years, and even centuries, a cautious few might cling to the language of that 'doctor of the law who was had in reputation among all the people;' and might class Jesus of Nazareth with him who 'boasted himself to be somebody;' with Theudas, and 'Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing,' or with the Barchocabs and other false Messiahs of a later age. But time must have gradually and powerfully, if not satisfactorily, disposed of this the safest ground for the reluctance of the Jew to admit the possible truth of the Gospel. Permanence, stability, antiquity, these are the very facts which, apart from the evidence of prophecy or miracle, would most naturally attract Jewish attention. Not only would the Gospel, so to speak, call forth some natural sympathy from the Jew, as containing, in the Catholic faith and ritual, his own law and prophets, his own scriptures and psalms, but the very venerableness of the Church would present a cumulative argument, to which every year of its existence added new force. The Jew might get over, or even be revolted, at the universality of the Church, for such is in direct contradiction both to his own state and to the Jewish notion of an elect people. Viewed only from the Jewish side, for this is our present point only, that one aspect of the Church, its positive duration, the mere fact of its years, apart from every other consideration, must tell. It is

something for the Jew to account for; it is a positive difficulty which he must meet. There is no previous instance of the like in his historical experience. The word of prophecy does threaten to the Jew his own fall, and subjugation to the heathen and to the Gentiles. It does not intimate that any oppressor should arise, if such the Christian has been to the Jew, who should be half a Jew himself. From his own Scriptures he could not calculate upon that to which he cannot shut his eyes. The existence, that is, of a religious system, which, as a fact, should be no form of heathenism; which should not set up altars to false gods; which should admit every single word and truth which he still deems most holy; and yet should not be his own actual faith. The Jew might, and, as we know, does, account for his own denationalized and scattered condition. We hardly know what reason, supposing him to be really thoughtful, he can give for the mere duration of the Church, synchronizing with the disruption of Israel, parallel to, and judging from, all analogy, likely to remain coexistent with, his own Synagogue of the Dispersion. We take only this ground, and we say nothing of the law; for to the suspension of the altar and sacrifice, and temple economy, the Jew might submit. But why should the Synagogue and the Church be permitted, as facts, to confront each other? Does Scriptural prophecy, which does foretell to the Jew every possible antagonism of all phases of Gentilism to his own faith, give him the slightest anticipation of that present state of things which has been, with little variation, the world's aspect since the destruction of the Temple? Whatever estimate of the Church the present Jew may polemically put forth, it would seem most natural that he must inwardly feel differently towards it, from the single fact of its age, than did his forefathers. It seems that the *line* of the Mischna and Talmud was to ignore the existence of Christianity. Anyhow, this can no longer be attempted. Can the indirect force of this visible aspect of the Church, merely as an existing phenomenon, and contemplated altogether *ab extra* by the Jew, be traced in the present state of the Jewish mind? We think it can; and to the investigation of our actual relations towards Judaism, we propose to devote some inquiry, with the particular object of showing that on both sides we may be tending to something very like a dangerous compromise of principle.

It would be almost a waste of time to show that, whether right or wrong, there is an increasing familiarity between the urch and the Synagogue. This may be hailed as a sign of ıise; we know that it is so in many quarters, but it seems :eplete with dangers. We are not demanding the return of of persecution. We are perfectly aware of all the common- s with which we may be assailed, about the massacre of the

Jews at York or elsewhere. We have not the slightest wish to accompany the Philo-Judæan to his inevitable retreat upon Front-de-Bœuf's dungeon, or the halls of the Inquisition. To broiling, tooth-drawing, or any other variety of the tormenting art, there is no occasion to have recourse. We are not asking the British Legislature to revive yellow badges, or any 'theory of persecution,' as, if we remember right, it has by a writer of distinguished self-possession been lately called. But there is a stern and awful barrier raised between the Christian and the Jew, which we are not desirous to see undermined. There 'is a great gulf fixed.' They who have crucified the Lord of glory, and nailed Him to a tree, are not as other men, even to the last generations. The curse lives; the Sacred Blood still cries aloud. It was solemnly imprecated on themselves 'and on their children.' And this, if we mistake not, was the righteous, if stern, severity of the ancient Church. It was not that they loved the Jew less, but it was that they valued evangelical privileges more,—more deeply, more jealously.

Hence we find the Council of Laodicea (canon xxxvii.) forbidding to eat with Jews; and though the general, not universal, practice was to allow the Jews, in common with heretics, to be present at the *Missa Catechumenorum*, yet it must be borne in mind that the Mysteries were especially reserved for the communion of the faithful. But what is most to the purpose, the Jews were not met, if we may so say, half-way. Thus S. Cyril of Jerusalem (Mystagog. Cat. x. 15,) 'He, the Christ, when He came was denied by the Jews, and confessed by devils—the chief-priests knew Him not, and the devils confessed Him.'[1] 'Let the Jews then, (who wait for Antichrist,) since they so will, go astray.' (Ibid. xii. 2, 3.[2]) The same writer, in a long passage (ibid. xv. 12—15,[3]) on the coming of Antichrist, makes it a main characteristic of the Great Deceiver, that he should be accepted of the Jews, and rebuild their temple, and in some mysterious way restore, or feign to restore, both their polity and rites.

And this was the general opinion of the Fathers; of whom are quoted Irenæus,[4] and Gregory Nazianzen,[5] among others. And they who have been always noted as the chief shadows of Antichrist have always shown themselves favourable to Judaism. The great ancient type of Antichrist, Julian the Apostate, attempted to rebuild the temple; the chief modern forecast, as it were, of the Mystery of Iniquity, the Emperor Napoleon, summoned a Sanhedrim at Paris, with the express object of publicly recognising the Jewish Nation and Creed. Indeed it seems that all vast empires are destined in some very especial

[1] Oxford Translation, p. 106. [2] Ibid. p. 124. [3] Ibid. pp. 189—192.
[4] Hæres. v. 25—30. [5] Orat. 47. 14.

way to be types of the universal sway of the last and worst ruler of the empire of the world—that empire which is not the Church. Only a few days ago we read of 'Sir Moses Montefiore having obtained permission from the Emperor of Russia for the migration of ten thousand Jews from Russia into Palestine,'[1] and this was told in terms of exultation in a professedly religious journal, little conscious of the awful aspect which such an event, if true, would present to the Christian Church.

But the whole tone of the patristic writings is what we wish to contrast with modern sentiment on this point. S. Chrysostom (Hom. 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16) on the words 'The Jews, who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets .... and they please not God, and are contrary to all men .... the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost,' says, 'The Jews are the common enemies of the world; they insult God,' 'let it be a consolation that they will never lift up their heads again.'[2] The tract of Tertullian against the Jews, and Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, may be cited as the earliest, as well as very full evidences of the general cast of feeling entertained towards the Jews by the early Church. These are documents so well known to the generality of our readers, that we forbear to cite them; only let one of these compositions be read through, and let its general bearing, and the cast of sentiment, be compared with the modern language towards the Jews which we shall have to quote. We are not saying that this feeling which we indicate, was not in the mediæval times carried to a blameable excess, but if the Psalms may be rightly deemed in all things the fitting expression of the Church's mind, we do not know how the expression, 'Do not I *hate* them, O Lord, that hate Thee?—yea, I hate them right sore, [with perfect hatred,] even as though they were mine enemies,' can be used of any, if it may not apply to the Jews.

We shall presently have occasion to notice some of the steps by which the Jews, in addition to the cause which we alluded to above, have been drawn to a sort of armistice with Christianity; but it may be worth while, on the other hand, to say something of the altered tone towards Judaism which has grown up among us. There is a curious, and, we believe, not very well known book, 'Anglia Judaica,' by D'Blossiers Tovey, LL.D. Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, 1738, which contains authentic accounts of the various, and often severe, treatment to which the Jews were subjected in this country, together with records of the provincial councils and other enactments of the English Church against them. After their final expulsion from England in the reign of Edward I. A.D. 1290, it was not without

[1] *Record* Newspaper. [2] Oxford Translation, p. 362.

considerable difficulty that they recovered a footing here. It was not till the profligate reign of Charles II. that they succeeded. After the martyrdom of King Charles they made overtures to Cromwell for their restoration, through the notorious Hugh Peters; and though, as it seems, Oliver was by no means disinclined to receive them, the religious feeling of the time was too strong for even him to insult. Prynne, we trust from a higher motive than his insatiable passion for objecting to every thing, met their petition with a lengthy, sturdy, and of course utterly unreadable 'Demurrer,' which is extant among the wondrous tracts of that cross grained, yet, we believe, honest grumbler. The bribe which the Jews offered for their restoration has a certain heroic splendour of insolence about it which is almost incredible, were it not upon record.[1] They offered Cromwell 500,000*l.* upon condition of being put into possession of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the Bodleian Library. The former they intended, *it is said*, to use for a Synagogue; we are not informed to what strange purpose they intended to apply the literary glory of Oxford.

The pecuniary necessities of Charles II. made his reign in every way discreditable; not only was he a pensioner to a foreign crown, but in his time the Jews were permitted again to settle in England. This was, however, only on political grounds, similar to those adopted by Napoleon in 1806,[2] and gradually, as is well known, civil and other disqualifications have been remitted, until, as at the present moment, we find Jews possessed of lands and titles of honour. They are Professors in Universities; Sheriffs of counties; they are Aldermen of Christian corporations, —they are knights and baronets of a Christian chivalry,—they are barons of a Christian nobility—they are managers and trustees of our schools founded by the 'National Society for Educating the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church,' —and in charitable institutions we find Jews sitting at the same boards and committees, even with Christian Bishops.

But not only has the relaxation, or entire abeyance, of political and social disqualifications changed much of the attitude in which the Gospel and Judaism stood as by mutual consent; but causes more deep and influential have prepared the way to a gradual fusing, in powerful quarters, even of the distinctive characteristics of the two systems. It is not a little remarkable,—and in so saying we shall not be thought pilfering from the paradoxes of the author of 'Coningsby,'—that *the* philosophy, which is destined, we are certain, to divide the entire realms of thought with the Catholic faith, is of Jewish origin. Spinosa was a Jew:

[1] Anglia Judaica, p. 260.

[2] Transactions of the Sanhedrim, convoked at Paris in 1806, translated from the French of Diogène Tama, by Kirwan. London: 1807.

and we have no hesitation to pronounce a decided conviction that Spinosa's philosophy is the one informing, animating principle of the modern world of intellect. Although much of his philosophy may be traced even to the Indian metaphysics, still in the literature of recent Europe he is the undoubted parent of the infidel systems, whether Rationalizing or Pantheistic. In that vast and portentous edifice of error, Modern Philosophy, the Jewish element, traceable to its Jewish origin, has scarcely received sufficient notice. Judaism has made its silent, while extensive, reprisals upon the Gospel in the shape of German criticism, and even that German Protestantism which has issued in Strauss and Hegel owes more than it avows to Judaizing influences. This connexion we propose, in some particulars, to illustrate.

But this carries us necessarily a good deal backward: we must therefore but glance at the more prominent landmarks, to place our readers at that point from which we wish them to view the modified aspect under which Judaism presents itself to the modern historical school. We shall perhaps be excused, having so lately spoken of the general Pantheistic tendencies of speculative philosophy, if on this occasion we restrict ourselves to the application of Pantheistic principles to a single subject, viz. the study of history. The modern school of history, the writers, we mean, who have concerned themselves with what is called the philosophy of history, have done much, not only for the subject-matter of their inquiries, but much also in defining the powers of the human mind. We are grateful in various ways for the school of Vico and Niebuhr, and their followers. But whether intentionally or not, and this differs in different writers, their principle of investigating the records of the past may be reduced to some such conception as this, viz. Given the world, and mankind; the ἔργον of man is to develop his faculties: he is, by his essence, capable of infinite and indefinite progress. But the condition of his progress is by succession: every fact, therefore, becomes necessary and normal; moral character it has none, because God being everything, and everything God, the vices, crimes, miseries of mankind, the societies, empires, laws and communities of history, cease to be anything more than the necessary and unavoidable steps in that progress and development of succession which is the end of man. For since God only exists practically in man, hence history is the true and only manifestation of the Divinity. All events in time, therefore, are not only true, but necessary and divine, since they are the natural manifestation of that which alone is divinity in action, and externally disclosing itself in human life and actions. However apparently different and multiplied the developments of this abstract humanity may be, all we recognise one common nature; phenomena are but the

unavoidable manifestations and modes of the one Absolute Being. The only truth (the phrase may not be new to some of our readers, though we are far from saying that all who have adopted it are aware of its atrocious depth of significance) is Unity in Diversity.

So by this the natural law of its existence, the human mind creates gradual conditions of thought, originates general forms of ideas, produces language, throws off its successive phases, like Lucretian films, in arts, communities, social states, religions, and philosophies. In these there must reign a natural succession; however apparently different, they are equally legitimate. What we call, in ordinary language, good and evil, virtue and vice, crime and benevolence, are but natural and ordinary states of humanity. Just as we should refuse to call a tree wicked because at one season it is full of leaves and fruit, and at another it is but a collection of dry rough boughs, so are we forbidden to attach these conventional terms of right and wrong to the true, though perhaps varied, succession of change: change, which is the only real law of perfection.

Such being the accredited theory of history, it is easy to conceive under what a bright and generous aspect it must regard all the records of mankind. The deepening shadows of the past are all fused in one warm and rosy flush: there is a Divine Soul which animates and breathes through the whole. Every effort of the mind is, in itself, an earnest of something beyond it: every system of thought includes in it all the beautiful and true of what has gone before, and is, in turn, to have its own elements expanded and enlarged with a power of increasing vitality and progress, of which it is scarcely conscious that it possesses the seeds:—

'——— Man's cycle moves
Ascending———'

as has been said by one among us,[1] in a poem, which, 'far from 'being intended as a mere echo or reflection of the past, is, in 'itself, and in other respects, *a novel experiment upon the mind of 'a nation' (Preface).* Perhaps, indeed, Orion, the poetical and legendary type of

'The human spirit as a mountingthing,'

may tell his story better in the language of its own poet than in our dull prose:—

[1] *Orion:* a poem by R. H. Horne. The author belongs to a society ambitious, rather than capable, of popular mischief, called the Syncretic Society. The school is one of acknowledged Pantheism. They have produced several works, of which the aim is not very distinct to casual readers. Pantheism, however, is the key to much of this 'Spirit of the Age' (the name of a prose work of Mr. Horne). Orion evinces very remarkable powers; and so anxious was its author about the success of his principle, that the first edition was published at a farthing! This becomes curious in other ways than as a mere literary fact.

'There is an age of action in the world;
An age of thought; lastly, an age of both,
When thought guides action, and men know themselves,
What they would have, and how to compass it.
Yet are not these great periods so distinct
Each from the other,—or from all the rest
Of intermediate degrees and powers,
Cut off,—but that strong links of nature run
Throughout, and prove one central heart, wherein
Time beats twin-pulses with Humanity.
In every age an emblem and a type,
Premature, single, ending with itself
Of future greatness in an after-time,
May germinate, develop, radiate,
And like a star go out and leave no mark
Save a high memory. One such is our theme.
* * * *
One mind, perchance, in every age contains
The sum of all before, and much to come;
Much that's far distant still; but that full mind,
Companion'd oft by others of like scope,
Belief, and tendency, and anxious will,
A circle small transpierces and illumes:
Expanding, soon its subtle radiance
Falls blunted from the mass of flesh and bone.
* * * *
Yet lives he not in vain; for if his soul
Hath enter'd others, though imperfectly,
The circle widens as the world spins round,—
* * * *
The poet of the future knows his place,
Though in the present shady be his seat,
And all his laurels deepening but the shade.'

Orion, Book iii. Canto i. pp. 90—92 (Sixth Edition).

As regards religion—for we in this place are chiefly concerned with the philosophy of history as applied to the religion rather than the politics of the world—the first state of mankind is natural religion, or Fetichism.[1] M. Comte, in his *Philosophie Positive*, discourses largely on Fetichism; and we can hardly see that his own religion gets much beyond it, even if it reaches it. Fetichism, in its simplest form, is the worship of talisman or amulet: it ascends into the worship of the Lares and Penates, or the Teraphim mentioned in Scripture; and receives its full development in the Sabæan worship of the Host of heaven. Fetichism, we learn, is quite suitable to man in the first stage of his human existence; for man himself, as every body versed in M. Comte's philosophy knows, is himself a development; he is only the ouran-outang developed; and the ouran-outang is only the monkey developed; and so

[1] The word is somewhat new to English readers. But it is one of the admitted phases of the human mind in French and German writers. Mr. Milman, in his History of Christianity, recognises it; and much on the subject will be found in Mr. Theodore Parker's work, to which we called attention last quarter. Since our publication, a new English edition of the 'Discourse on Religion' has appeared. We are anxious not to claim the credit of spreading its reputation to this unhappy extent: it appeared a few days only after our April number.

on backward, till we come at last to the *Acarus Crossii*, the child of electricity and granite dust. It never seems to have occurred to these writers that Fetichism,—for we too admit the thing,—may possibly be a degradation from a better state of glory, than a necessary step in the successive development of the human beast from his savage and primitive type. But let this pass. Fetichism, we are told, represents a truth: it is true as far as it goes. But it is only rudimental and preparatory: it is quite sufficient for man in the first stage of his progress: it is all that he is yet capable of: it must grow into something higher and more spiritual, in a course parallel to the expanding enlargement of the human faculties. The belief in the devil, we are gravely assured, is a relic of Fetichism; for where man recognised pain and pleasure, harm and benefit, as resulting from external nature, in all power apart from itself, he found something to reverence, at one time in the form of love, at another of fear; and he made Fetiches of both objects. 'The belief that God is more especially present at a certain place, as a Church; or time, as the Sabbath or the hour of death—is pleased with sacrifices, fasts, penance and the like, is a popular vestige of Fetichism.' 'The most acceptable sacrifice to the Fetiche is the blood of his enemies. The Jews in their early and remarkable passage from Fetichism to Polytheism and Monotheism, resolve to exterminate all the Canaanites,' &c.[1]

Polytheism is the next stage in the religious development of mankind. This was the early religion of Greece: it was the patriarchal worship of Elohim, as distinct from Jehovah. Hero-worship is one of its phases. But parallel to Polytheism, or in some measure refined from it, existed the oriental forms of Dualism—which subsequently took the semi-Christian forms of Manichæism and Gnosticism—and pure philosophical Pantheism: of the fusion of these two sub-genera of religion more presently.

Monotheism is a development of Polytheism. And Moses was the first teacher of Monotheism, or pure Theism. He was the first to found a state upon the philosophical principle of the Unity of God: the first to incorporate it into a political legislation. This is, we are assured, the real key to the Jewish polity. But it was not until the return after the Captivity, and at the restoration of the Law, that the Jewish people thoroughly accepted this stricter form of religion. The earlier records of the Pentateuch show evident traces of the previous stages of Fetichism and Polytheism. The first commandment implies the existence of other Gods than Jehovah. The history of Israel under the judges and kings, especially in the schism of the Ten

[1] Parker's 'Discourse on Religion.'

Tribes, displays an inclination for the mingling of the older worships. The worship of the golden calf and of the brazen serpent under Aaron, and the setting up of the calves under Jeroboam, are traces of them. It was against this that the Mosaic institutions were intended by Moses. We beg particularly at this stage to refer to a very curious work, little known in England, M. Salvador's 'Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple Hébreu' (Paris, 1828), which we have only seen noticed in Mr. Milman's recent publication, and by Mr. Blanco White. Moses, therefore, becomes a most important contributor to the development of the human mind; and under this view of the successive growth of religious systems, his institutions are, of course, the most important portion of the philosophical history of man.

M. Salvador, *himself, be it remembered, a Jew*, is for our present purpose, viz. to account for the growth of that new and favourable estimate of Judaism, which we deem so important—a most valuable witness. He represents an element of the Jewish mind which, as we said in the outset, must take an estimate of Christianity very different from the Jews contemporaneous with the early church. He is himself, as Canon Maret, in his valuable and luminous 'Essai sur le Panthéisme,' has incontestibly proved, a Pantheist: more or less he adopts that continental plan of philosophical history of which, as applied to religion, we have attempted a sketch. M. Salvador is not one of the Rabbinical school: he is a Jewish rationalist or Protestant, if we may so say. There are, as most of our readers are aware, two elements at work in the Judaism of the present day: the conservative or traditionary school, what we should call the Church party of the Jews; and a reforming body, which adopting the Protestant, or as it has been aptly called the gymno-biblical, principle, again enounces the dictum of the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, 'without note or comment.'[1] Yet, more, in philosophy, M. Salvador has identified himself with the philosophy of his co-religionist, the Jew Spinosa. And these are three significant materials, out of which to construct such a history of the Jews, as shall accord to Judaism its economy in the dispensation of development. A Rationalist in criticism, a follower of Niebuhr in history, a disciple of Spinosa in philosophy: this is not the man to take a very bigoted view of Christianity. Nor should we antecedently suppose him to be other than under the in-
nce to which we have already alluded, viz.: the argument
uent upon Christianity, as a permanent fact. All actual
is school of historical criticism would cheerfully recog-

English Jews are divided in this way. Within these few years the West Synagogue has been established on very *liberal* principles in Burton . In this semi-rationalizing body, the '34th Report of the London ,' p. 44, finds 'a common ground for Christians and Jews.'

nise, and would be quite prepared from its principles to assign even to such a fact as the Gospel, some definite standing in the progress of mind.

Not that M. Salvador is by any means a solitary instance of the Jewish Rationalist. Since the revival of letters, much infidelity has prevailed among the more educated Jews. It seems part of the dispensation under which they suffer. We find it admitted that the persecutions of the Spanish Jews, and the conduct of the Inquisition, especially from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, 'originated in the fear inspired in the 'Church by that *free examination* which the Jews regarded as 'a duty, and in their marked tendency towards natural philosophy.'[1] The Jewish writer, Maimonides, exercised a decided, and even acknowledged influence in forming the principles of Spinosa himself. In the 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,' c. vii. Spinosa adopts from Maimonides the principle of rejecting in the interpretation of Scripture whatever is not in accordance with reason: he also quotes with approbation a passage from that Jewish writer, which goes to the extent of declaring 'si ipsi 'constaret *ex ratione* mundum esse æternum, non dubitaret scrip-'turam troquere et explicare, ut tandem hoc idem ipsum docere 'videretur.' Elsewhere Spinosa refers to Aben-Ezra, and other Rabbinical writers, as authorities for the principle of rationalism, so that for his two chief doctrines, his rationalism, as exposed in the 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,' and for his Pantheism, proclaimed in his 'Ethics,' and letters to Oldenburg, Spinosa had the authority of the Judaism in which he was educated. Indeed, the Pantheism revived by Spinosa betrays its Jewish parentage from another consideration. The Cabbalist doctrines are nothing but the application to the philosophy prevalent since the existence of Christianity, of the original Oriental doctrines of emanation. These are nothing but the plainest Pantheism. The fundamental principle of Spinosa's metaphysics, that 'God is the immanent cause of all things,' Epist. xxi., is only that of the Jewish Cabbala.[2] In the history of the Church we find the Gnostic heresies, especially in Valentinianism, repealing this philosophy of emanation and development which came to them from a Persian, and perhaps originally from an Indian, source. These facts are certainly valuable, if we would estimate the importance of Judaism as forming what we fear may be called the prevalent philosophy of Europe.

Amand Saintes[3] proves that Spinosa, in his 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,' anticipates the work of Semler, Eichhorn, Wegscheider, and Paulus: 'Les rationalistes d'Allemagne ne

[1] Salvador, Institutions de Moïse, tom. iii. p. 198.
[2] Amand Saintes, Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Spinosa. (Paris, 1842.) p. 33, note. [3] Ibid. p. 79.

'sont pas fait faute, en effet, de se servir des travaux préparatoires de Spinosa, mais une fausse honte les a empêchés d'indiquer la source, où ils avaient puisé.' And quoting in his celebrated twenty-first letter to Oldenburg, 'I tell you with all sincerity, that it was not necessary for salvation to believe in a Christ according to the flesh; but it is enough to believe in an eternal Son of God,—that is to say, in the eternal wisdom of God, which has been manifested in all things, but chiefly in the human mind, and under all again in Jesus Christ—as to the Incarnation of Christ, I own to you that I can no more comprehend it, than I care to hear of a circle becoming square,' Saintes says that in these few words of Spinosa, 'se trouve le résumé de toute la Christologie de Strauss, et de toute l'école Hégélienne en germe.'[1] Spinosa then borrowed his doctrines, both on speculative theology, and on biblical criticism from the Jewish schools. Can we now undervalue the immense, though hidden, influence, of Judaism upon the empire of thought in the present day?—the whole of the prevalent modern philosophy, except in Catholic writers, being traceable to this single Jew of Amsterdam. Nor did Spinosa ever entirely relinquish his Jewish connexion; he was never baptized; he lived in intercourse with the learned Jew Orobio. And it is not unworthy of notice, that many of the important attacks upon the faith have either emanated from Judaism, or from a plain desire to amalgamate and reconcile the two faiths. Not only may we allude to such authors as Mendelssohn—a Jew—but even the titles of some of the more remarkable infidel publications show, that, to the Jewish name recourse is naturally, as it were, had to give completeness and effect even to fictitious works of an anti-christian cast. Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise,' and Taylor's 'Ben Mordecai's Apology,' may be adduced as instances of what we mean. The preface of the latter sets out with the avowal that Socinianism 'is the only way that is able to open and discover the consistency between the Jewish and Christian Revelations, and form one plain and rational system from the beginning to the end of time.'—(P. 8.)[2]

A curious story is related by Mr. Dewar,[3] which will best illustrate our meaning:—'In 1799, some Jewish merchants at

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[1] Amand Saintes, pp. 102, 107. Quinet, in his 'Examen de Strauss,' says the same.

[2] At the assembly of the Rabbies at Brunswick in 1844, and at Frankfurt in [illegible]5, decidedly rationalizing doctrines were propounded. Mr. Wright, from [illegible], speaks of the intellectual Jews, who have 'to a great degree broken loose he trammels of Rabbinism, as lapsing into scepticism; and there is good to believe that most of the leading journals of Europe, which are either ent to, or are opposed to, the spread of Evangelical truth, are directly, or ly, under the influence of Jewish writers.'—*Jewish Intelligence*, January, 15.

rman Protestantism, p. 145.

'Berlin, anxious to obtain political privileges, addressed the 'provost Teller in a printed letter, in which they requested to 'be informed whether they could be received into the Christian 'Church without believing the peculiar doctrines of the Chris-'tian religion. Teller replied, that he would acknowledge 'them as Christians, if they would admit that Jesus Christ was 'the founder of a better religion than their ceremonial service 'had been. The superiority of our Saviour over all other 'teachers of religion he affirms to be, that "He made it his 'business to spread practical religion among the people, and to 'present it to them in a popular light. Even Socrates had 'only his chosen disciples."'

This seems to be exactly what M. Salvador, whose name we have already introduced, has done. Starting from Spinosa's principle of the interpretation of Scripture by rejecting everything in it which cannot be proved by reason, Salvador insists that the institutions of Moses had nothing but a political object in them; and in the Levitical ordinances he sees nothing but an admirable sanatory code. The Mosaic institutions were not intended to establish a theocracy,—they were rather a protest against that true theocracy which existed in the sacerdotal and caste system of Egypt—and this in the form of a mild democracy *(démocratie temperée)*. The unity of the people was a correlative of the doctrine of the Unity of the Deity which Moses taught. Moses reformed upon the Egyptian dualism—a political dualism, in which the sacerdotal caste as one element, kept in subjection the other element composed of the royal race and warrior caste, as well as a theological dualism, signified by the legend of Typhon and Osiris. Moses also, proleptically as it were, provided against what we are told is the inherent curse of the Modern States-system, in which the three elements are the priesthood—the nobility—the people. The Mosaic principle of state-policy was to call into existence, and legislate upon the theory of, what would now be called the national life—the individuality of the state—the personality of the people. M. de Bonald is not far from the truth when he assures us that those 'qui veulent changer 'l'ordre des sociétés existantes et ramener à la religion naturelle, '*repassaient par le Judaïsme.*'[1] This notion of a state is only the practical realization of the metaphysical notion of the Pantheistic divinity. There is but one eternal existence which is the life of all other existences, and which sustains them, but only in the end to return into that divinity from which they all originally emanated.[2] All created things are but the modal developments of the one infinite substance. And in the same way the

[1] Salvador, Institutions de Moïse, tom. i. p. 71.

[2] Ibid. p. 7.

people is the personification of this infinite: it is superior to individuals: the life of the individual is only the manifestation of the life of the state. Unity universal, or *l'être-Dieu*, JEHOVAH; unity national, or *l'être-peuple*, ISRAEL.[1] Such is the connexion which exists between the Polity and Theology of Moses.

Moses, therefore, only being a political economist before that science existed,—a sort of Egyptian Siéyes or Bentham,—a kind of clever and unambitious constitution-maker,—we find all the supernatural parts of the Old Testament most carefully explained away by M. Salvador, after the ordinary rationalist manner. We shall not weary our readers with an account of this: especially as in some measure most of them are already acquainted with many of the *less* offensive 'eliminations' of the miraculous history which M. Salvador has ventured upon, from a popular 'History of the Jews,' published in England some years ago, in which a good deal of this writer—much of his unquestionable talent and literature included—has been reproduced.[2]

This work of M. Salvador is much too directly offensive to be openly accepted, even by the Jews themselves. Maret (Essai sur le Panthéisme, pp. 461—463) produces an acute condemnation of him from a high Jewish authority—the Bible de Caher (tom. ix.). But this is among the orthodox Jews;—the anti-Rabbinical party are, at least in England, moving very rapidly in the direction which this clever French author has pointed out to them. The rationalizing Jews have no objection to recognise the mission of Christ, in *a sense*; they are prepared to abandon what we may call the ecclesiastical sense of their law in favour of a purer and simpler theism; they are ready to refer the stricter sense of the Mosaic institutions to the principle of accommodation and of a temporary economy; and, above all, recognising in Mosaism, as it is called, one of the successive purposes of the Divine mind, and in Christianity another, each well suited to the respective eras of their appearance; they are at the same time anxious to further the development of a third and greater law (la philosophie s'est élevée comme une *troisième*

[1] Ibid. p. 92. 'Moïse ne vit dans l'univers qu'*une seule* nature, *une seule* personne, à la fois active et passive, qui est Jéhovah; nom sacré pour les Hébreux, qui signifie l'*être*, l'existence générale, l'unité universelle . . . Dès lors la société dont il allait être le législateur se présenta à son esprit comme devant former une personne unique, un seul et même peuple qui reçut le nom d'Israël; c'est-à-dire, *celui qui prime sur les forts*: celui en qui reside la suprême puissance.'—*Ibid.* 68, 69.

[2] One instance may be pardoned. Although M. Salvador insists almost with the same minuteness of a Selden on the various particulars of Hebrew law and feasts—of course, only under their secular import—he dismisses the Feast of the Passover as 'Grande fête nationale anniversaire de l'indépendance,' iii. 149. How unfortunate that the Three Days of July did not exist in 1828! This is *the* parallel which M. Salvador wanted.

loi), more suited to an advancing age of society, and fitted to the intellectual wants of the age,—a newer and purer, not so much revelation as, manifestation of the Divine mind, and this through the agency of its highest practical form, the intellect of man. This third law, growing out of, and including in itself, all the good of the institutions both of Moses and of Christ; this Law of Philosophy; this Church of the Future, will come not to destroy the law or the gospel, but to fulfil both; not so much to abrogate, but to expand and carry on, the limited functions of either. Its mission is not the narrow one of a single people, or of a fixed creed; it is circumscribed neither by territorial boundaries, nor by historical and dogmatic statements: its end is to give reason all the development of which it is capable.[1]

But, to many plain English readers, it may appear so monstrous that one who, like M. Salvador, is still a Jew, should assign to the Gospel this sort of standing in his arrangement of providential economies, that we must allude to his other great work, 'Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine. (Paris: 1838.)'

Christianity, sooner or later, we are told, (preface, p. xiv.) must be prepared to give a strict account of itself to the Hebrew mind. What Strauss has more recently done in the case of our Lord, M. Salvador had already preceded him in doing for the Mosaic institutions. Strauss sees in the son of Mary nothing but the symbolical idea of humanity: as we have seen, M. Salvador sees in the actual Israel but a figure of a political individuality, a nation treated and legislated for as a metaphysical unity. Christianity but expanded this abstraction, by substituting the whole world for a single race.

M. Salvador does not deny the historical existence of Jesus Christ: herein alone differing from Strauss, though even he admits it in a sort of sense. M. Salvador says, and with truth, that to construct the four Gospels, and to harmonize and recommend the details of so strange a fiction, as the denial of the positive existence of our Lord would suppose, would be a much more remarkable achievement in power than even the miraculous character which the Gospels attribute to Him Whose life they contain[2] (which, by the bye, Rousseau has said before). Nor were the apostles mere hypocrites or enthusiasts. They obeyed the great law of Progress and Development, to which they owed their existence, and to the triumph and extension of which they honourably devoted themselves. Christianity, therefore, becomes

[1] Salvador, Institutions de Moïse, &c. (conclusion). That we have not overrated the remarkable importance of this performance, may be gathered from the fact—so at least the French advertisement informs us—that it has been, after two French editions, translated in Germany, England, and Holland. We have not met with the English translation.

[2] Tom. i. p. 158.

an historical fact of the highest importance. But nothing more than this. It must be explained by natural causes. It is the result of the tendencies of the age which produced it: the inconsistencies and contradictions of the four Gospels—which M. Salvador only repeats from the ordinary sources—are a sufficient proof of the human origin of Christianity; which was this:—

Judea was under the yoke of the stranger, although the empire of the world had been promised to Israel. The religion of the Jew was to be the religion of the world, and Israel itself was to be the head of all the nations. Such were the glowing and popular traditions which Jesus set Himself to realize. But instead of construing literally the ancient prophecies of the glory of His country, he attached a mystical sense to the sacred oracles, and announced a resurrection of the dead, and the final reign of the just upon earth. Then the prophecies were to receive their final and full accomplishment. The Gospel morals were only those of the later Hebrew scriptures and schools: and the theological dogmas of Jesus differed only from those of Moses by an attempt to combine with the Mosaic principle of the Divine unity the oriental speculations which had become known to the Jews during the Babylonish captivity. It was from among the Orientals that the Jews learned the distinction of matter and spirit, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the existence of angels, the origin and fall of man; but especially *(en première ligne)* the Resurrection of the Dead, their Judgment, and the Life Everlasting.[1] (We cannot stay to point out the monstrous absurdity of this theory: but if—as on this view M. Salvador must maintain, though he does not avow it—even the Pentatcuch is as late as the Captivity, what becomes of his other theory, which makes the essence of Mosaism to consist in its teaching the unity of the Deity? in other words, from documents of the same age and value, why does he select the single dogma of the unity as being of the age of Moses, and the dogma of angelic ministrations—to take the most patent example—as being of the age of the Captivity?)

All nations were to share in these the glories of the Jewish people: they were all invited to worship the same God, to live as brethren, and to wait for the same hope of immortality. By way of credentials for His Mission, the Son of Mary laid claim to the possession of miraculous powers. He had the knowledge of certain secrets, by which, together with the willing coopeıtion of the imagination, excited feelings, &c., he cured the sick, ıd thus established a popular reputation. Still it was on His ʳn resurrection that He built most, by way of confirming the

[1] Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine, tom. i. pp. 106, 107; tom. ii. pp. 8—10.

new doctrine of the coming general resurrection, and the establishment of the heavenly kingdom. But to rise again, He must first die; hence He willingly exposed Himself to the malice of the authorities—(though for what conceivable purpose, if Jesus was all along preaching the popular belief of the Jews, there should exist in any quarter any hatred against Him, we are not told).

After His death,[1] His disciples persuaded themselves that He had risen. They then preached Jesus as the Messiah. Paul was the logical, John, the poetical, genius of the new sect. To the latter is owing the incorporation of the Chaldean and Egyptian metaphysics with the Mosaic principles. And gradually the Christian system was developed upon these successive principles, and in conformity with these combined symbols. As many as three such distinct phases, or stages of development, are to be observed in its history, even before the death of the last of the apostles.[2] These, without going into the details, M. Salvador marks as (1.) the periods of Peter and the Nazarenes, or the mere reformed Judaism confined to the Jews—(2.) Paul and the Church, which is its extension to the Gentiles—(3.) John and the Apocalypse. In this latter era of the Church's progress was gained a step beyond the extension of the Church throughout this visible world; which was the Pauline development: henceforth, under the teaching of St. John, a career of aggrandizement was opened; the function of the Church was now to render all principalities and royal powers subject to the name of Jesus; and although these views were contained in the teachings of St. Paul, it was reserved to St. John fully to develop them. The symbol of this enlarged and spiritual dominion is the apocalyptic New Jerusalem. The body of the Church, under the Pauline idea, was the whole human race; under the idea, taught by St. John, it was enlarged into the universal and ideal substance, into which all existences, both in heaven and earth, were in the end to be united and absorbed.[3] In other words, it was to be a return to the original and abstract

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[1] The fact of the Resurrection—that greatest difficulty to all infidel writers,—M. Salvador proposes three methods of avoiding. Either, 1, The whole narrative is allegorical:—or, 2, The death was only in appearance:—or, 3, The body was taken away by the apostles, and the tale of the Resurrection was their fiction. He seems careless which of these views his readers are to adopt; perhaps all of them. But it is a peculiarity of this class of writers, that so that they say a thing, *i. e.* get it set down in print, they trust to this single fact for doing their work: consistency, even with what they had written on the preceding page, being of far less importance than the single opportunity of insinuating—for they seldom adopt—a view.

[2] Our readers will remember that this was published eight years ago.

[3] Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine, tom. ii. pp. 406, 408, 423. With these statements may be compared the observation that 'Gnostic or Platonic words are found in the inspired theology of St. John.'—*Newman's Essay on Development*, p. 352.

Pantheism of being. St. John's was a reproduction, according to M. Salvador, of the oriental mysticism. This view is so remarkable, on many accounts, that we extract a summary of it in the author's own words:

'Dans le corps d'association fondé par le fils de Marie et 'maintenu par Pierre, l'attachement réciproque des membres du 'nouvel Israel était encore imprégné d'un esprit tout national. 'Dans l'école de Paul, où le corps de Jésus embrassait indis-'tinctement tous les membres de l'humanité, l'amour général du 'prochain acquérait la préeminence; mais dans le cercle étendu 'des données du Jean, un autre intérêt, un autre sympathie 'immense, devait féconder l'ame des hommes; dégagé des 'habitudes de la terre, ils se transportaient, par les propres 'forces de leur esprit, et sous la seule réserve des conditions 'inséparables de la croyance Chrétienne, au milieu du concert à 'venir de tous les êtres, de toutes les choses possibles, et ils se 'confondaient dans un seul corps qui était le Christ universel.'[1]

And this development he instances in the case of the progress, even in the canonical books, of the doctrine of the Eucharist. And as subsequent phases and expansions of Christian doctrine, Salvador alludes to the successive influences first of the Greek, and afterwards of the Latin, spirit and mind. And he concludes his inquiry on Christianity in these words:—

'It belongs to the history of the times which follow the 'period of the origin and formation of the Church, to enter upon 'these developments. Such history will distinguish with care 'the perpetual action and reaction which has existed, on the 'one hand, between the inner principles of the new institution, 'the interests which it has produced, the men who have illus-'trated them; on the other, the infinite diversity of external 'circumstances, and the unchanging conditions of the natural, 'and often entirely physical, progression of things. All along 'it is past doubt, that since its origin, and by the aid of prin-'ciples dogmatical, mythological, political, which rapidly centred 'round the name of Jesus Christ, the new institution found 'itself equal to meet the tendencies of the imagination and of the soul, and to answer very discordant material interests. In the majority of climates, where the ardour of conquest carried it, s doctrines presented to the popular faiths and governments, oints of contact, and means which soon attracted them to itself; he same time it displayed sufficient pliability to unite heir forms, their intelligence, and their most cherished s. Still, the obligation which such a mission of ment imposed upon Christianity, by increasing

[1] Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine, pp. 423, 424.

'throughout its career a burthen, which became more and more 'oppressive, could not but cause considerable embarrassment to 'its progress.' * * * *

'With respect to the Unity of God, which Christianity teaches, 'it has, in fact, consecrated all the abuses of polytheism: with 'regard to that religious equality which was its boast, the in- 'equality of caste has been raised to the chief rank: poverty, 'not less formidable to the moral than to the physical nature of 'man, has found in the Gospel apologists loaded with riches and 'altars of gold: the right of the personal liberty of the people 'has been effaced: the liberty of the mind and the political 'majesty of laws have received rude attacks: and, whilst new 'influences have procured for them great principles, a day of 'reaction, *a sentiment, conformable in its essential interest to the 'ancient and religious institutions of the Jews, has, under different 'names, possessed itself of a multitude of minds.*

'The perpetuity promised to the Institution of the Teacher 'of Nazareth has been relegated to the number of facts, 'eminently uncertain. * * * This institution, so magni- 'ficent and so necessary for a given period, and a given portion 'of the world, contains in itself neither the entire accomplish- 'ment of that law from which it derived its origin, and of which 'it declared itself the heir without any partition of its goods, 'nor the final term to which reason can and must reasonably 'confine itself."[1]

In other words—and we gladly adopt M. Maret's[2] summary,—Christianity has failed in its purpose: it has not accomplished the prophecies: a new mission is reserved for the Jews. The nations of modern times, abandoning Christianity as a fact, occupy themselves with material duties, with the cares and pursuits of an earthly life, and with the political and economical knowledge of merely material interests. These new wants and tendencies of our social condition indicate the desire to return to true wisdom,—the wisdom of the Hebrews. Here, then, is the new mission of the Jews. It is theirs to teach the right estimate of life, the value of wealth, and the means to acquire it. Under this point of view a rich banker may become the new Messiah of the earth. And this is Progress—and the development of Religious Systems.

We have been thus particular in analyzing M. Salvador's works, not only because we believe them to be new to the majority of our readers, but because we believe them to be very important. Here is a writer, as even his adversaries must own,

[1] Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine, tom. ii. pp. 493—496.
[2] Essai sur le Panthéisme, p. 460.

of unusual literary powers and success: in five large volumes he has elaborated a theory of Judaism and Christianity, which, say what we will of its exaggerations, gross absurdities, and misrepresentations of fact,—abating as we please for its suppressions and one-sidedness,—still is a view,—is a theory,—is, as a view, whole and consistent, and in its way, powerful. It is a phenomenon not to be lightly regarded, that the Gospel and that very actual Judaism, which exists at this moment, can thus be harmonized and recommended in connexion; or, rather, that this can be even attempted with any tolerable show of plausibility. It must go for something to give Christianity this sort of location in the sweeping annals of time. It is something that men have got to shelf the Gospel, if we may so say: to get rid of it, as a tool once useful, but now out of date and worn out. Salvador treats Christianity as within the legitimate sphere of history: he attempts to account for facts. He is not afraid of documents or difficulties. He meets the current Catholic view of the Church with a counter view of his own. It may be a false view; but still it is a view. It comes with a roundness and definite precision which must, if it does nothing else, strike, even if it appals. It displays power. Abstractedly the view, as a view, is possible. It deserves, demands, and has received examination. It asks for friends; it challenges foes. And to say this is to say not a little, if not in its favour, at least by way of apology, if such is required, for calling attention to it. Most assuredly, it is by far the best which the thinkers among the Jews can say for themselves. And, to own the truth, we are not aware that it presents any very serious difficulties in quarters which still claim the name of Christian. Certainly, as a specimen of one application of the doctrine of development, it is not without a very significant value at the present moment.

What objections would be urged against it, even by some, must confine themselves rather to details upon which we have forborne to enter, than to the principle itself. We, too, have heard of a 'Church of the Future;'—we have been taught by the present Master of Rugby to anticipate some glowing era of a possible Christianity, and he has pointed to the 'intellectual vigour,' and the 'earnest thought,' of the 'great Protestant writers of the Continent.' He has challenged us to repair to the golden urns of the 'eclectic-philosophical spirit' of 'the
ar age.' The late Master of Rugby had his touching eutha-
'he actual fulfilment of the one cherished idea of a life
tions. Those anticipations only centred in the pro-
ess of a theory which, giving all glory to the past,
joyfully adumbrate a more glorious future, in which
ty, divested of some cumbrous dogmas, and freed from

effete traditions, might soar into the purer regions; a new religious era which should embrace the truth of all creeds and of all institutions. He, too, would not be one to disregard the truth of the mutual bearing of religion and polity upon which M. Salvador builds so much. We forbear from more than a passing allusion to very distinguished living writers, who have even in their histories of the Church gone so far as to name M. Salvador almost without rebuke. And it is some consolation to ourselves, as we have been among the first, not without much pain and some misgiving, to call special attention, not merely to the 'more hopeful prospects of infidelity' in the general, but to its actual state and pretensions, and even advances among ourselves, and also to the quarter from whence and the assault by which the very citadel of the Faith is to be assaulted:—it is, we say, some consolation to find one so prudent, and whose words, because few, are so weighty, as Mr. Miller, of Worcester College, sharing in and confirming our apprehensions.[1]

Such, then, being one aspect of the moderated and approximating regards towards Christianity which a section, neither the least influential nor the least intellectual, among the Jews maintains, it follows to see while, as a fact, Judaism Christianizes after this sort, whether, on the other hand, there may not be a subtle Judaizing tendency growing or prevailing among Christians. Nor is this inquiry less important, for approximating orbits must coincide, even by a natural law. And here, if we are forced to go into minute details, it may not be forgotten that the inquiry must, from its nature, be one of patient and gradual induction. We are examining only tendencies; they are but contingent dangers which we forecast. Taken together, the argument may have weight, more or less: but it only pretends to a cumulative character.

We have already alluded to political and other causes, which, in a mercantile country, would naturally relax the old sentiments about Judaism. And we have pointed out, what is certain, the actual abeyance,—whether for good or for evil,—of the older estimate, we mean the theological and believers' estimate of the 'unbelieving Jew.' There has been growing up among us an opposite feeling. Shall we say that it has not been carried to the very verge of perilous heresy? It is so easy to account for

[1] 'Scripture and the Church in Harmony,' &c. Two Sermons, &c. (Rivingtons, 1846.) Mr. Miller instances as 'illustrations of the speculative temper of the times in theological matters,' passages,—among others from Dr. Tait and Mr. Trench. Of the latter he confirms apprehensions, which we have in these pages very cautiously hinted,—that some of his speculations 'appear in some respects to indicate a hope something more like new revelations than only fresh and lawful applications of the old.' Appendix, p. 40. A similar tendency, to speak in the most respectful and sympathizing terms, has been noticed in Mr. F. Maurice.

the growth of this feeling, that we shall be doing more service in illustrating it, rather than by assigning and tracing the causes for it. We may, however, say, that as a fact, it *is* a novel sentiment: to say that it is strange to patristic or to mediæval theology to talk about 'the dear Jews' would be quite superfluous: but the modern language and feeling is new even to the Reformed Church. This alone is significant, that for whatever cause,—so we are now told,—never, since the Church of Christ has existed upon earth, has it known how to form a right estimate of the Jews. Socinians alone, of those who assume the Christian name, have been found to fraternize with them, or to meet them on any other terms than those of implicit and unconditional surrender. The Puritan spirit in Cromwell's time—and it was a religious spirit—revolted at the proposal to naturalize them. To treat 'the Hebrew nation' as a party to a contract; and the further and still more perilous enlargement of sympathies towards the Jews, has been reserved for our own days, and for the significant events of the last few years.

We may as well say—and we say it with all sincerity—that we do most deeply sympathize with the religious sentiments of those whose eyes are, even, in the first place, turned towards the Jew. We can account for this: we can enter into it: we can make allowances for it. We have, in the Church, great duties towards the Jews, as we have to all excommunicated and anathematized persons. We wait for their repentance; by our prayers we desire to restore them to unity. But still let us remember, that their case is a very different one from that of the heathen; to the Jews Christ is preached in their own Scriptures, and daily they are rejecting Him: they are constantly repeating and reproducing that their great sin. They are, it must be said, under a curse: 'wrath is come upon them to the uttermost;' they are cut off. They exist as a warning: they are an awful judgment. The language to them must be—

> 'O piteous race!
> Fearful to look upon.'

They are 'unvenerable,' 'polluted.' And whatever feeling that deep shuddering, that cold chill, that solemn shrinking which many are known to feel even at the presence of a Jew, may betoken, still it seems to us the witness of a more healthy, practical tone of religion than the misty sentimentalism of the

which we hear about the Jews. Love, for example: 'Do
t love the Jews?' 'Do you not collect for the Jewish
are questions often put in some of our religious circles.
love the exact feeling which a Christian ought to feel,
an excommunicated person—or for a confirmed blas-

phemer? Jews are, as far as the language of the Church goes, classed alone with 'Turks, infidels, and heretics.' There is no indication of a difference of language, or of feeling, or of duties existing between ourselves and the Jews, than between Christians and Mohammedans. If the Jews are to be converted,—and we own that now, as ever, it is a plain duty of the Church to seek their conversion,—their conversion must be by individuals. Their surrender must be total and implicit, and without conditions. There must be no compromise,—no armistice,—no marching out with the honours of war. The Cross must be to them as the Caudine Forks. They must be received only in the attitude of penitents. We cannot, as Christians, give them an armed neutrality. They must come to us.

Of the earliest English books, which prove that the tide was turning favourably towards the Jews, are two by a Mr. Witherby. In one, published in the year 1804, he devotes one dialogue (the seventh) to the proof that 'a great alteration will be made in the Christian Churches, which will then assume a much more Jewish appearance, and Christians will glory in that theocracy which will be established among the Jews,' pp. 310—327. And in a subsequent performance, 'Vindication of the Jews, addressed to the London Society, 1809,' he expressly and strongly condemns 'the common practice of requiring Jewish converts to give up their law and rites.' Witherby's three volumes are more than sufficiently tedious; we only allude to them as a fact prior to the foundation of the London Society.

It is to this era, viz. in 1807, that the first systematic Judaizing tendencies assumed form in this country. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, though instituted by good men,[1] formed a centre, around which gathered a variety of loose, vague, floating tufts and weeds of religionism, and the scraps and *débris* of superfluous activity and zeal; the religious sentimentalism of the one sex, and the committee and consequence-loving importance of the other, combined, we believe, in many cases, with real earnestness and devotion to the Gospel. Still, though good men were forward in the establishment of this body, they were men of a school—an active forward school—but yet a school which had not

[1] The following may be taken as a fair specimen of what the school in question thought of the relative positions of the Gospel and Judaism. It is extracted from a letter by Mr. Simeon (1818) to Dr. Capadose.

'The circumstance of the Portuguese and Spanish Jews, so enlightened a part of the Jewish nation, regarding Jesus as a good and pious man unjustly put to death, brings that portion of your nation so near to us that I cannot but view them as on the very threshold of the temple, and ready to enter into the sanctuary.'—*Jewish Intelligence, Sept.* 1845, p. 384.

impressed itself upon the mind of the Church of England. The experiment was a novelty; it had to be tried. It might turn out well; but the Jews, as Jews, must now be addressed as a body, and upon system. Hitherto the Church had been content, and, we think, wisely, to convert by individual appeals: its practice had been to attract and absorb into itself, atom by atom, of the stricken children of the Great Judgment. And it is no less than an essential element in this systematizing to present our own system under that aspect which shall least shock the prejudices of those whom we desire to convert. This is inseparable, perhaps, from the economy of evangelization. It might be necessary, not perhaps to exaggerate, but, at least, to give all their prominence to whatever doctrines and facts might appear most acceptable to the Jews. And gradually, without very great watchfulness upon the part of those engaged in it, this mode of appeal would obliterate, or obscure, other, and those most important and necessary, aspects of the Gospel. Those receiving it would be tempted to forget the balanced and compensating and complementary nature of the analogy of the faith. This tendency to a one-sided presentation of the Gospel, in which suppression gradually takes the place of a reserve, which, in the first instance, is the plainest duty, has been observed in some missions to the heathen. It is, therefore, anything but extraordinary that it should disclose itself in attempts, however well-intentioned, to recommend the Gospel to the Jews.

And if such a tendency is, as we have said, all but inseparable from all Evangelism as addressed to bodies *ab extra*,—to heathen communities as well as to Jews,—of course, this tendency would be increased if the particular school engaged in such preaching had not itself a firm grasp of the great Catholic verities, and if the preachers themselves were but slenderly furnished with dogmatic theology. Such unquestionably is the case, and has all along been the case, with the leading members of the London Society. Technical theologians the Evangelical leaders do not pretend to be; they would rather refuse the appellative than otherwise. Such a body is the very last to which the Church in a healthy state would entrust the most delicate and difficult work of preaching to the Jews. If there is one feature more prominent than another in the Church's treatment of the Jews, it is the entire absence of compromise. Her aspect has been one of unmitigated sternness towards those who are not so much lost sheep, as reprobates, nationally and ecclesiastically we mean. The very last subject upon which the Church has submitted to the slightest lowering of voice—or to e very least suppression of an austere, and even, if circumnces should so require, a repulsive dogmatism—is that of the ctive truth of the incarnation of the Son of God. And yet,

as we have seen, that continental body, with which the English Evangelicals are confessedly most in harmony, has utterly lost this doctrine, and successively all other articles of the faith. The so-called evangelical doctrines in England have never yet fruited genially. It is only in the dissenting bodies, and abroad, that these principles have had their full seasons; and that among them they have ended in advancing even avowed heresies on fundamentals, forms a fair anticipation of their contingent results among ourselves. On the whole, we say, that from their anti-dogmatic bearings, now rapidly enlarging, the Evangelical body must enter upon the missionary work under grave suspicions and serious disqualifications, especially when the very first matter of faith which they will have to propound, in its most rigid and defined strictness, to the Jews, is a doctrine like that of the Incarnation, open to so many of the most necessary antipathies of Judaism as it is. If they have toned it down, it is exactly what we might have anticipated from them.

Again—not only is the Evangelical System in this way negatively unfitted for taking the lead in the work of converting the Jew, by reason of the absence of an objective Theology, but positively, also, it becomes vicious by the presence of a contrary and subjective spirit. By modifying or suppressing the fact of the One Visible Church, for example, which, in fact, is *the* great argument against the Jew, the Evangelical but addresses his judgment and intellect, or his feelings. He meets him upon a common and false basis of alleged sincerity; a mode of address which may well lead the Jew to remain where he is.

Again—the Evangelical estimate of the Sacramental principle is eminently unfavourable to a right preaching of the Gospel to the Jews. With the Evangelicals, Sacraments are to the Christian Church, what Jewish rites were—*and no more.* They are rites, and not sacraments: they are 'signs of profession and marks of difference:' and in this system they range no higher than this. They are to be observed in obedience to a positive ordinance; not because they are in themselves conduits of grace and fountains of life. They are strictly technical, and mandatory, and arbitrary in their nature. They differ nothing in kind from the old rites in the way of principle: they are new, and that is all. And if, which is assumed, they are of perpetual obligation to the Christian, it requires but a slight advance to inquire, why the Jewish Sacraments were not perpetual also? How this question has been answered we shall see as we advance.

Ascertaining, then, from other sources, that the Jews would not be predisposed to reject, at least with their ancient contumacy, such a presentment of the Gospel as should not too rigorously insist on dogma—should assume rather a subjective than objective

character—should not object to the permanency of the Jewish ordinances—we are not over-hard when we say, that a society composed entirely from a school in which all these particulars coincide, ought to be regarded with the most jealous suspicion by the English Church. This is the estimate we form of the London Society; and from their official and affiliated publications we proceed to cull some specimens of those peculiar dangers to the rigorous simplicity of the Church's faith, which we have noticed in its management:—

First, we observe—a peculiarity, we believe, in a society under the patronage of the two Archbishops and nineteen of the Bishops of the English Church—that 'The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews' does not consist entirely of members of the Church of England. Among the 'Members for life,' and decorated with the symbol of intercommunion as 'Honorary,' we find, 'Collyer, Rev. W., D.D., F.A.S.; Peckham.' This person, we believe, is a dissenting teacher. 'Cox, Rev. F. A., LL. D., Hackney;'—a most bitter congregationalist preacher. 'Fletcher, Rev. A., Hackney Road,'—the same. 'Stodhart, Rev. Robert, Pell Street Chapel,'—who we believe labours under what we used to consider a canonical disability to 'life-membership' in a religious institution which assumes to be *of* the Church of England: or, *pro tanto,* the Church of England itself. Neither does the London Society disdain contributions from unhallowed altars, or gifts from those who, if the Church of England recognises the existence of such a sin as schism, must be schismatics. From Lasswade, we find the 'Secession Congregational Society' contributors to the amount of £3 in 1841, (34th Report, p. 66;) and in the same page gifts are announced from the 'Dalry Secession;' from the 'Reformed Presbyterian Congregation, Venpont;' from M. Merle d' Aubigné, (p. 67;) 'A Dissenter wishing to assist in the ranks of the Church,' (p. 8.) This is, to say the least of it, a questionable evidence of the 'Church of Englandism' of the London Society.

But there are indications of graver discrepancies from the Anglican system than these. In common with all the Missionary Societies—at least at one time of their existence—the London Society seems still to admit of its agents remaining Lutherans. Perhaps a majority of its Foreign Missionaries are not members of the Church of England. Mr. Nicolayson was for ten years in the service of the Society before he received orders.—(36th Report, p. 46.) To take the last, the Thirty-seventh Report—

t Strasburg, Rev. J. A. Hausmeister; at Posen, Rev. H. raff; at Frankfort, Rev. J. C. Hartmann; at Cracow, Rev. . Hoff; (we find the latter repeatedly alluded to as baptizing

converts into 'the Protestant Church of Cracow,')—(35th Report, p. 48;)—to say nothing of a crowd of subordinate German agents. How many of these 'reverends' have received Episcopal ordination we are not aware. Indeed the committee make it a matter of considerable boasting, even when they had the appointment of a Bishop in view, 'To express their strong 'feelings of respect for, and gratitude to, Mr. Nicolayson, for his 'spontaneous and disinterested conduct, so truly characteristic 'of the humility of a real Christian, in his self-denying offer to 'officiate in a subordinate capacity under an English-born or-'dained Clergyman of the Established Church,' when it was the purpose of the Society 'to have a regularly ordained Clergyman, 'in full orders, and being a native of Great Britain or Ireland, at 'the head of the Jerusalem Mission.'—(Thirty-third Report, p. 60.) If, as is acknowledged by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in abandoning the employment of Lutheran agents, it is foreign to the spirit of the English Church to work through the agency of such ecclesiastics, it is hardly creditable to the London Society to maintain the practice.

It is considered quite immaterial into what 'Protestant' community the converted Jews are baptized. We read (34th Report, p. 59,) of 'the number of baptisms which have been 'celebrated either by Missionaries of the Anglican or Protestant 'Churches, or by resident ministers of the latter, after that the 'candidates had been prepared for that holy Sacrament by the 'Missionaries.'

Some illustration may be expected of the actual mode in which these Missions to the Jews are conducted. They seem to work chiefly by permitting Jews, especially children, to attend Christian schools and Christian services, in which as much as possible that may attract, and as little as may offend 'Jewish prejudices' is placed before them. The result is that we cannot clearly define whether, in fact, such schools are Jewish or Christian. The agents in these schools are mostly converted Jews: as many as forty Missionaries, Catechists, and Tract Distributors are asterisked, in the last Report, as 'believing Jews:' for it is most remarkable that they are not called Christians. We shall presently see that this means a good deal, and that a 'believing Jew' is one thing, a Christian, simply so called, quite another. After getting the Jews, generally of the poorest and meanest classes, to be instructed in these schools and services, they fall into the class of 'inquiring' Jews. When converted and baptized, these 'believing Jews' generally find some occupation in the Missions, and it was proved, in a letter addressed to the 'English Churchman,' of 9th April, 1846, in connexion with some remarks which appeared in this Review for January, 1845,

that of the converted Jews connected with the Jerusalem Mission, there was not one who was not receiving weekly pay from the Society. So far is the economy—the *disciplina arcani*, carried, that, occasionally, the Missionaries either intentionally pass themselves off for Jews, or so far veil their character that they are taken for Jews: just as it remains to the Gipsies, or to ourselves also, a matter of much difficulty, whether Mr. Borrow, the Bible-scatterer, is not himself a Gipsy. We quote from the authentic Reports of the Society. The following wild scene of fanaticism and folly will best illustrate our objections.

'CRACOW.—A very interesting fact is reported in Mr. Behrens' 'letter of May, 24, 1841:—

On the 15th instant, the first Sabbath following the curse pronounced by the rabbi, at half-past five in the afternoon, eighteen Jewish children, from eight to twelve years of age, came rushing up the stairs to us.

We. What do you want, children?

Children. We are poor, very poor children; very few of us have parents; our father and mother died of the cholera; *we have heard you are willing to give us something.*

After having placed them in a semicircle, we preached to them by turns the Gospel of the saving death of Christ. Only a few of them, however, listened with attention; many were talking together. In order to secure their attention, I asked them, whether they should like to hear an interesting and delightful story about their Messiah.

C. What Messiah, the son of Joseph?

I. No, dear Children; a Messiah, a son of Joseph, did never and will never exist; for no prophet has ever predicted one. I will relate to you one about Messiah, the Son of David, whom you daily pray to; for there is but one God, and one Messiah.

C. O yes! do relate it to us; we will be very attentive.

I now read to them the first chapter of St. Luke in Jewish-German, to which they listened with attention. Brother Hiscock then asked them, Do you love the Lord Jesus, about whom you have heard such remarkable things?

C. How can we? why should we? the Jews call him תלוי (*i. e.* the Crucified!).

I. Yes, dear children, so he is; and it is just for that reason we love him, because he has given his dear life and spilt his blood for us poor sinners. If, *e. g.* (I added), a father had a very wicked son, who through his crimes had forfeited his life, and was condemned to be hanged, the father, however, out of love to this degenerated son, gave his own life as a ransom, and God suffered a miracle to take place, and raised this tender father from the dead, would the wicked son afterwards love this good father or not?

C. O certainly, he would love such a father from his whole heart!

I. Now, Messiah has acted in the same manner towards you and us; do you then love him?

C. O yes! O yes!

I. Whoever of you love him, must say aloud, Amen, to what I shall say.

I prayed then: "Praised be Jesus Christ, our Messiah, and the Messiah the whole world, now and for ever! Amen, and Amen!" And from the ıth of every one of them resounded, "Amen, and Amen!" which I trust faithful Shepherd, who leads Joseph like a flock, and dwells between the ubim, has favourably accepted. • • •

While I was reading to them, brother Hiscock sent for some bread, over which grace was said in the name of their Messiah, to which they added a loud "Amen."'—*34th Report*, p. 66.

The controversial powers of the gentleman whom Mr. Behrens terms 'Brother Hiscock' we may relate in his own pictorial language:—

'It was but the day before yesterday that we, after about three hours' hard fighting, drubbed the Talmudical nonsense out of the rabbi's right hand man, the most learned Jew here in Cracow; although, I fear, it was all we did do with him. This man is Rabbi Abraham, the brother of the Chasid, who said he would come with a knife concealed under his cloak and murder us both, if we persisted in baptizing the third brother, &c. They both did come, and whether he had his knife or not, I will not pretend to say. All I will say at present is, Mr. Behrens called to me to come and help him, for he had got the two brothers in his room. I had heard a great noise, so I went in; and such was the noise and confusion, that I can only state, that we had the satisfaction of preaching Christ crucified,—telling him that, whether he had got his knife or not, he must hear it, for we were quite as willing, through grace, to die for our faith as he was. He turned pale, he turned red, he looked furious, he looked frantic, he pulled his hair, he beat his head, he got up, he walked about, he sat down, he could not—he would not hear it. He pulled me down upon the sofa by his side, he seized my hand and pulled me up again, and very often we were staring each other hard in the face, with our hands upon each other's shoulders, almost nose to nose, trying who could make himself best heard; and what was the end of it? why, they left us quietly, saying, they would call again. The Chasid has not done so, nor do I believe he will.'—*Ibid.* p. 68.

And in another passage Mr. Behrens makes a singular avowal: 'My brother-in-law [a Jew] began to negotiate with me. "You 'may continue to believe in the Crucified, but still keep the law 'of Moses." But when I asked what they meant by the law, 'and they began to recount to me not only the Mosaic law, *but* '*also all the Rabbinical injunctions*, which they required me to 'observe, I withstood them to the face,' &c. (*Ibid.* p. 70;) thus leading to the irresistible inference, that were it only the Mosaic law which the Jews required him to keep, his withstanding would not have been so vehement.

At Posen, we find the Jewish unbaptized children singing 'Christian hymns, whereby the truths of salvation are impressed on the minds of children, in a sweet and yet forcible manner.'—(*Ib.* p. 72.) They quote the Scriptures, 'relate the history of the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus,' apply the prophecies, &c. 'with vivacity and joy;' are 'well acquainted with the his-'tory of the life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of 'our Saviour;' and then, 'the day before the celebration of the 'destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, they say, "To-morrow 'we cannot come to school, because we must go to the synagogue 'to pray, that God will bring us into the land of our forefathers."' Nor is this a single case—the same details occur in every Report

of every station; and this we, at least, feel to be a complete profanation of holy things. Christian hymns and sacred doctrines are a holy treasure, to be guarded with something of godly jealousy. The attendance of Jews at the Christian service, and their intercommunion in prayer, is a matter of course.

'SMYRNA, *Nov.* 18.—Fifteen Jews and five Jewesses *came to join in prayer.*'—34*th Report*, p. 58.

Mr. Ewald, when on his journey to Jerusalem with the late Bishop Alexander, records the following from his journal:—

'*Dec.* 14.—Went on shore at Lisbon in search of Jews, &c. 'After I had spoken to the Rabbi for some time, I inquired, &c. 'Till now he had taken me for a Jew.'—*Ibid.* p. 46.

Bishop Alexander goes to the synagogue at Hebron, 'remains 'there until the end of the service, and addresses the Jews in one 'part of the synagogue, while Mr. Ewald does the same in an-'other.'—(35*th Report*, p. 40.) The Bishop then proceeds to another synagogue, remains throughout the service, and 'goes to Rabbi N.'s house and partakes of his hospitality.'—(*Ib.* p. 41.) In fact, during this visit to Hebron, the Bishop and his Chaplain seem to have attended the synagogue service twice or thrice a-day, while not a syllable is said of that daily office which there is a rubric about saying either openly or privately every day.

Nor are these civilities without their reciprocity. Mr. Pauli boasts on the building of a new chapel, that 'Many *Jews* have 'already bespoken their places, and some would be willing to 'pay rent for their pews.'—35*th Report*, p. 59.

This gentleman considers it a very delightful aspect of 'our 'Jewish brethren in Germany,' that 'the Jewish preachers now 'quote all the parables of our Saviour, and St. Paul's arguments, 'in every discourse they hold in their synagogues.'—(*Ibid.* p. 61.) And he adds, with impressive truth, 'This has a very extraor-'dinary effect upon the minds of the young.' He goes on to say that, 'throughout Germany, and especially here in Berlin, 'most of the Jewish children are sent to Christian schools, and 'they learn the Christian catechism, Christian hymns, and learn 'the New Testament by heart. Almost every [Jewish] child 'knows the Lord's Prayer.'—(*Ibid.* p. 61.) We do not pause to recall the peculiar sensitiveness of the ancient Church on this remarkable point.

Mr. Pauli reports in the next year, 'It was interesting to 'observe, last Christmas, that these descendants of Abraham
'unbaptized children] were repeating the Christmas hymns
'he nativity of our blessed Redeemer with greater spirit
than many of the Christian children. . . . It is a fact,
ny Jewish families kept Christmas eve.'—36*th Report*,

In the 'Jewish Intelligence,' of May, 1845, p. 132, we find a Mr. Boerling graphically illustrating this unhappy confusion of Jewish and Christian rites.—'As this year the [Jewish] feast of 'Chanuka and Christmas fell in the same week, I observed 'both. I invited forty Jewish children to my house. . . . I ex- 'plained to them the meaning of the Chanuka feast, pointing 'out to them the lights placed in conformity with Jewish 'custom, and then showed them the Weihnacts-baum [Christ- 'mas-tree], with its multitude of lights, on the opposite side of 'the room, at the same time explaining to them what Christmas 'signifies.'

The circulation of the Scriptures among the unbelieving Jews is so well known, and so questionable a feature of modern Evangelism, that we are not called upon to prove it by extracts. Though the following might not be without its value, which occurs in a dialogue between a half-believing rabbi and one of the missionaries:—

'*Missionary.*—Do you think that a faithful translation of the 'Old Testament, widely circulated among the Jews by a Jewish 'Bible Society, would effect a thorough reform? *Rabbi.* No 'doubt the study of the Bible is a very good thing in itself, 'but could not, I am certain, help the Jews. *M.* Why not? '*R.* Because, by studying the Bible, they could only come to 'the conviction that their situation is a desperate one: it being 'impossible to reduce the Mosaic law to practice without re- 'turning to the land of Israel, for which it was adapted. And 'thus, then, they would have nothing at all. *M.* Well, they 'would then acknowledge the will of God to be that they should 'embrace the principles of the Gospel, &c. *R.* Certainly; but 'be assured that the doctrine of the Trinity will always be an 'insurmountable obstacle in our way.'—33*d Report*, p. 32.

That is, gymno-biblism, without the Church doctrine, only leads to infidelity: a fact which the Reports before us abundantly prove by their allusions to the actual religious state of the modern Anti-Talmudical Jews, who have adopted the 'Bible, and Bible only' principle, and are notoriously nothing better than infidels. We do not hesitate to say, that in Calcutta, among the learned Hindoos, and among the Jews of any education and thought, the circulation of the mere Scriptures, without the co-ordinate teaching of the Church, is but raising a frightful mass of direct infidelity and rationalism, which is quite notorious.

But to recur to other incidental evidences of this scheme of comprehension between Christianity and Judaism; at Constantinople we find the Hebrew school taught 'by a pretty good 'Jewish master for the Hebrew language, and the regular busi- 'ness of a school, who is paid by the Jews themselves, while the

'Christian master is a pious Protestant.'—(33*rd Report*, p. 48.) At Athens, we hear of a convert, Jacob Levi, who suffered terrible persecutions for having embraced Christianity, who openly declares himself a Christian, is bastinadoed, and 'imprisoned sixteen times,' and who at length relapses. After this, the poor man becomes penitent, and is at length—baptized. When he had openly declared, 'I am a Christian,—the Messiah is come,'—why, we indignantly ask, in such a case, did the Missionaries withhold Christian baptism? Who can tell, but in the strength of the New Birth this interesting person's apostacy, or rather relapse, might not have been avoided?—*Ibid.* pp. 50, 51.

We read of a Rabbi Schwartzenberg, baptized by Dr. McCaul, that he stipulated to retain 'his beard and Jewish costume,' and that he used to say, 'I am a Jew still; formerly I was an unbelieving Jew, now I am a believing Jew.'—*Jewish Intelligence*, October, 1842, p. 326.

These, however, seem trifling symptoms of the Judaizing inherent in the constitution of this Society, if compared with the avowals of its more pretending, because more specifically literary, organs and adherents. They have already advanced to two decidedly *heretical* positions. The one, that the Jewish converts were intended to form a distinct though parallel Church to that of the Gentile converts, and in some sense superior to the Gentile brethren; and the other, which is involved, and forms the suppressed premiss, in the first statement, that the Jewish ordinances and institutions were to remain of perpetual obligation to the Christians of the older and Jewish branch. It is only the incautious temerity of the female adherents of this new Nazarenism,—the Maximillas and Priscillas of a worse than Montanism,—which, with feminine precipitation, has displayed this extraordinary fact:

First—That the London Society maintains that middle wall of partition which the Catholicity of the Church has broken down. Throughout their Reports, and in every page of the 'Jewish Intelligence,' occur phrases which must present a strange, and to us a very alarming, appearance. They are such as 'the Hebrew-Christian Church,'—'the believing Jews,'—'the believing Israelites,'—'the Church of the Circumcision,'—'the Church of Mount Zion'—'the Converted Israelites,'—as contrasted with the 'Gentile Church,'—'the Gentile Brethren.' 'The Gentile Church!' Prominently and deeply is the distinction drawn: it is a phrase so carefully marked that it must mean something. Dr. McCaul and Mr. Cartwright have most [illegible] advocated the necessity of this distinction. Dr. McCaul the Anglican Bishoprick of Jerusalem, because he

thought it right that the Bishop should be of the circumcision. Hence Mr. Alexander's appointment, whose *sole* recommendation,—for he had not the slightest other,[1]—was, that he had been,—or, according to this view,—still *was* a Jew. Dr. McCaul, in his sermon preached at Bishop Alexander's consecration, recognises in him the only successor of St. James and the thirteen Hebrew Bishops of Jerusalem. Mr. Cartwright does the same.[2] It was originally intended that the title of the See should be, the Bishoprick of St. James at Jerusalem,—a scheme which Lord Aberdeen's common sense alone rejected. Contrary to all patristic authority, Mr. Cartwright maintains that the remnant of the 'Hebrew Christians,' who observed the Mosaic rites, and who are known as the heretical Nazarenes of Pella, were intended to constitute a separate and independent branch, of the Church. It is to restore their succession that the London Society have strained every nerve. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem, we are told, is only the Gentile representative of the Gentile bishops of Æia Capitolina; a succession inferior in dignity and authority to that of the line of St. James, which, since Bishop Judas, the fourteenth in succession from St. James, has been in abeyance, until—Bishop Moses Solomon.

We are bold to say that this is direct heresy: and that the Catholic Church has always held those who advocated a parallel succession of Hebrew-Christians, apart from their so-called Gentile brethren, to be Ebionites and Nazarenes. M. Salvador, as we have seen, recommends the view which would make the Catholic character of the Church, as distinguished from a new reform on Judaism, a subsequent improvement upon Christianity devised by

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[1] We are obliged to speak of Bishop Alexander historically,—but, as it is a fact *which has never been contradicted*, that he was quite ignorant of Greek, and very slenderly skilled in Latin, without the slightest trace of any other literature than some knowledge of Rabbinical Hebrew, we say that he was eminently disqualified for the Episcopate in countries where the bishops are successors of the great Greek Fathers.

[2] It is significant that though the legal title of this see is 'the Anglican Bishoprick AT Jerusalem,' the London Society, in their official advertisements and letters, always speak of Bishop Alexander as 'the Bishop OF Jerusalem;' and in perfect accordance with their principles, though in direct contradiction to those avowed by the Archbishop in the 'Statement of Proceedings,' and in his 'Commendatory Letters.' By this remarkable change of title the London Society does set aside the Greek Patriarchate, and 'the Gentile succession.' We may regret, as unnecessarily repulsive to Oriental, and indeed to Christian, prejudices, if such they be, that the first Anglican Bishop retained at baptism the name given him in circumcision. We find, in the 'Anglia Judaica,' that it was the invariable custom to give a new and Christian name at baptism. Scialitti, a Rabbi, baptized in 1663, the Bishop of Chester being godfather, took a new and specifically Christian name, which 'Moses Solomon' is not. What the conveniently obscure abbreviation, contrary to all analogy and grammar, adopted by Bishop Alexander, 'M. S. ANGL. HIEROSOLYM.' might mean when written in full, we should like to know from those who invented it. These things are not quite the trifles which they seem.

St. Paul,[1] and improved upon by St. John. Between his view and Dr. McCaul's there is little real difference. If Mr. Cartwright can speak, (p. 215,) of the 'remnant of the venerable Church of 'the Circumcision continued at Peræa, which retained both their 'faith in Christ and their adherence to the Mosaic institutions,' and can recognise the revival of this Church in the See of Bishop Alexander, wherein does he differ from M. Salvador's theory of the first and simplest idea of Christianity in the person of St. Peter's Judæo-Christianity, which it required at least a century of successive developments to evolve first into the Pauline, and next into the Johannine, Church? Like M. Salvador, he must consider the Gentile Church an after-thought, and inferior, as indeed he owns, in scriptural authority to that of the Circumcision. We should be surprised, too, to find writers of this school offering any very serious or sound resistance to the contingent trial of some *tertium quid*, such as M. Salvador's, which should be neither Jewish nor Christian, but harmoniously compounded of both.

It is reserved for others, less prudent or more honest, openly to avow what Mr. Cartwright and Dr. McCaul have by hints conceded, viz. the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law to the Jewish converts of even our own times. Not only does Charlotte Elizabeth' address Bishop Alexander—'you are a JEW, a cir-'cumcised Jew .... but something is wanting to complete the 'picture. My dear Lord, bear with me while I respectfully and 'affectionately put once more the query—WHY ARE NOT YOUR 'SONS ALSO JEWS?' (p. 5:) But this writer, after thus claiming perpetuity for Circumcision, goes on consistently enough to urge the continuance of the Sabbath, (pp. 30—32,) in addition to the Lord's Day—the permanent observance of the Passover, (pp. 32—35), and of the Feast of Tabernacles (pp. 35, 36); and, contrary to all historical fact, believing that the tribes have been kept separate, asks (p. 49), why 'the baptized Cohen must re-'linquish his *hereditary priesthood*, and wait for the license of a 'Gentile superior, ere he may dare to bless the congregation of 'the Lord?'

Mr. Oxlee even transcends this raving impiety: He claims as the 1. 'Concession to the Jewish convert, as a retention of the 'law with the profession of the Gospel, Circumcision.'—(p. 39.), 2. 'The due observance of the Sabbath, exactly as prescribed 'by Moses.'—(p. 41.) 3. In which he is certainly supported by high authorities, who, however, consider it binding upon all

[1] This notion of St. Paul's alteration of our Lord's Gospel finds place in the '... Conversations' of that exceedingly profane person, Mr. W. S. Landor.

... nces: a few thoughts on their perpetuity suggested in a letter to ... Lord Bishop of Jerusalem. Seeley, 1843.

Christians, 'The prohibition of blood and things strangled,'[1] (p. 43.) 4. 'All the laws of servitude, marriage, leviration, and 'divorce: of restitution, usury, pledges and trusts: of the dis-'tinction of meats: of the different sorts of uncleanness: of puri-'fications from childbirth, leprosy, and bodily accidents: of the 'redemption from slavery: of the redemption of the first-born, 'and of persons or things vowed to the Lord; of the frontlets, 'phylacteries and fringes, &c. &c.'—(p. 45.) 5. 'The rule 'never to address their prayers and supplications to any *other* '*being* than to God the Father of all.'—(p. 46.) 6. 'To allow 'the Jew to expound every text of the Old Testament on 'grammatical principles:' (p. 49:) and when the Jews are restored to their hereditary possessions, Mr. Oxlee thinks that 'though all expiatory sacrifices must cease to be offered, still 'it does not follow that all public confession of the guilt is to be 'dispensed with—indeed, with the exception of sacrifices for sin, 'all other legal sacrifices, *including the* daily morning and evening 'sacrifices, [*i. e.* bloody sacrifices of animals,] will again continue 'to be offered up, when once the opportunity arrives.'—(p. 52.)

We find that a converted Jew, named Hoga, also maintains the same views; but we forbear from extracts which would only be painfully wearisome and disgusting to our readers. We should not have produced so many were it not to show what is meant by the anticipation of 'the *common ground*' which Jews and Christians are to have.

If such outrageous consequences, though not always openly accredited by the sanction of the London Society, do consistently and legitimately flow from those extravagant views of prophecy, and that complete denial of the Church's regulating law of interpretation, which are avowed by the highest authorities in that Society, such as Dr. M'Caul and Mr. Cartwright, we may well charge upon them these sentiments so revolting to decency, to Christian honesty, common sense, and universal ecclesiastical consent, which we have had the pain to produce. For these sentiments the London Society is unquestionably responsible.

It was during the growth of these pernicious and heretical sentiments that the Anglican Episcopate at Jerusalem was constituted; and we have been particular in drawing attention to them, because, among all the discussions to which that unhappy experiment has given rise, we have not seen sufficient

[1] See the Tracts, 'The question about eating blood examined,' 1732. 'An enquiry about the lawfulness of eating blood,' 1733. 'The Apostolical decree at Jerusalem proved to be still in force, &c.' 1734. 'The doctrine of abstinence from blood defended,' 1734;—in which the question is fully and ably discussed. We may also refer to an able and learned note (A.) to a passage in Tertullian's Apology. (Oxford Translation, p. 107.)

notice given to its Judaizing character, and to the innate Nazarene sentiment which it involves, and the danger to the purity of Christian doctrine among ourselves, which, by its establishment, has first received consistency and Episcopal weight. It were comparatively harmless for a voluntary society to be sending its Anglicanized Lutherans over half the Continent, and to tesselate the parti-coloured aggregate of Oriental and Latin Churches, sects, heresies, and apostasies, which are to be found in such places as Jerusalem, Smyrna, Beyrout, and Cairo, with one more unintelligible fragment. But these measures, though they fixed pseudo-representatives of Anglicanism in foreign Sees and Patriarchates, would have given little disquiet to the passive and disdainful Oriental mind, compared with the formal recognition on the part of the English Church of the Nazarene heresy. For no less than this do we esteem Dr. McCaul's view of Bishop Alexander's position. To establish in Jerusalem a restored Church of the Circumcision—to revive the extinct line of Hebrew Bishops—to supersede the orthodox patriarch by a 'converted Israelite,' whose throne was to be of elder birth, and whose authority was to be of more primitive precedence; this, if any thing, is Nazarenism. And if it should be said that but little of this is avowed in the 'Statement of Proceedings,' &c., we admit it. But the official caution which official papers imply, is thrown off when the real promoters of the scheme, in the first transports of joy, let out their real object. The *Jewish Intelligence* of December, 1841, is explicit enough. Describing the consecration of Bishop Alexander, November 7th, 1841, the accredited organ of the Society proceeds:—

'A few Sundays before, an *apostle to the Gentiles*[1] had been 'consecrated in the same place, and now, the first time after the 'lapse of many, many centuries, *an apostle to the Circumcision*, 'himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews, destined for the land of 'Israel, and appointed to the Holy City, received his commis-'sion. . . . . The consecration of a *Jewish-Christian* to be a 'shepherd unto Israel, is an event unheard of since the day that 'Jerusalem was delivered to be trodden down of the Gentiles, 'and forms an era in the history, both of the Jewish nation and 'the Christian Church. . . . . The feast of ingathering has 'now begun. What the friends of Israel longed and prayed 'and laboured for, was not simply the conversion of a few 'individuals, but the *resuscitation of the Jewish people, the resur-'rection of the Jewish Church*. Now, though the erection of the 'new bishoprick, *suffragan to the see of Canterbury*, cannot be viewed '*at present* as the attainment of that devout wish, it must be 'considered as a considerable approximation to it. The place is

[1] Alluding to the revered Bishop Selwyn.

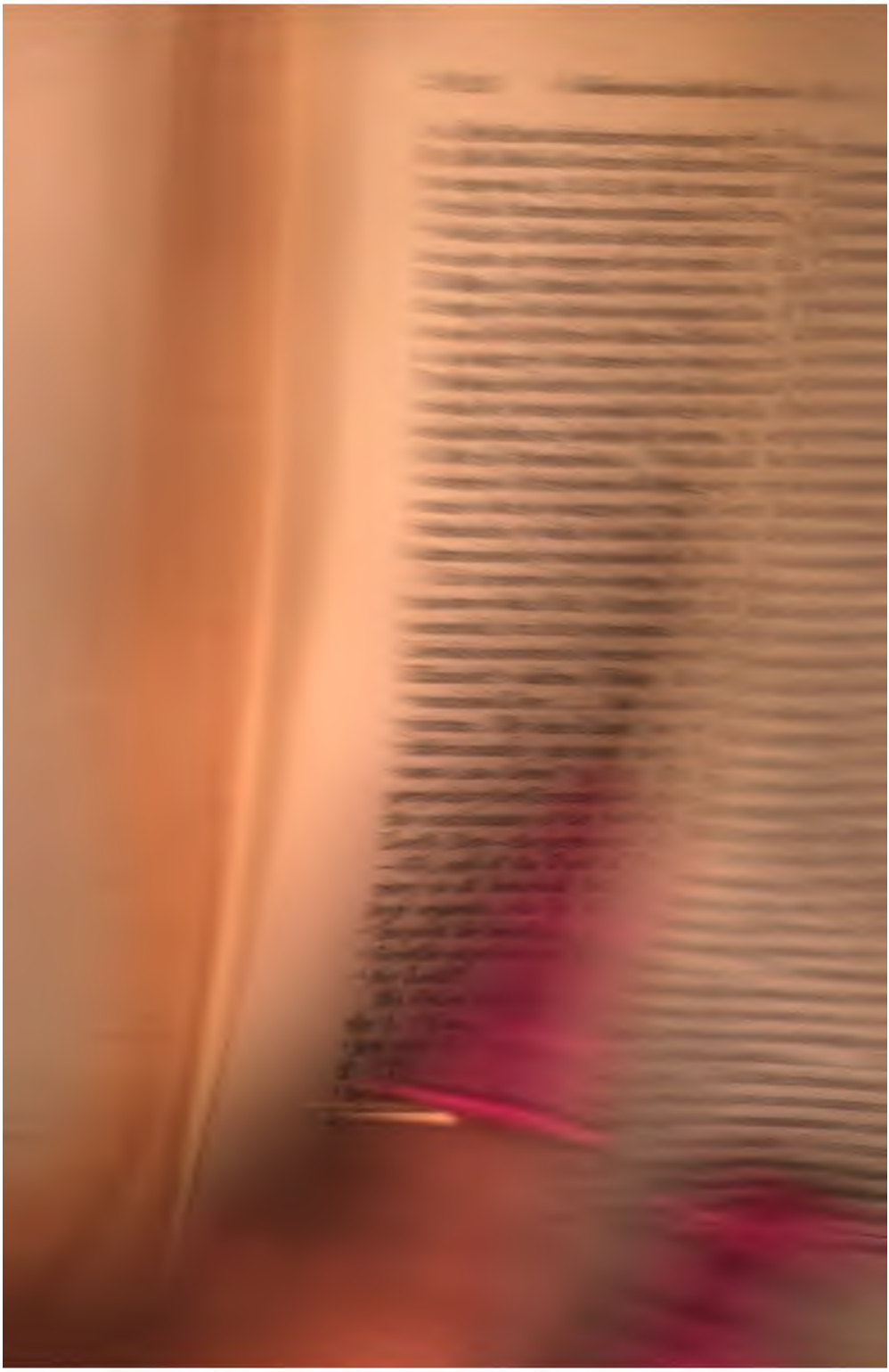
'Jerusalem—the Bishop a Hebrew—and, as we have been cre-
'dibly informed, in the remarkable documents which have passed
'on the occasion, there is an express stipulation, that when the
'*Jewish Church and nation is again acknowledged as independent,*
'*the dependence of the bishoprick of Jerusalem on the see of Can-*
'*terbury*[1] is to cease."[2]—*Jewish Intelligence*, December, 1841, pp. 390, 391.

This surely is speaking out intelligibly enough. Whether this independence of the Jerusalem See remains a secret article in any of the 'remarkable documents' referred to, of course we cannot pronounce: it is not alluded to, that we are aware, in any other way than the dark one alluded to in our note. And the acknowledgment of its intention remains either a monument of the prudence of some parties, or the inconvenient imprudence of others. There, however, it is; what the ulterior object and real purpose of the London Society is, must remain past a doubt, even with the most scrupulous. And we especially commit this most important extract to the notice of those who have hesitated, perhaps, to follow our strictures.

To the other considerations which the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishoprick involves, sufficient and elaborate examination has been given, both in these pages and elsewhere. We do not propose to go again over ground already trodden: or to reproduce objections, both to its principle and details, to which no answer has yet been attempted. On this occasion we only seek to complete the case against that most untoward experiment—an experiment now, we fear, about to be repeated—and if under other, still under grave, circumstances of suspicion and dismay. It seems as though wrath were all but visibly displayed against this unhallowed scheme: and if, on the first occasion, Bishop Alexander's appointment introduced the Nazarene heresy into our Episcopate, it is reserved for M. Gobat to involve us in anti-dogmatic statements, and a plain compromise of the Catholic Faith, which, if possible, will ruin us with the Oriental communities, as well as it has already gone far to identify us with foreign Protestantism. Can it be that the Jerusalem Bishoprick

[1] The last Italics are in the original.

[2] This intimation throws light upon a clause otherwise obscure, and which has been misunderstood, in the Statement of Proceedings, which announces that 'the 'Bishop will be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, until the local circum-'stances of his Bishoprick shall be such as to make it expedient, in the opinion of the 'Bishops of that united Church, to establish some other relation.' As the immediate antecedent to the expression 'that united Church' was 'the [illegible] land and Prussia,' some have thought, but incorrectly, that the provi independence of the See at Jerusalem pointed to a probable and ex those communities. It is clear that it hints at a future developmer can Bishoprick when it shall become the Metropolis of a pure H Church; *i. e.* when the Jewish body shall become once more n Christianized—if we may not say Christian.



Kirche Zukunft,' ('The Constitution of the Church of the Future,') in which he openly avows that he anticipates, not a revival of the dogmatism of any Church, but a free Church to come—a Church of the national life, which shall be different from, yet incorporate the (alleged) good of all other systems and Churches—which shall be neither Protestant nor Catholic, but something compounded of both—which shall be the visible sign of the progress of the age—of the philosophic development of Christianity—in his own significant words, 'The Church of the Future.' A specimen or two—for we hope to take up the work more fully—will show what M. Bunsen's notion of an Episcopate is. Against the common and plainest notion that Episcopacy is an essential condition of the existence of a Church —against such a notion which, good easy Anglicans, we thought, was the growing sentiment in Germany, and the especial conviction of M. Bunsen, and which induced many of us, even some so respected and so cautious as Dr. Hook, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College, in 1842, actually to welcome the Jerusalem scheme as a providential means of Catholicizing all Protestant Germany—against this notion the very fundamental of Anglican Churchmanship, M. Bunsen protests with as much plainness as profanity.

'If an angel from heaven should manifest to me, that by 'introducing, or asserting, or favouring only, the introduction 'of such an Episcopacy into any part of Germany, I should not 'only make the German nation glorious and powerful over all 'the nations of the world; nay, combat successfully the unbe-'lief, pantheism, atheism of the day, I should not do it,—So 'help me God! Amen.'[1]

We subjoin other passages from the same work, 'The Church of the Future,' showing the Chevalier's estimate of the Anglican ministry even more fully.

'Who dare treat and regard a Christian brother-people as 'Judah's *priesthood* did that of Israel? Such an one would 'renounce the evangelic faith, and make himself an inconsequent 'papist, or a secret Jew.'—P. 300.

'Every existing Church of a country has to maintain its own 'rights and its freedom, not only because it would otherwise 'acknowledge that its past had been hitherto illegal, its ministry 'of the word hitherto unapostolic, but out of a good conscience 'before God and man. By acknowledging those claims and 'those rights of the supreme authority, in a Church standing 'without the compass of its people, it would evince great ig-'norance, or bring on itself the participation in a great sin. All

[1] Surely this vehement language should induce those who adapt it to be rather more chary in their condemnation of the 'anathemas' of other people.

'restriction of an office to a certain caste is misperception of the 'universal character of Christianity, and the universality of the 'Priesthood of the faithful, as well as of the independence of 'each Christian nation in ecclesiastical things. *Christianity 'would not be of a Divine nature,* if its continuance were bound 'up with certain persons with Levitical privileges; and the 'congregation would not have received the Spirit, did it depend 'on the arbitrary will of any class of men out of it, to give it a 'right in the historical Church of Christ, and a seat on the 'Throne in the Kingdom of God.'—P. 301, 2.

'On account of this higher object, [the brotherly recognition 'of the Episcopate of the Church of a country,] only the duty 'of maintaining a disputed fundamental doctrine of the Evan- 'gelic Church [the non-essentiality of the Apostolical suc- 'cession,] ought to withhold us from doing that which the 'Church of each country does within itself, when it once has 'Bishops—not to consecrate Bishops without a Bishop.

'Here, as everywhere, the first principle of the Church of the 'Future can alone decide—Love. If we remove the question from 'the ground of right in the Clergy-Church [the Church of 'England,] to that of the right of *this* Church, the whole ques- 'tion is changed. On this ground, McIlvaine, Bishop of 'the State of Ohio, is just as near to the Evangelical Church of 'the country in Germany as a Bishop of Magdeburg and his 'Church would be to the Bishop and Church of Berlin; and a 'Bishop of the poor, persecuted Moravian congregation (whether 'they have been uninterruptedly consecrated by Episcopal 'hands, or, as all Alexandrian Bishops to the fourth cen- 'tury,[1] only by their brother elders,) as great as the Archbishop 'of Canterbury.

'In itself, then, from this point of view, it is most natural 'that, if there be anywhere Bishops united in faith and animated 'by Christian love, these should not be therefore passed over 'or excluded, because they belong to the Church of the same 'country, or the same people, or the same quarter of the world.' —P. 308.

'Those unfree, foolish, unevangelic, unapostolic, uncatholic 'claims, which, here and elsewhere, we have so strongly re- 'jected, are only so far connected with our proposal, in that 'they might make its application here [in Germany] question- 'able, on account of the duty of maintaining a principle, there '[in England] on account of the Clergy-maxims which have 'd entrance, impossible. Yet is the Protestant-episcopal

Jerome, in his Epist. ad Evagr., (on which this often-repeated statement 1,) says only, that in Alexandria the Presbyters *elected* out of their own *named,* not that they consecrated, their Bishop. In the same place he ordination as the special office of the Bishop.]

'Church of Sweden, in this respect, quite free; the American '[reformed] equally so; the Missionary Church of the Evan-'gelical German Congregation, the Moravian Brethren, lastly, 'freer and nearer than all.'—P. 309.[1]

For this candour we sincerely thank Chevalier Bunsen: we wish that all the promoters and friends of ulterior intentions were equally explicit and intelligible. His offer to go to Bishop McIlvaine or the Moravian (so-called) Bishops, cannot but have its value among ourselves. Anything will do for M. Bunsen but Episcopacy as of Divine Right.

Thus much of the originators of the Jerusalem Bishoprick. They have succeeded: they have made instruments of the heads of the English Church. We do not throw great blame upon the English Prelates who, in 1841, accepted the patronage of the London Society, or who cooperated with M. Bunsen in giving existence to this politico-ecclesiastical novelty. The English Bishops had not time to investigate the secret springs and tendencies, and obscure intimations, and distant hopes, and earnest, however concealed, anticipations which were at work about them. Whatever the result has been, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, did not intend to found a See which should be the first instalment of Dr. Arnold's views on Church reform—which should be the fixation of the Nazarene heresy in a practical and visible, and that an Episcopal, institution—which, to all the world, except ourselves, should pass for a direct identification of our Catholic branch with the Prussian Evangelical Church. The English Bishops had not toiled through the weary reports and publications of the London Society; and, which we have now, the English Bishops had not the light of actual history—the four years and a half existence and working of the Jerusalem See—by which to judge of its real nature.

The last point then to which we have to ask attention is—What are the positive results of the Jerusalem Bishoprick? What are its fruits? How have the anticipations of its success been fulfilled? These are questions which we are now in some condition to answer: the scheme is, in its first stage, already a matter of history. One whole act has been played through: a single Episcopate has been concluded: we are not, therefore, without historical materials, which we shall now attempt to arrange.

1. The introduction of the Episcopate into Germany—

We find in a pamphlet published in 1845, 'the Jerusalem Bishoprick' reprinted from a monthly magazine, that 'there

[1] See another extract below at p. 268, in the notice of the German pamphlets, (No. 31.)

'never was the slightest intention of offering to, much less of 'forcing upon, the German Protestant Churches the constitution 'or liturgy of the Anglican Church. The king never proposed, 'the Archbishop of Canterbury never entertained, any proposal 'for union.' Perhaps not: the disclaimer is cautiously worded. There never was a '*proposal* for union:' but in the name of common honesty, was not a lure and a hint thrown out, was not an intimation given—was not a suggestion made—was not this *the* golden end for the contingent gain of which so many of our Churchmen were induced at last to look, some with favour and more with silence, on the establishment of the See? Let us see this:

The *Jewish Intelligence* of December, 1841, p. 390, speaks of 'the hope which it holds out of the union between the Protes- 'tants of Germany with the Church of England.'

The Statement by Authority 'reasonably hopes that, under 'the Divine blessing, it may lead the way to an essential unity of 'discipline, as well as of doctrine, between our own Church and 'the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of 'Europe.'

The London Society, in their Address to the King of Prussia, (*Jewish Intelligence*, March 1842, p. 70,) 'hail in it the begin- 'ning of a new era; hail in it the establishment of political 'relations on the rock of religion—of Christian intercourse with 'our sister Churches, of Catholic union with national indepen- 'dence, throughout Protestant Europe.'

Dr. McCaul's Consecration Sermon, p. 15, says, 'It is to be 'hoped that the Bishoprick at Jerusalem may become the bond 'of union between Christians of England and Germany,'—and that 'such an union of Protestant Churches is desirable.'

We own that the carefully worded 'Instructions of the King of Prussia to his Ambassador, M. Bunsen,'[1] do not give any direct indications of what was generally assumed in England. If there never was any such intention, if what Chevalier Bunsen steadily anticipated from the beginning was his speculative Church of the Future—and the King's instructions bear out this view—we can only say in plain words that our Bishops were taken in. They persisted in understanding in one sense what the astute Prussian intended in another, though to suit a temporary purpose he was not unwilling that it should pass in whatever sense it might bear. What the real sentiments of the

[1] This document, (in our list at p. 268, the pamphlet which contains it is numbered 30,) and two others, even more valuable, we add by way of appendix, (No. I.) king it desirable that these pages should preserve the authoritative documents e materials of future history—in a more permanent form than that of fugitive phlets.

Germans themselves towards the scheme are, we gather from a very useful syllabus of we believe nearly all the foreign publications on the subject, which we reprint from the *Ecclesiastic.* The article reappears in these pages, because it was originally written at our desire by one who has unusual and unquestionable opportunities for acquaintance with German literature and the German mind. It appears also in a more correct form; and it must convince, we think, the supporters of the scheme how lamentably unfit German Protestantism is for our sympathies, and how universally any comprehensive scheme is condemned in Germany. Only those English works are included which have been translated abroad:—

1. 'Statement of Proceedings relating to the Establishment of a Bishoprick of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem. Published by authority.' Contains the regulations to be adopted, among which are remarkable especially—1. That the clergymen for German congregations are to be ordained according to the rites of the Anglican Church upon subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles; and 2. That catechumens of the German congregation shall be confirmed by the Bishop. But the most extraordinary part of the Statement is the hope expressed, 'that under the Divine 'blessing it may lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as 'of doctrine, between our own Church and the less perfectly constituted 'Churches of Europe.'

2. 'Das Licht am Abend. Ein Wort über Israel's Zukunft. Von J. T. E. Sander, Pastor zu Elberfeld.' Looks upon the scheme only in the light of a powerful missionary enterprise, and is full of hope of benefits to result from it.

3. 'Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift. Der Protestantische Bischof Alexander von Jerusalem, Cyrillus Lukaris, und die Tübinger Professorem; oder die alten und neuen Versuche den Orient zu protestantisiren. Von Dr. Hefele, 1843.' A Roman Catholic publication against the Bishoprick summed up in these words: 'After all that we have said, it will not assuredly be 'presumptuous, if we pronounce the new Bishoprick to be a total failure, 'which will not accomplish one of its many purposes.'

4. 'H. Ternaux-Compans; de l'établissement d'un Evêché Protestant à Jérusalem, au préjudice des droits de la France. Paris, 1842.' The author considers the project merely as a political and commercial speculation on the part of England, intended to counteract the influence exercised in Syria by France and Austria. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Antioch had this translated into Arabic and circulated in his diocese.

5. 'Revue des deux mondes. Février 1r, 1842,' ascribes the project rather to the ambitious designs of Prussia, which aims at a new monarchy of Europe to supersede the old empire of Rome.

6. 'L'Univers, Avril 12, 1842.' 'The supreme authorities of the Evan-'gelical Lutheran Church of Prussia every where declare against the schemes 'of union between German Protestantism and the Protestantism of England; 'and equally also against that *juste-milieu* religion, which is neither Catholic 'nor Protestant, and which its adversaries designate under the name of '"M. Bunsen's Réligione capitolienne."'

7. 'Protestantism and the Churches in the East: a Tract for the Times. Stereotyped for the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, 1842. Motto, Matt. xv. 13.' An able exposition of all the dangers, difficulties, and inconsistencies of the project.

8. 'A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on some circumstances connected with the present crisis in the English Church. By E. B. Pusey, D.D., 1842.' Translated into German under the title, 'Beiträge zur bessern Würdigung des Wesens und der Bedeutung des Puseyismus, &c., nebst einer Einleitung von Moritz Petri, Pastor in Münden;' and contributed to increase the public dissatisfaction in Germany.

9. 'A Letter to Dr. Pusey in reference to certain Charges contained in his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. H. Abeken, Chaplain to H. P. M.'s Legation at Rome. London, 1842.' 'You certainly 'must never expect us to come to you, or to any other Church, for the gift 'of Episcopacy, as imparting to our ministry a Divine commission which 'they had not had before.' P. 52.

10. 'The Bishoprick of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, considered in a Letter to a Friend. By J. R. Hope, Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury. 1841.'

11. 'Sermon preached at the Consecration of Bishop Alexander. By Dr. McCaul. Translated into German under the title, "Stimmen über Jerusalem." By K. Kirsch, Berlin.' The German reviewers take offence at the passage which states, 'The very fact of the existence of clergy and congre-'gations in those regions, without the residence, or even the occasional 'visit, of a Bishop, is in itself sufficient to mislead the Christians of the 'East. Their Bishops will not, ought not, to enter into ecclesiastical nego-'tiations with unauthorized presbyters or erratic laymen.'

12. 'The Light of the World. A Sermon preached on Sunday, Jan. 30th, 1842, in S. Paul's Cathedral, (in the presence of the King of Prussia.) By C. J. Bishop of London. Translated into German by Reichardt. Leipzig, 1842.' This contains the following remarkable passage:—'Let not those 'whose duty it is to bear forth this light unto the outer world, substitute 'the Church for Christ, the body for the Spirit, the throne for Him that 'sitteth thereon, and the shrine for the Deity who inhabits it. Let them 'not forget that the Church, in which they bear office, although its origin is 'Divine, and its authority indefeasible, is not itself *the light*, but only the '*instrument* ordained for its diffusion.' 'Nor let them think nor speak more 'uncharitably of other national Churches than the Fathers of our own have 'spoken.' But German critics soon called attention to the fact that in the 'Three Sermons on the Church,' preached in Lent, 1842, the Bishop, in evident contradiction to these words, speaks of a Church without an Apostolical Succession of Bishops, as in the highest degree imperfect.

13. 'Archives, 1842. No. 2.' 'The Prussian Church is concerned to know, 'if it consents to follow its political head in this view, and if it is ready to 'receive that Episcopal ordination from England, which must soon be 'offered, if not imposed upon it.'

14. 'Semeur, 1842. No. 6.' (Organ of what is considered the High Church French Protestants.) 'It is now two years since the question was put, 'whether it was possible to construct an Ecclesiastical government by 'Bishops for French Protestantism, and to attach it, not only through a 'community of principles and confession, but in fact also to the visible 'Apostolic Church, by procuring its candidates for the ministry to be 'ordained by an Anglican Bishop. This is the plan, commenced in various 'ways, and hitherto unerringly pursued, which we are now called upon to 'denounce.'

15. 'Gespräch über das neue Bisthum zu Jerusalem, &c. Von Dr. arl Schrader. Leipzig, 1842.' Heartily in favour of the scheme, especially promising the introduction of Episcopacy into Germany.

6. 'Historisch-kritische Betrachtungen, &c., &c. Von Dr. Emil Ferdi-d Vogel. Leipzig, 1842.' Assuming that it is intended to assimilate man Protestantism to Anglicanism, the author gives a sketch of the

history, constitution, and forms of worship of the English Church, and endeavours to prove that they must necessarily be lifeless and stagnant, and totally incompatible with the progressive spirit of true Protestantism.

17. 'Freundliche Belehrung über das evangelische Bisthum zu Jerusalem. Von W. F. Sintenis. Magdeburg, 1843.' An apology for the project, and thus describes its purpose: 'Its intention—yes—its intention 'is to procure for the Protestant side also a home, in opposition to the 'Greek-Catholic, Armenian, Syrian, and Roman Church-Communions, all 'of whom have gained a footing there.'

18. 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung. Nos. 317, 322, 329, 1841. Nos. 5, 35, 36, 48, 68, 69, 1842.' Defends the scheme, but denies the intention of introducing Episcopacy into Germany, and asserts that the words of the Archbishop 'are of no consequence to us Germans.'

19. 'Literarische Zeitung, 1842. Nos. 6, 19, 25.' Also apologetical; but disapproves, (No. 25,) of the Archbishop's 'intermeddling.'

20. 'Heidelberger Jahrbücher, 1842. Nos. 45—48. 1843. No. 7.' An article written by Credner, violently condemning English Episcopacy.

21. 'Neues Sophronizon II. 2. p. 243—266; III. 1. p. 1—149, By Dr. Paulus. Reprinted as separate pamphlets. 1842.' Violently condemning the scheme, and directed chiefly against the Archbishop's expression.

22. 'Das Anglo-Preussische Bisthum in Jerusalem und was daran hängt. Freiburg, 1842. Anon. (By Professors Hundeshagen and Schneckenburger at Bern). Has been translated into English.' Declares the scheme to be 'an enormous sacrifice on the part of Prussia, 'of all 'the principles of the Evangelical Church;' and the intended ordination of German candidates on subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles and Confession of Augsburg, 'a monster of ecclesiastical law.' This was the most successful of all the publications on the subject, and best expresses the popular opinion in Germany. It was reviewed in bitter terms in the

23. 'Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung. 1842. No. 59, by H. L. (Leo).' This publication has been the chief defender of the scheme.

24. Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik. 1842. No. 116, written by Marheinike.' Condemns the scheme: asserts the Anglican Church to be destitute of all freedom.

25. 'Reformationspredigt von de Wette.' The preface takes nearly the same line, and dwells on 'the principle of decay in the Anglican Church.'

26. 'Harless Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche, 1842, iv.' An article written by Petri, declares it to be 'a specimen of a principle of 'union, sufficiently flexible only to incorporate into its own Church the 'doctrine and constitution of another, and entirely to subordinate it.'

27. 'Das Bisthum in Jerusalem. Von Inspektor W. Hoffman. Published in "Beleuchtungen der Missionsache," 1842, No. 6.' Not against the Bishoprick in Jerusalem, but complains that 'the German element had 'been entirely absorbed by the English one;' and, as a missionary enterprise, looks on it with more fear than hope.

28. 'Kabinets Ordre von 28 June, 1842, containing a proclamation from the Archbishop of Canterbury.' The most material differences between the provisions of this and the 'Statement,' are, that the signature of the Confession of Augsburg and of the Thirty-nine Articles, is no longer required from German candidates before ordination; and that, in lieu thereof, they are to be examined by the Bishop, and sign the three Creeds. The Literarische Zeitung, No. 25, had made a statement which seems to account for these alterations. 'The propositions first made by the Primate of the 'Anglican Church, have, according to certain information, not been 'accepted by Prussia; but fresh negotiations, which promise a more 'favourable result, have been commenced.'

29. 'Die Orientalische Frage der Deutsch-evangelischen kirche. Bern.

1843. (Anon.) (Professor Schneckenburger.)' Its design is to elicit from the Prussian Government a plain and distinct avowal, 'that it was intended 'in any way to anglicanize the German Evangelical Church;—that there 'was decidedly no negotiation about Apostolical Bishops, as the accounts 'of the establishment of a Bishoprick at Jerusalem had led many to appre-'hend, and as has been uniformly asserted by the Anglicans.'

30. 'Das Evangelische Bisthum in Jerusalem. Geschichtliche Darstellung mit Urkunden. Berlin, 1842. (By Abeken.)' Valuable as containing all the documents, the King's instructions to his Ambassador, the forms of ordination, confirmation, &c. In this official publication, the silent omission of the largest and most important part of the 'Statement, 'published by authority,' appears extraordinary. The author dwells with satisfaction upon the fact, that, 'to the Protestant Church of Germany had 'been silently conceded the distinctive note of a true Church;' and maintains that the English Bishops, in giving their hearty assent to the King of Prussia's proposal, had no idea of interfering with the 'preservation of 'German nationality;' but he does not account for the very contrary intention manifested in the 'Statement' published six months later: he dwells further upon the subjects of ordination and confirmation, and shows that the German element is preserved in its integrity.

31. 'Briefweschel über die deutsche Kirsche, das Episcopat und Jerusalem. (Letters between Mr. Gladstone and Chevalier Bunsen.) Handschrift für Freunde. Hamburg, 1844.' Published 1846, as Introduction to Bunsen's work, 'Die Zukunft der Kirche.' Vindicates the correctness of 'Geschichtliche Darstellung.' The work advocates the introduction of Episcopacy into the German Church, but not the Apostolical Episcopacy of the English Church; which M. Bunsen condemns in terms as strong as any which have been used by any opponent of the Bishoprick. 'If ever, 'and at any time, the Episcopate in the sense of Anglicanism should be 'raised into a distinctive mark of Churchdom among us, not constitutionally 'and nationally, it would, in my opinion, be striking the death-blow to the 'innermost germ of life in the Church.' He will exert every energy, and shed the last drop of his blood, 'in order to preserve the Church of the German nation against such an episcopacy.'

32. 'Die Berliner Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung im Kampfe für das Bisthum in Jerusalem. Von Dr. M. Schneckenburger. Bern, 1844.' In a more conciliatory tone than his former publications; properly a reply to the review of these in the Evan. Kirchen-zeitung. Concludes with observing, 'that at Berlin, nobody thinks of introducing, according to the pattern 'of Jerusalem or England, the "*ordines*" instead of the "*ordo*," nor of 'ordaining candidates for the diaconate; that nobody declares it a 'duty to profit by present political relations in order to create for the 'Church permanent institutions, in a definite sense; that with respect to 'the Palestine Liturgy, sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, nobody 'thinks of trying whether it might not also be found suitable for the 'Church at home.'

33. 'De l'Evêché Anglican à Jérusalem: Lettre respectueuse à M. William Howley, se disant Lord Archevêque de Cantorbéry. Paris, 1842.' A most venomous attack on the scheme, by a French Protestant Pastor. It has been translated into English by Mr. J. M. Hare.

34. 'Dialogus de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ et de Regimine Ecclesiastica. Auctore C. F. Weber. Nerolingæ, 1843.' A remarkably stupid performance in imitation of Erasmus, displaying more acrimony than wit. It concludes with expressing a conviction that 'Germany has nothing to gain in the way of rites, or discipline, or doctrine, from the Anglican Church, and, therefore, that the present solitary condition of that country must, by all means, be retained.'

2. The next point of importance, contemplated by the founders of the scheme, 'was to establish and maintain relations of 'Christian charity with other Churches represented at Jeru- 'salem, and in particular with the Orthodox Greek Church; 'taking special care to convince them, that the Church of 'England does not wish to disturb, or divide, or interfere with 'them.' (Statement of Proceedings.) How far has this pious wish, and most honourable and sincere intention on the part of the English Primate, been blessed with success? We find almost a perfect blank in this branch of the subject.

But what facts are recorded tend, we are very much afraid, to the conviction, that relations of amity and friendly intercourses, and the restoration of communion with the Orientals, are rather postponed than accelerated by the Episcopate of Bishop Alexander. As the most unlikely mode of securing this object, we may point to the selection of a Jew for the first Anglican Bishop. Whether rightly or wrongly, the Jews are despised and contemned by the Oriental Christians; and the very notion of a mission to them, as planned and conducted under the auspices of the London Society, they cannot be brought to understand,—not even to entertain the notion. This was one untoward way of conciliating Oriental prejudices.

The next blunder was the mission of a married Bishop in regions where the Bishops are strictly bound by the celibate. The family of young children—the *vescovini*—who caused so much remark at the time,—the confinement of one lady of the mission, a clergyman's wife, on board the *Devastation*, in which Bishop Alexander embarked, (*Jewish Intelligence*, February, 1842, p. 60,) and that of Mrs. Alexander, almost immediately upon her arrival in Syria—were, we repeat it with reluctance, serious obstacles, however unavoidable ones, to the excellent objects set forth by the Archbishop.

Another cause of distrust in the Mission, is its location at Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the Holy City to the whole Catholic Church, and to all those Christians who inhabit it, in a very different sense from that in which it is the Holy City to the Jews. Now Bishop Alexander and his mission consider it the Holy City only in the Jewish sense; it is not because of the Holy Sepulchre—not because of the sacred Christian sites, that Jerusalem was made the Anglican See,—but because it anticipated the return of the Jews, as Jews, to the land of their fathers. Hence the Anglican Bishop was found much more often at the synagogue than at the Holy Sepulchre; at home with the Jews, and at etiquette and formalities with his Catholic and Christian brethren. Mrs. Alexander, at least, called on the 'Chief Rabbi of the Spanish Jews at Jerusalem,' and this

personage 'presented his respects to the Bishop.' (*Jewish Intelligence*, June, 1845, p. 188.) Elsewhere we hear of Mrs. Alexander visited by 'Jewish ladies.' These, we think, serious practical blunders.

Next in order, may be mentioned the (necessarily) unsatisfactory way in which the public services were conducted by the Anglican Bishop. The offices, such as they were, said in Hebrew were a stumbling-block. The absence of vestments and ceremonial creates a very serious prejudice among those who probably make too much of such things. And we have a right to ask, when so much is cheerfully conceded to the Jews in the way of externals, why some allowance is not to be made for the fact of the state of Oriental feeling in this respect? If we really desire to attract the Oriental mind, we must present as much dignity and external 'pomp and circumstance' in our worship, as our ritual can, on the most comprehensive interpretation, be made to bear. It is not for an innate or æsthetic love to mere ceremonial, as such, when we declare our conviction, that lights, crosses, incense, rich vestments, processions, frequent services, and chants, would do more to impress the orthodox Bishops with our orthodoxy, than ten thousand trumpery tracts from 'the Malta Press.' It is a sad fact, but we know it from the very highest authority, that of an intelligent person who has spent many years in the East, and who was in immediate connexion with the clergy of many Oriental bodies, —both orthodox and heretical,—that the only notion which the Orientals can form of our religion, as practised by the missionaries with whom they come into contact, is, that we English are a sort of Mohammedans, only without their strictness. Among the Mohammedans, and among ourselves, they desiderate the notion of worship as to an Object. They cannot believe that preaching sermons, at which the Mohammedans are just as punctual as ourselves, and no more,—and this only once a week in a black gown—and all this without forms, and without a Liturgy, (we use the word in its proper sense,) can be Christianity of any sort. Of course, the Greeks are wrong-headed and obstinate; but it is a fact that this is their estimate of our religion. And while it remains so, is it worth while, even for prudence' sake, to persist in a dull, naked room-preaching, which can only end in confirming prejudices and increasing scandals?

But not only have the proceedings of the Anglican mission been of this negatively prejudicing and damaging character to [illegible] Church of England, but we detect, at least in one incident, [illegible]ect and positive departure from the principles laid down [illegible] Statement of Proceedings, and in the Commendatory [illegible]s. If any one feature in the whole measure could [illegible]ibly be supposed to be understood, and to remain fixed,

and unalterable, and *final* and definite for ever,—it was the disclaimer of any wish or intention to proselytize among the Oriental Churches. It was on this point that the orthodox Churches felt the most natural jealousy. It was on this point that the Archbishop's undertaking and promise was most clear. How far this undertaking has been carried out, may be seen by the following extract. We do not say that the schismatical Greeks have been, as a fact, yet received into our community by the English mission at Jerusalem; but it is sufficiently startling to find admissions from the authorities there that they might have been, and, perhaps, under a change of circumstances which is clearly anticipated, will be, so admitted. This, we do not hesitate to say, is directly opposed to the Archbishop's intentions and objects. It appears that some reports about the 'application of Greeks for admission into the Protestant Church, had reached England.' What those reports were is not very clear; but it seems that the London Society sent them to Jerusalem for authentication or explanation. Mr. Veitch, Bishop Alexander's chaplain, replies as follows:—

'There is one, and *only one* word of truth in the extract you 'sent us from the "Achill Missionary Herald," although the 'report about the Bishop of Jerusalem purports to come "direct '"from the Holy Land," and on "high authority," viz., that 'some Greeks did apply to the Bishop for admission into the 'English Church, (or, as they expressed it, "to be made '"Inglese"). The King of Prussia was never consulted, and 'volunteered no interference. The applicants were not refused, 'but advised, as the Bishop had *not immediately* the means of 'doing for them what they required,—to return home, and 'quietly await the *result of a careful consideration of their case*; 'nor did they join themselves to the Presbyterian Church of 'Scotland, there being, in fact, no such Church in the part of 'the country where they dwelt. The Bishop was by no means 'satisfied that the application for admission to communion was 'the result of spiritual light only, and that political motives had 'nothing to do with it. But even had there been very satisfactory evidence of pure spiritual desire for escape from a corrupt 'and superstitious communion, and for admission into a Church 'possessing the truth, and offering a pure spiritual worship, the 'form of receiving the applicants into communion would have 'been a mere mockery, and provocative to persecution, unless 'it had been possible to supply them with pastors; this they 'requested, but this, of course, the Bishop had not, AT PRESENT, 'the means of granting.'—*Jewish Intelligence*, July, 1845, p. 261.

This authoritative reply is valuable and instructive, since it proves that the question of proselytizing from the Oriental

Churches is not one of *principle*, as we were assured by the Statement of Proceedings, but only one of time, and local conveniences and accidents. How this quiet anticipation of 'supplying with pastors' these Greek schismatical postulants, though not 'at present,' can be reconciled with the Primate's hearty profession and command to use 'special care not to disturb, or divide, or interfere with, the orthodox Greek Church,' we leave to Mr. Veitch and the London Society to settle. We think this fact deserves great attention.

As to other results: 'The Mission amongst the Jews has prospered. Thirty-seven members of the house of Israel have in 'the short period of his [the Bishop's] sojourn [at Jerusalem] been 'admitted into the English Church.'—(*Christian's Monthly Magazine.* Considering that this short period was then four years, and remembering the number of converters employed, and the fact that instant support is given to the converts, as well as the miserable poverty of the 6,000 Jews at Jerusalem, we have no desire to question whatever value may be set upon such prosperity as this. So what it is we leave it with perfect content.

3. About the 'College to be established at Jerusalem under the Bishop, whose chaplain is to be its Principal,' we have little to tell. In 1842-3 it consisted of two Polish Jews, who were baptized in the preceding year, and two young men, one of whom had come to Jerusalem in the spring of 1842 as travelling servant to an English gentleman, and was afterwards dragoman to the physician of the Mission, a Dr. Macgowan; the other was a young man who went out to Jerusalem as clerk to the architect.

Notice has already been taken of the strange, and in various ways unqualified, persons admitted by Bishop Alexander to Holy Orders. We can mention two very flagrant cases. On October 30, 1842, a Mr. Tartakover, one of the London Society's Missionaries, and a Mr. Whitmarsh, naval instructor on board Her Majesty's Ship *Vernon*, were admitted to Deacon's orders at Jerusalem. Their general ignorance, and the special incapacity of the former, were pointed out to the Bishop, who replied that 'the deficient answers would only make it more 'necessary for the candidates to occupy themselves with study 'before they applied for Priest's orders; which would not be 'granted until they had passed a year in the diaconate.' After Mr. Tartakover's ordination he was attacked with ophthalmia, and reduced to nearly total blindness by its severity, until, incapacited for study, he was removed to Königsburg in June, 1843; ving been ordained Priest on June 10, on the Sunday previous his departure. Mr. Tartakover had been for some time under ruction in the 'Hebrew College' at Bethnal Green, and

was spoken of as the most hopeful student in that institution. This gentleman is now stationed at Dantzig. A Mr. Sternschuss, a young German, has also received Holy Orders. He was cook and common servant to one of the Missionaries at Jerusalem; for some time he represented the English Church at Safea, a sacred city of the Jews. He is now in the same capacity at Bagdad.

4. Of the remaining objects contemplated by the Archbishop in the Statement of Proceedings, *viz.* of the reception of 'clerical members of the orthodox Greek Church into the College with the express consent of their spiritual superiors;' and of the 'congregations consisting of Protestants of the German tongue 'residing within the limits of the Bishop's jurisdiction, and willing 'to submit to it under the care of German clergymen, who will 'officiate in the German language, according to the forms of their 'national liturgy, compiled from the ancient liturgies, agreeing in 'all points of doctrine with the liturgy of the English Church, and 'sanctioned by the Bishop, with consent of the Metropolitan, for 'the special use of those congregations; such liturgy to be read 'in the German language only;' and of 'the Germans who are to be ordained according to the English ritual, and to sign the Articles of that Church,' as well as 'the confession of Augsburg;' and of the 'confirmation of catechumens of the German congregation,' we have not heard a single word. We presume that both the orthodox Greek Church and the German congregations have seen enough of the Anglican Episcopate to refuse the more than questionable benefits of the Bishop's College and proffered jurisdiction.

It only remains to add, that the letters-commendatory to the Oriental Bishops contain a noticeable discrepancy. In the English version the Anglican Bishop's jurisdiction is described as being 'over the Clergy and Congregations of our Church, which are now, *or which hereafter may be*, established in the countries above mentioned.' In the Greek form it stands, *ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς τοῖς ι μετοικοῦσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁμοροις χώραις.* Why the italicized clause has been omitted in the Greek form we do not conjecture. The fact may have its importance, though we do not at present see what. We therefore record it.[1]

Perhaps, however, after all the most direct and striking evidence of the dangerous character of the theological bias and Judaizing tone of which the whole work of the Mission is but

[1] There are some very painful and distressing matters about the mode by which the purchase of land has been managed by the representatives of the London Society in Palestine, for which we have not space. The passage-money by the Devastation paid twice over,—the barometer which cost £44,—the £200 for the carriage of Dr. Macgowan's library,—are matters which have caused no little comment.

the practical expression, is to be found in the recently published volume of "Sermons, preached at Jerusalem in 1842 and 1843, 'by the Rev. George Williams, sometime Chaplain to the late 'Bishop of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem. (J. W. Parker.)' Mr. Williams, as some of our readers may know, was appointed Chaplain to Bishop Alexander by the Archbishop, with the express undertaking and understanding that he was not to be considered an agent or official of the London Society; and that his stipend, though supplied by the Society, was to be paid through the Bishop: an obvious arrangement to secure the dignity of all parties. It soon came to the ears of 'the Committee' at home, that Mr. Williams was too high-minded to sanction the somewhat shabby details of the Mission, and too thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of the Church of England to fall in with the wild views on prophecy relating to the actual, as distinguished from the spiritual, Israel, as well as the dangerous tenets which separated the 'Hebrew' from the 'Gentile' Christians. It was found necessary to get rid of Mr. Williams: so the London Committee took the most effectual way of cashiering an inconvenience by stopping his salary, unless received directly through the Society. To this direct breach of compact, as well as compromise of principle, Mr. Williams would not submit. His connexion with the Mission ceased; but what its working was, may be judged by the following important extract from the preface to his Sermons:—

'On one subject, however, of more than ordinary import-'ance, I would desire to say a few words, in order to avoid all 'ambiguity, and to discharge, it may be, an imperative duty. 'I will candidly avow, that I was very anxious, as opportunity 'was afforded me, to counteract, as far as possible, the effects 'of a certain tone of teaching which obtained at Jerusalem, 'during my connexion with the Mission, and which appeared 'to me both erroneous and exceedingly objectionable, as tend-'ing to the subversion of Christian liberty, and to the corrup-'tion of the purity and simplicity of the Gospel.

'I allude to that view which would substitute the exploded 'literal, for the received spiritual, interpretation of the pro-'phecies relating to the privileges and glories of the Israel of 'God: on which is based a system that would in effect build up 'again "the middle wall of partition" between Jew and Gentile, 'and obscure the cardinal truth, that "Christ is the end of the 'law for righteousness to every one that believeth," "that the ighteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not er the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Persuaded as I was of the dangerous tendency of such views hich sometimes go the length of looking for the restoration

'of the bloody sacrifices of the Law, and the re-establishment 'of the Levitical Ritual), my office required me to guard 'against it; delicate and difficult as the duty was in my pecu-'liar position.

'I hoped to avoid giving unnecessary pain, by handling the 'subject practically, rather than controversially, so as to exhibit 'the opposite truth, not antagonistically, but for the edification 'and consolation of my hearers. This was attempted in some 'Sermons directly, incidentally in others; with what success it 'is not for me to judge.'—Preface, pp. viii. ix.

Such is the Anglican Bishoprick at Jerusalem; such its projectors; such the principles first assuming form and recognised action in its establishment; such the positive results of the experiment. That it is a decided and complete failure even its best friends must own; that it has done more to impair the confidence in the English Church system of those whom we can least spare, they who have the best means of knowing assure us. That it must for a time be persisted in, the terms of the unhappy *concordat* with the King of Prussia lead us still to fear; but that it will be ultimately abandoned there can be no doubt. It requires sanguine assurance, amounting almost to the stiff, rigid consistency of despair, to plant full-grown trees in the height of summer. They may look green and showy for a time, but they will never make a plantation. They wither in the very act of display; the seeds, the certainty of death accompany the attempt to succeed; and what is commenced in ostentation, generally ends in contempt. Repetition only makes it ludicrous. It would have seemed impossible to make a worse selection than that of Bishop Alexander, until M. Gobat received the late nomination from the King of Prussia.

On this matter it may be sufficient to say, that M. Gobat published, some years ago, a journal, or diary, of his Missionary labours in Abyssinia, in which, upon his own showing, he committed himself to most dangerous, if not positively heretical, statements on such sacred doctrines as those of the two Natures in our Lord, the eternal generation of the Son, the necessity of Creeds, and the nature of Holy Baptism. M. Gobat not yet being in Priest's orders, strong representations have been made, both to the Primate and to the Bishop of London, on the danger of admitting him to a higher rank in the ministry, especially in a station where his opportunities of compromising the character and orthodoxy of the Church of England are so many, and so various. Distinct assurances were received from the Primate, to whom the Act of Parliament gives an unconditional veto upon each Prussian nomination—and from the Bishop of London,—that due examination of the candidate, with especial reference to the

dangerous sentiments complained of, would be instituted. The result is contained in a document (No. III.) subjoined in the Appendix to this article. It is so far satisfactory, that it may serve to show his Prussian Majesty and M. Bunsen that the object of their selection was one for whom has been reserved the discreditable precedent of being the only candidate for the Episcopate in the English Church, as far as its annals go, with respect to whom his consecrators were obliged, as in the case of one generally and notoriously suspected of heresy, to institute an especial examination, and to insist upon a recantation. M. Gobat mounts his throne under the imputation of having published most dangerous doctrine, and of having been called upon to disavow and renounce it. The value of this fact is, were it possible, only to add one more shadow to the thick cloud with which, unhappily, the whole scheme has been from the first enveloped, and which time but renders more ominous and distressing.

The Bishop of Exeter has delivered a very solemn and dignified protest and appeal against any fresh appointment. Such is not the least of the many services which the Church owes to that firm-hearted Prelate. It cannot but tell. It is an act, we believe, without precedent; because the circumstances which called for it are also without precedent. It is subjoined to the present article (Appendix, No. II.): and whatever its immediate consequences, the very fact of such an appeal is of immense value. Mr. James Hope, in his unanswered pamphlet, has proved that, whatever the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishoprick is, it is not of the Church of England: it compromises us, as a Church, according to no canonical principle. It remains a single and isolated act, without authority. It proves nothing: for it is nothing; except an individual act upon the part of the consecrating Bishops. It is of no more theoretical importance than one of their lordship's charges: valuable and important, as a fact, involving individuals, but no more. The Church, in its synodical character, was not consulted: nay, everything has been done, which dutiful respect would admit, to disavow it. We do disavow it; we reclaim against it; we protest against it; we ignore it; we rejoice that the finger of God is visibly displayed against it; we repeat the prayer that it may come to nought, and be as though it had never been! And, according to our firm convictions of duty, we hold it to be the bounden obligation of all members of the Church to hold no offices of communion or fellowship with the Bishop at Jerusalem or his Presbyters: and here our responsibility is at an end. The Church has, by its Bishops and Presbyters, renounced the Jerusalem Bishoprick. We add but a single word, by way of suggesting the right view of the whole matter, which seems this:—

Here is a scheme with much antecedently in its favour; a generous and even religious sentiment which it embodied—crowned heads consenting—ministers of state providing—men of letters planning—the most active of our Prelates fostering—popularity and zeal all on its side. And yet, with all this, never was failure so total and complete—never was there any plan of which its promoters are so heartily ashamed—never was an experiment launched with better hopes—and never were hopes so signally, so unquestionably disappointed. What then is the lesson? That the Church of England has, by God's great mercy, that strong, vigorous principle of life within her, which enables her to cast off, and slough away, as by a spring and throb of quick healthy vitality, any excrescence, any anomaly, any accidental vice and temporary derangement, externally forced into, not growing out of, her system, like the Jerusalem Bishoprick.

APPENDIX.—No. I.

'The instruction, after a preface briefly treating on the points 'mentioned above—namely, the protection of all the subjects of 'both parties in the Turkish empire, without any distinction of 'creeds—proceeds in the following words:—

'THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMBASSADOR.

'Should the Government of Great Britain appear disposed, 'upon certain conditions, to enter with the King's Majesty into 'an engagement, from which the attainment of these objects 'may be rationally expected, his Majesty then entrusts his Ex-'traordinary Envoy in this special mission with the following 'commission:—

'The Envoy shall, in such form as is approved by the English 'ministry, and is strictly confidential, by means of a conference 'with the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of England, 'and the Bishop of London, as immediate head of the several 'congregations of the English Church in foreign parts, endea-'vour to ascertain

'In how far the English National Church, already in 'possession of a parsonage on the Mount Zion, and having 'commenced there the building of a church, would be in-'clined to accord to the Evangelical National Church of 'Prussia a sisterly position in the Holy Land.

'Inasmuch as an accord of this kind concerns the most deli-
'cate points of the national life of both peoples, and the subject
'itself is of such exceedingly high and holy interest, his Majesty
'considers it necessary, for the avoidance of all misunderstand-
'ings, to speak out plainly and openly the convictions by which
'he is guided.

'His Majesty, in the first place, proceeds on the conviction
'that Evangelical Christendom has in the East, and particularly
'in the Holy Land, no hope of full and lasting recognition; nor
'of blessed and continued fruit and extension, unless it presents
'itself in those countries as much as possible as one united body.

'In the first place, both Government and people in those
'countries have been accustomed to see those who acknowledge
'each other as co-religionists, appear, and act together, in their
'spiritual affairs, as one body, with a common discipline and
'order. Thus Judaism presents itself. Thus, also, the corpo-
'rations of the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians. If, therefore,
'Protestant Christendom were to present itself by the side of
'these, and demand recognition as an English Episcopal, a
'Scotch Presbyterian, an Evangelical-United, a Lutheran, a
'Reformed, a Baptist, or Independent community, and such like,
'the Turkish Government would certainly hesitate to grant
'such recognition, inasmuch as this act implies, for the heads of
'such recognised corporations, the highest political privileges.
'Thus, in the preceding month, the bishops of the various
'Christian communities of Syria, in Damascus, were summoned
'together, with the mufti and the cadi, to deliberate upon the
'future administration of government in the land; and to each
'it was granted to name five deputies, of his own confession, for
'the Supreme Administrative Council of Syria. Before the
'Porte can resolve to grant, even provisionally, such a position
'and such power to the different Evangelical congregations, it
'will first inquire after the number and condition of her subjects,
'who are members of each of the new corporations, and after
'the guarantees which a community of the kind can offer for its
'continuance: for it is of natives, subjects of the Sultan, that
'those privileged corporations have been, and are still, composed.
'But, at present, all Evangelical communities together can point
'only to a few individual natives who have joined them. It is
'true, that of late years, in Armenia and Beyrout, several—and
'some natives of consideration—have expressed themselves in-
'clined to come over to Evangelical Christianity, or to have
their children educated in it; but have been prevented, chiefly,
impossibility which the missionaries experience of granting
persons protection and safety. And yet it is as certain
quality with the ancient corporations must be demanded,

'without the power of exhibiting a sufficient number of persons 'of whom the new corporations are to be composed. But as to 'the guarantees, which they have a right to demand, what 'Government could and would grant them for such a crowd of 'communities? And, in this unwillingness, the Porte would, 'beyond all doubt, be confirmed by the solicitations of the 'already existing religious corporations. But, even looking away 'from this, to what disadvantage would Evangelical Christen-'dom, in such a state of division, appear beside the ancient 'Churches? Whatever these latter may want in internal life, 'they form a compact body, holden together by Church discipline, 'liturgy, and the apostolic-episcopal respect of their See, and 'operate, by the power of Church-unity, still more than by the 'advantage of immemorial possession.

'Such are the political reasons which have brought his 'Majesty to the conviction that, in this business, unity, in the 'first onset, must be the first, the indispensable condition of 'success for the Evangelical Church.

'But the conviction of his Majesty that, on the present occa-'sion, the Evangelic Church must come forward as one in faith, 'rests, essentially, upon still higher considerations. The shape 'which Turkish affairs have at present assumed—most certainly 'not without the overruling Providence of God, and especially 'the political position of England and Prussia, in reference 'thereto—have, for the first time, afforded Evangelical Chris-'tendom the possibility of demanding, as equal child of the 'universal Church of Christ, a position in the cradle of Christi-'anity and in the Holy Land, by the side of the primitive 'Churches of the East, and in the presence of the Roman 'Church, which would secure for the Gospel a free proclamation, 'and for the professors of evangelical truth, free confession, and 'equal protection. The present moment is an era in the history 'of the world; and, accordingly, as it is recognised and im-'proved, the Evangelical Church will be judged by history and 'by the Almighty. His Majesty entertains not a doubt, that 'the Evangelical Church owes it to herself, and to her Lord, at 'such a moment, and on such a theatre, not to present the 'stumbling-block of her disunion and dividedness; but, on the 'contrary, the good example of her unity in faith and her union 'in action. Her object in appearing there, beside the elder 'Church communities, and in the presence of Jews and Mahome-'tans, cannot be to persecute, to invade, to exclude—not to strive, 'to scatter, to dissolve; her wish cannot be to proclaim to the 'world her mission as a work of hatred and jealousy, but as a 'message of love, of peace, and of concord. How, then, can it 'be the will of her Lord that she should, for such a purpose,

'with such words in her mouth, on this her first appearance in 'the Holy Land, unfold the banner of internal separation and 'discord? Are not her missions already, besides being the pulse 'of her common life, so, also a witness of the difficulty, in such 'a state of isolation and separation, of founding churches 'properly so called, and of forming and conserving Christian 'nations? And where would this internal disease be revealed 'more sadly than in that land, where all Christian opposites are 'crowded together—in the face of the three Patriarchates, and 'the colony of Rabbies—in sight of the Mosque of Omar, and 'the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem? Is it not much 'rather in the purpose of God, that in their missions the feeling 'of the internal unity and concord of all the members of Evan- 'gelical Christendom should be kindled? May not, especially 'at the present moment, the favourite thought of the Church's 'Lord be this: that in the old land of promise, on the place of 'his earthly course, not only Israel should be led to the know- 'ledge of salvation, but also the individual Evangelical Churches, 'built upon the everlasting foundation of the Gospel, and upon 'the rock of faith in the Son of the living God—forgetting their 'divisions, remembering their unity—should offer to each other, 'over the cradle and the grave of the Redeemer, the hand of 'peace and concord?

'His Majesty, for his part, will not hesitate, on this occasion, 'in full confidence, to hold out his hand to the Episcopal Church 'of England, which combines, with evangelical principles, an 'historic constitution, and a church existence, significant of 'universality.

'His Majesty, in accordance with Apostolic Catholicity, and 'in expectation of similar dispositions on the part of the English 'Church, entertains no fear in expressing his readiness to allow 'the clergy and missionaries of his National Church, in all 'mission lands, where a bishoprick of this Church exists, to unite 'themselves with it; and, for this purpose, to obtain for them- 'selves episcopal ordination, which the English Church requires 'for admission to an office. His Majesty will take care that 'such ordination shall always be acknowledged and respected in 'his dominions.

'In the Holy Land, in particular, his Majesty is determined 'to do everything, which can on Christian principles be required, 'in order that united labours may be possible. The English 'Church is there in possession of an ecclesiastical foundation on Mount Zion, and his Majesty considers it to be the duty of all vangelical princes and communities to join this foundation, as e beginning and central point of conjoined operations; for s Majesty regards this as a ground of great hope for the

'futurity of evangelical Christendom. In the first place, their 'missions acquire thereby, throughout the extent of the whole 'Turkish empire, and in the primitive habitations of Chris-'tianity, a visible centre, and a living lever, whose power, once 'set in motion, will soon make itself felt even to Abyssinia and 'Armenia. But, besides this, another object of the utmost im-'portance, and most earnestly to be desired, will also be attained. 'In the simplest manner possible, a Christian neutral-ground 'will be acquired, far removed beyond the bounds of narrowing 'nationality; and upon which, with God's blessing, by the con-'joined operations of believing love, a gradual union of evan-'gelical Christians may be prepared with greater facility than 'under any other circumstances.

'Of course it cannot be his Majesty's intention, by such an 'union, to sacrifice or endanger the independent existence of the 'National Church of his country. According to his Majesty's 'view, an evangelic, true, and living representation of Catho-'licity, is that only which supposes this unity to be upholden by 'the divinely ordained multiplicity of tongues and peoples, and 'in accordance with the individuality and historic development 'of each several nation and country. Every National Church 'has, without doubt, like the people belonging to it, its own 'peculiar vocation in the great order and unfolding of the King-'dom of God. Yea, every narrower, smaller Christian commu-'nity in a Christian land, has undoubtedly, in like manner, the 'vocation and the duty to seek within the circle of the universal 'Church a peculiar sphere for the extension of love, and for 'which a particular opportunity and a particular blessing are 'given to her.

'But, especially, his Majesty, as German Prince, and King 'of his country, is penetrated with the liveliest persuasion, that 'the evangelical Christendom of the German people is called to 'occupy an independent position in every representation of such 'evangelic-apostolic catholicity, as long as the word of God is 'proclaimed in German speech, and His praise sung in the 'German tongue. His Majesty lives in the hope, especially, 'that in the present century the position of the evangelical 'Christendom of Germany, as soon as it becomes conscious of its 'vocation, will hold a position proportionate to the general in-'tellectual and political position of that people, from whom three 'hundred years ago the blessed work of the Reformation of the 'Church proceeded.

'In accordance with these convictions the above-mentioned 'confidential conference must be governed by two leading prin-'ciples. The one, the utmost possible unity of operation and 'labour in the Turkish empire, and especially in the Holy Land:

'the other, regard to the independent existence of the Evan-
'gelical German Church, and to the individuality of the German
'people.

'THAT THE ENGLISH CHURCH ERECT A BISHOPRIC OF ITS
'OWN at Jerusalem, the King's Majesty regards as first condition
'and beginning of combined operations. The foundation ap-
'pears already laid, as it were, by a special Providence. The
'first-fruits of the mission in Jerusalem warrant the fairest
'hopes. Its suspension and present melancholy condition[1] seem
'to render an episcopal arrangement in that place advisable and
'of urgent necessity. Nothing but episcopal superintendence
'and decision on the spot can be of any use: the subjection of
'the mission to a see at Malta would not appear to his Majesty
'either a satisfactory or a truly apostolic arrangement.

'The Bishopric to be erected at Jerusalem would, there-
'fore, connect itself with the foundation and buildings already
'begun on the Mount Zion, and comprehend all evangelical
'Christians willing to take part in it. The high-minded senti-
'ments, expressed very lately at a meeting of the friends of the
'Church of England, at which the venerable Archbishop of Can-
'terbury presided, appear to his Majesty a certain pledge, that
'the idea so truly Christian, and for the present times so neces-
'sary, of founding firm churches in mission countries, will in
'this matter, also, be realized in a manner worthy of the object.
'His Majesty is willing and disposed, when a bishoprick of this
'kind is founded, to allow one or more clergy and missionaries
'of his subjects, for the sake of the Jewish converts who speak
'German, and for the benefit of the evangelical Christians of the
'German language, to join this episcopal arrangement. As a
'manifestation of his sentiments, his Majesty will readily allow
'such persons to obtain ordination from the English Church.
'His Majesty specially desires to see this take place in Jeru-
'salem itself.

'With respect to the position of the Privy Counsellor of
'Legation, his Majesty herewith empowers him, under the
'before-mentioned conditions, to confer confidentially with the
'heads of the English Church.

'With these instructions, the King's Envoy left Sans Souci
on the 8th of June, 1841.'

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[1] [This alludes to the time when the Mission (except the Rev. J. Nicolayson) at Jerusalem, in consequence of the war, was broken up.]

APPENDIX.—No. II.

'PROTEST OF THE BISHOP OF EXETER AGAINST THE CONSECRATION OF A NEW BISHOP OF THE ENGLISH COMMUNION AT 'JERUSALEM.

'*To His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

'My Lord Archbishop,—Your Grace will need no assurances 'of the extreme reluctance with which, most respectfully, but 'most undoubtingly (for, if I doubted, I should say nothing), as 'a Bishop of the province of Canterbury, I hereby notify my 'dissent to the consecration of a successor to Bishop Alexander 'as a Bishop of the English Church at Jerusalem—if that con-'secration is indeed to proceed on the principles announced 'either in the "Statement by Authority," of 9th December, '1841, or in your Grace's "Letter to His Majesty the King of 'Prussia," dated 18th June, 1842, and published in the "Prus-'sian State Gazette" of 12th July of the same year.

'In taking this painful step, it is some consolation to me, that 'I am doing that which can cause to your Grace no surprise. 'So long ago as March 1842, in a brief personal communication 'which I had the honour of holding with you on this subject, 'and in my subsequent letter of the 13th of that month, I frankly 'stated the necessity, under which I felt myself placed, of ob-'jecting to the license given to Bishop Alexander to disregard 'some of the most important canons of the Church in which he 'was a Bishop—canons made for the express purpose of "secur-'ing uniformity of public worship," and "for the establishment 'of consent touching true religion." I ventured to represent, 'that nothing short of a synodical decree of the Church itself 'could sanction so wide a departure from its essential discipline.

'Your Grace, on the 30th of that month, was pleased to 'answer this my representation, by informing me that you '"feared that, if we waited for the determination of a synod 'lawfully assembled, the opportunity of making some effort 'towards the restoration of unity in the Catholic Church would 'be lost"—and, as you agreed in the opinion expressed by other 'Bishops, as well as by myself, that "it was not expedient to 'bring forwards in Parliament any measures connected with the 'subject,—you must endeavour to arrange matters in some other 'way."

'Having received this intimation of your Grace's intention, 'and anxiously awaiting the proceedings by which it would be 'fulfilled, I was, in the mean time, glad to feel myself excused 'from the painful duty of making any public declaration of my 'sentiments, in opposition to a measure, which, though already 'executed in the instance of Bishop Alexander, might yet admit 'of being recalled, or neutralized, or satisfactorily modified, in 'his case; which might, too, have no practical result—for we

'heard of no occasions calling for the exercise of powers so 'questionably conferred;—and which, therefore, seemed most 'unlikely to be repeated, if, as in the course of God's Providence 'has actually happened, Bishop Alexander should be withdrawn 'before any effectual method of removing difficulties and satis-'fying well-grounded objections had been provided.

'With these feelings—even to this the last moment, and till 'the very eve of the consecration, as is universally reported 'and believed, of a second Bishop of the Church of England and 'Ireland at Jerusalem—I have waited silently in hope that some 'measure would be taken, which might meet the objections, 'most distressing to me to entertain, against an act bearing on 'it the high and venerable sanction of your Grace's name.

'But, in the actual state of the matter, I have no alternative. 'I am bound by that duty, which your Grace would be the last 'to wish me to disregard, with all humility and deference, to 'remonstrate against a proceeding, which I am unable to reconcile 'with the fundamental laws on which the discipline of our 'Church is built, for the reasons which follow:—

'I. Because, while I fully recognise the duty of our Church 'to endeavour, by way of mission, to aid in the conversion of the 'Jews to the Christian faith, and while I dispute not the wisdom 'of conducting such a mission by a Bishop, especially conse-'crated for that service, or of fixing his residence at Jerusalem, 'with the consent of the Bishop of whose diocese it is part, I 'yet cannot perceive the lawfulness of consecrating him to be a 'Bishop in the Church of England and Ireland, and in the pro-'vince of Canterbury, without his coming under all the obliga-'tions of our own Episcopate, so that he be himself subjected to 'all of our Canons which are capable of being observed by him, 'and, at the same time, bound to enforce the observance of them 'upon all within his jurisdiction.

'II. Because the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Arch-'bishop of York, being empowered to consecrate a subject of any 'foreign kingdom, or state, to be a Bishop in a foreign country, 'without requiring him to take the oaths of allegiance and 'supremacy, or the oath of obedience to the Archbishop,—'required to be taken by every one who is consecrated to be a 'Bishop in the Church of England,—a subject of a foreign state 'might be consecrated in order to his being a Bishop at Jeru-'salem, for the purpose of his conducting such a mission, without 'its being declared or implied that he was to be a Bishop of the

lish Church; and so there is no necessity, for the purposes
mission, that any of those Canons should be disobeyed.
anomaly, indeed, and, it may be, the unfitness, of such
ding, I cannot be insensible, nor would I be understood
mend it; but it would at least be free from the fearful

'evil of consigning our discipline to manifest and direct infrac-
'tion at the hands of the Bishop himself.

'III. Because the "hope" expressed in the "Statement by
'Authority" of 9th Dec. 1841, "that, under the Divine Blessing,
'the establishment at Jerusalem of a Bishop of the Church of
'England and Ireland may lead to an essential unity of disci-
'pline, as well as of doctrine, between our own Church and
'what are there called "the less perfectly constituted of the
'Protestant Churches of Europe," does not justify the seeking
'of that object, however desirable it may be, by any unlawful
'means,—such as abandoning, without due authority, the
'requirements of our own Canons. This expedient seems, on
'the contrary, more likely to lower and corrupt our own Church,
'than to elevate and purify the defective position of others—
'nay, in the present instance, to bring into question the Catholic
'character of our Church, by exhibiting it at Jerusalem in union
'with Christian bodies, whose Catholicity has been specially
'denied by the Greek Church; and thus, instead of being "the
'means of establishing relations of amity between our own
'Church and the ancient Churches of the East," it can hardly
'fail to render that desired result more hopeless than before.

'IV. Because particular acts, to be done by the Bishop at
'Jerusalem, as specified in the same "Statement," are in direct
'violation of the canons of our Church. He is to require, or to
'permit, "German clergymen ordained by him, and residing
'within his jurisdiction, to officiate there in congregations" of
'German Protestants "according to the forms of their national
'Liturgy, compiled from the ancient Liturgies, agreeing," it is
'said, "in all points of doctrine with the Liturgy of the English
'Church,"—a Liturgy, however, which, if credit may be given
'to others who have publicly reported of it,[1] cannot but be
'deemed grievously defective in more than one momentous par-
'ticular.—Especially, it is said, to banish the term "Catholic"
'from the description of "the Church" in the Apostles' Creed,
'and from the designation of "The Faith" in the Athanasian.

'Again, in the highest act of Christian Worship, or rather in
'the exercise of the highest Christian privilege,—the celebration
'of the Lord's Supper—that German Liturgy seems to exclude
'the consecration of the elements by Christ's minister, doing,
'after Christ's ordinance, as Christ himself did—and instead
'thereof, invites the people to "hear attentively the words of
'the institution."

'It delivers those elements, not that we, receiving them, may
'be partakers of our Saviour Jesus Christ's most blessed body
'and blood—not that that body, and that blood, may preserve

[1] [For a full account of this Liturgy we refer to the Christian Remembrancer, No. XLVII, for January, 1845.]

'our body and soul unto everlasting life—but as a mere memo-
'rial, or little more than a memorial, of our Lord's death, and
'as a means of strengthening our faith;—and it adopts a formula
'of delivery still more jejune than that which, rejected by our
'own Church as insufficient nearly three centuries ago, may not
'now be reproduced, within its borders, by any less authority
'than a decree of the Church itself.

'V. Because, according to the "Statement published by
'authority, 9th December, 1841," "Germans, intended for the
'charge of the congregations above described," "while they are
'to be ordained according to the Ritual of the English Church,
'and to sign the Articles of that Church," nevertheless, "in
'order that they may not be disqualified by the laws of Germany
'to officiate to German congregations, are to exhibit to the
'Bishop a certificate of their having subscribed the Confession of
'Augsburg."

'For highly as we all must honour this distinguished monu-
'ment of the moderation and sobriety of those of the early
'German Reformers who compiled it, we cannot recognise in it
'that identity, or even entire consistency, of doctrines with those
'of our own Church, without which subscription to both is
'irreconcileable with sincere and honest subscription to either.

'Such an expedient, pure and laudable as must have been the
'motive which dictated it, can hardly fail to encourage that
'vicious laxity in dealing with men's most solemn engagements
'to the Church, and in interpreting the terms of its Articles,
'not after their "true, usual, and literal meaning," but in some
'"non-natural sense," which has been, of late, the abundant
'source of afflictions and disgraces to our Church.

'VI. Because, in the more recent document, the 'Letter to
'His Majesty the King of Prussia,' while this two-fold subscrip-
'tion to inconsistent tests of doctrine is avoided, a proceeding
'has been substituted (in manifest violation of our canons) which
'is open to objections scarcely less cogent.

'"Young divines, candidates for the pastoral office in the
'German Church," "as soon as the Bishop has satisfied himself
'of the qualifications of the candidate for the especial duties of
'his office, of the purity of his faith, and of his desire to receive
'ordination from the hands of the Bishop," are to be ordained
'by him, on subscribing the three Creeds—the Apostles', the
'Nicene, and the Athanasian.

'Thus, our Church, in respect to these its ministers, will be
'eprived of the one great security, which its law imperatively
'mands from all, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions,
l for the establishing of consent touching true religion." And
s is done in the expressed "hope, that it may lead the way
an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine,

'between our own Church and" (what is designated by the 'Prussian Government as) "the United German National 'Church of Evangelical Faith."

'VII. And, lastly, because this "United German Church," 'to which the Church of England and Ireland would be thus 'made to unite itself, is a new, and, until these few years, an 'unheard-of, denomination. Even now, its existence is unknown 'to us in any ecclesiastical way, being announced merely in 'Royal Edicts and State Gazettes.

'It does not appear to be even a society—much less a '"National Church," compacted of the various particular 'Churches within the territory,—or a specified integrant portion 'of the territory—of the same temporal government, acting 'together as one—under a Catholic and Apostolic Hierarchy— 'professing the one Catholic Faith, and subjected to an Apostolic 'discipline. It seems, rather, to be a mere political comprehen- 'sion of individuals and communities, having no bond of union, 'except one common reclamation against Rome, and a general 'adoption of the Christian name.

'But even from this (so-called) Church—from the people, at 'least, and the ministers within it—there have appeared no 'public indications of a wish for union with us—no sense of its 'being "a less perfectly constituted Church" than our own— 'no feeling of defect to be supplied—above all, no disposition to 'purchase communion, or even cooperation with us, by recog- 'nising any new authority, or submitting themselves to any new 'discipline. Against such a result, essential as it is to the due 'execution of the measure, the popular voice of Germany is said 'to be loud and general.

'For all these reasons, while I highly honour the Catholic 'spirit, which, longing after a more intimate and more extended 'union with other portions of Christendom, has prompted the 'experiment, I deprecate the repetition of it; and, accordingly, 'I hereby notify my dissent to the Consecration of a successor 'to Bishop Alexander, as Bishop of the Church of England and 'Ireland, at Jerusalem.

'Given under my hand this twenty-fifth day of May, one 'thousand eight hundred and forty six.

'HENRY, BISHOP OF EXETER.'

APPENDIX.—No. III.

'In consequence of the apprehensions which appeared to be 'entertained in many quarters, in regard to Mr. Gobat's doc- 'trinal views, as indicated in his "Journal of a Three Years' 'Residence in Abyssinia," published in 1834, it has been judged 'proper that an opportunity should be given to Mr. Gobat of 'expressing plainly his sentiments on the points in question.

'With this view, a paper has been drawn up, containing a 'full statement of all the points which, on a careful examination 'of the volume referred to, had appeared open to doubt, and has 'been placed in his hands by the Lord Bishop of London.

'Mr. Gobat has laid before his Lordship a statement, in which 'he explains the peculiar circumstances that might be pleaded 'in favour of an indulgent construction of expressions which he 'had used in his Journal, and which, under circumstances other 'than those in which he was placed, might be objectionable, and 'declares explicitly his entire and cordial acceptance of the for-'mularies of the Church of England.

'He states that, knowing how the Abyssinians had, for 'several generations, been losing all their time in metaphysical 'discussion, to the utter neglect of the practical parts of Scrip-'ture, he had resolved from the beginning to avoid, as much as 'possible,' entering into such discussions; although it was a 'matter of no small self-denial to him, to impose upon himself 'the necessity of abstaining even from the use of arguments, 'which he would otherwise have employed, drawn by inference 'from Scripture. He pleads a claim for some allowance in 'regard to his manner of expression, considering that he was 'using a language not his own, and which is in itself poor and 'imperfect. He had, moreover, only short moments for writing, 'and could not state at full length the various questions and 'observations to which his remarks alluded, much less the ex-'planations which he frequently made of his own remarks. He 'did not write for publication, although he supposed that the 'Society by which he was employed might publish some ex-'tracts. He refers to his admission to Deacon's orders last year, 'as an occasion on which he cheerfully signed the Articles; and 'expressed, in the presence of the Bishop, his entire concordance 'with the formularies of the Church of England. He declares 'that he subscribes from his heart the Thirty-nine Articles, and 'the three Creeds, according to their natural and grammatical 'sense; and, in particular, that he fully subscribes to the lan-'guage of the second Article, in regard to the doctrine con-'cerning our Blessed Lord, and to that of the twenty-seventh 'Article, concerning Baptism.

'The Lord Bishop of London had signified that he should not 'think of admitting Mr. Gobat to priest's orders until both his 'Lordship himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury were fully 'satisfied on the points in question. The statement made by 'Mr. Gobat has been laid by his Lordship before the Arch-'shop, and is entirely satisfactory to his Grace as well as to Bishop of London.

me 11*th*, 1846.'

NOTICES.

'SUGGESTIONS offered to the Theological Student under present Difficulties. Five Discourses, preached before the University of Oxford. By A. C. Tait, D.C.L. Head Master of Rugby School.' (Murray.) Dr. Tait writes in the tone of a prophet, and prepares us for an approaching conflict between religion and infidelity. The prophecy is one which many serious minds are making now, and we are thankful to Dr. Tait for his additional note of warning. But does he not in some respects conjure up a world of his own around him, and create religious destinies too quickly? Dr. Tait has cleared the ground before we are at all aware; and he informs us that, the Church-school of theology having altogether evanesced and ceased to exist among us, he is anxious to fill up the vacuum occasioned by its disappearance, by 'some intelligible, enlightened, and well-grounded Protestant system,' which he intends to draw out. In the mean time, the danger is imminent. 'A transition state is one of great anxiety.' German Rationalism is invading the ground which traditionary theology has quitted; and we are exhorted to arm ourselves immediately against the foe.

The weapon to be used in this emergency is exegetical criticism. 'If 'infidelity is to be resisted, it can only be by our opposing the true criticism 'to the false, and being able to bring as great an amount of philological 'and historical knowledge and deep research to aid the cause of Christ's 'truth, as are sure to be employed in the assaults by which it is menaced.' Dr. Tait will pardon us if we state our opinion, that the struggle of religion and infidelity will not be settled by the quantity of 'philological and historical knowledge' which either side may bring to bear; and that we rather doubt the expediency of setting a whole generation of young men to work, examining the foundations, and analyzing the structure of Scripture, with the declared and conscious view that they are doing it in order to ascertain and exhibit its truth, supposed to be dubious. We think that such a plan as this is likely to make more infidels than it cures. It puts minds into an artificial and external position toward Scripture to begin with, and accustoms them to the sense of doubt. That it is necessary for particular persons, at particular eras, to enter upon this field of inquiry we do not deny. But let the champion arise when he is wanted, and let him be the person whom Providence marks out. An individual may have his clear call to such a field of labour; and, if he has, it will be a natural field to him, and we may trust that his mind will be sustained and kept from harm. But the critic made by natural gift and calling, and a whole generation of Biblical philosophical critics made by a system, are two different things. May we be mercifully preserved from the latter. The Church should pray for deliverance from them, as sincerely as from any one of the Egyptian plagues; from hail and murrain, lice and frogs. Still less do we agree with Dr. Tait in thinking it expedient that the working Clergy of the country, 'the direct teachers of Christ's word,' should prepare themselves for their parish duties and village sermons, by reading German books, and toiling through the foolish impieties of rationalists, and the answers to them. Dr. Tait may say, that

'practical and speculative divinity are indissolubly connected,' but it is to be hoped that such speculative inquiries as these need not form part of the practical teaching of our clergy, else we shall begin to tremble for the orthodoxy of the population at large.

Dr. Tait appears, in short, with the most honest militant intentions in the cause of truth, to be creating a foe and a combatant of his own. He comes straight from his German library, and his imagination creates a German scene around him. He sees the Anglican domain convulsed with a struggle between rationalists and exegetists; and a new body of English Clergy rises before his mind, formed on the type of the Lutheran pastor, and German Biblical critic and speculator.

Those who are acquainted with the tone of our youth in the Universities will be disposed, for example, to smile at one specimen in this volume of the author's easy transference of German propensities to the English mind. Dr. Tait thinks, that when young men read Niebuhr for lecture, they must instantly think of applying Niebuhr's principles to the Scripture narrative: that they begin to doubt immediately about Abraham: that they must, therefore, forthwith swallow an antidote in the shape of some large volumes of Biblical criticism. Now is not Dr. Tait's Germanism arguing here, rather than his eye looking? He thinks young men *ought*, as youthful philosophers, to do what he supposes them to do; and therefore he makes them do so. He converts our Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates into German students. But they are not German students. They are not youthful philosophers in this sense: long may it be before they are. We believe they will let Niebuhr say very much what he likes about Rome, and that it will no more occur to them to trouble their heads about the history of Abraham in consequence, than to do any other odd and out of the way thing. Dr. Tait may even suggest the idea to them, as indeed he does in this volume. He may take great pains to persuade them that they ought to admit critical doubts into their minds, in order that they may understand the critical answers to them. But he will, if we are not mistaken, see his hint fall upon incongenial material, and find his philosophical alarm and philosophical rescue equally unnecessary.

'The Godly Sayings of the Ancient Fathers upon the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Edited by the Rev. C. J. Daniel, M.A., late Curate of South Hackney.' London: Rivingtons. 1846. 12mo. p. 153. We cannot comprehend why any person should have thought such a book as 'Veron's Godly Sayings' worth reprinting. It must be the very mania alone of seeing one's own name upon the title as 'Editor' which can account for it. Nobody now cares who Veron was, or what he wrote: and although Mr. Daniel assumes that 'the readers of this generation would anxiously inquire into the particulars of his history,' if they could but be found, we are quite sure that, by the republication of this trumpery old book, he will quite put a stop to any further curiosity about its author. To be sure it is in black letter; that is, the original edition; and, as Mr. Daniel very accurately observes, it was written at 'Hackney;' but that scarcely is sufficient reason with any one but ex-curates of Hackney, to look upon it, unless it has intrinsic merits, as a 'precious gem.' Heartily do we wish, for the credit

of the editor, that he had but left it still 'in its concealment,' and allowed the tongue which, having been dead some three hundred years, is, as we are not prepared to deny, 'silent in the grave,' still to remain so.

We do not hesitate to call Veron's book a wicked and deliberate falsehood: at the end he assures his readers (we do not see why we should trouble ourselves with the old spelling), 'Here ye have the opinions and sayings of the old ancient fathers upon the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, compendiously set forth;' and a side-note tells us that they amount to this: 'We feed daily upon the body and blood of Christ spiritually in the reading and hearing of the Scripture.' Who does not recognise here the old and often-refuted heresy of the Elizabethan Puritans? The catena of patristic authorities is but scanty; nor do those whom Veron has cited say what he would wish to make them. S. Augustine does *not* baldly say, speaking of the Eucharist, that 'the mysticall bread and drink is the fellowship of the faithful:' nor does he say, 'that the Sacrament is not the very body of Christ;' nor, that 'to believe in Christ is to eat his body and to drink his blood.' And so we might go through the whole. But take only, again, S. Chrysostom,—Veron would have that father tell us, that 'superfluous cost in churches is discommended,' and that 'no man was ever blamed because he had not builded gorgeous churches.' Not that we can see how this has much to do with the doctrine of the blessed Eucharist: but it quite shows the spirit and object of this book.

One thing is clear, and for this we thank Mr. Daniel, that in the compass of what might fairly be printed, (if long blank spaces and blank pages were omitted,) in a single sheet of common octavo, are collected all the 'sayings' of the old ancient fathers, who, whether they were speaking of the Holy Eucharist, or of anything else the most opposite, might, by some perverse twist, be made to look like the heresies of the Calvinists and Zuinglians. But let us ask Mr. Daniel, whether he has verified the quotations? This is the first, the indispensible duty of an editor, in these days so much coveted. Has he done this? We plainly, unhesitatingly say, he has not; and that the book is utterly worthless and contemptible in every respect: for this removes all claim which it might otherwise have had to some consideration and reply; and relieves us from the necessity, if we thought any of our readers required it, of vindicating the great fathers whose names (and no more) have been thus shamefully abused.

And so we take our leave of John Veron. We should not have thought his book worth more than a single line, had it not been for its title. People are naturally anxious to know as much as they can what the old fathers really did teach; and we should have been wanting in our duty if we had not put them somewhat on their guard in this instance. His editor, we grieve to say, has sadly committed himself. If ever we have again to notice him, we trust it will be upon some occasion more creditable to himself. In spite of his telling us that 'in 1559 the English Service Book first came into use,' we cannot but hope he is capable of something better. If, also, he would be pleased with the praise of having carefully reprinted the original edition, and accurately retained the old spelling, this we gladly give: whether any schoolboy might not have done as much is an obvious question.

'Glendearg Cottage. By Miss Christmas.' Who would suspect, under so innocent and picturesque a title, a series of disquisitions on the Thirty-nine Articles? We are reminded of those ingenious devices at old courtly banquets, where the fierce dwarf-knight, armed *cap-à-pié*, issued from beneath an innocent pie-crust. It is said that the cardinals, at a pontifical election, receive during their temporary incarceration and seclusion, from all mundane influences, at their second course at dinner, a number of beautiful sugared tarts, containing diplomatic intelligence, and notes from foreign powers. We are afraid the Thirty-nine Articles make about as good story-telling, as Prince Metternich's despatches make good eating. However, the authoress is bold, and introduces us into a delightful social circle, talking continuously about the Articles: one young gentleman especially devotes himself to the agreeable task of explaining them to a fair cousin. Somebody has told us that Love has many languages; otherwise, we should not have thought that the language of our Formularies would have suited him. Such is the fact, however. Charles Newton becomes more and more agreeable, the Articles more and more lucid every day, till at last Catherine Howard is at once quite orthodox and engaged. Excepting those peculiar combinations, we have no fault to find with this well intended little book.

'Dryburgh Abbey, and other Poems, by Rev. Thomas Agar Holland, M.A.' Dryburgh Abbey is *young* poetry republished. We recognise among the epigrams at the end, one or two that have already attained an oral circulation. We will quote an antigeological one, containing a subtle argument and asking certainly a hard question.

'*On the Preadamite system of geology.*

Some sages have assign'd an earlier birth
To the prime strata of the concrete earth
Than Heav'n-taught Moses dared; yet have not stated
How *old* was *adult* Adam when created.'

'The Palace of Fantasy. By T. S. Hardy.' (Smith and Elder.) An easy and flowing imitation of the old romance style. But poetical imitations generally want the poetical substance and reality: there is something hollow in them. Even the best of them are apt to be mere reflections—mirrors—surfaces; a sort of Barmecidal poetical food.

'Laneton Parsonage' is no unworthy successor of 'Amy Herbert.' The same simple, unpretending style is the channel of the same quiet and gentle stream of Christian feeling. Though professedly illustrative of the Catechism, there is none of that formal division and carefully-marked application which so generally render books of this class wearisome and repelling. Indeed, it requires some ingenuity to trace the thread of the design throughout. The chief part of the volume consists in conversations; but these are so well broken up and diversified, that they never become tedious; and there is sufficient interest in the story to give the whole a unity of effect. We read with pleasure the concluding hint on the probability of ther volume.

small edition of the 'Book of Ecclesiasticus' has been published in a rate form by Burns. Its object, so we learn from an Advertisement, is

'to bring more prominently into notice the striking lessons of heavenly wisdom which this sacred book contains.' Of such an object we cannot but approve, as well as of other minor ends which we happen to know that the editor had in view in this little undertaking. Still our only doubt is whether it may not, though unintentionally, give an encouragement to such productions as the 'Beauties of the Bible,' which we had occasion recently to disapprove of: and which cannot be too strongly condemned as at least bordering on irreverence.

There is no more difficult historical period for a tale than that of the first three centuries: and the mixture of heathenism and Christianity leads writers of various acquirements either to make their stories the mere vehicle of antiquarianism in the attempt to reproduce classical scenery and costume,—or simply to clothe the manners of our own times with ancient names. The one is an affectation—the other a slovenliness. We are by no means sure that either the writer of 'Valerius,' or of that very clever work, 'Rome under Paganism and the Popes,' has escaped the former mistake: specimens of the other fault abound. On the whole we think the author, or authoress, of the 'Captive Maiden' (Sharpe) has successfully avoided these dangers. The story is neither tedious nor unreal: and, aware of the great truth, that the Cross produces the same tone and temper in all ages, we are not wearied with exaggerations of feeling and incident which, because they are not of the nineteenth, some writers expect us to believe might have been of the third, century. The language is simple, yet, when needful, affecting: but, what we most approve, there are some very vigorous, perhaps the more vigorous because unassuming, touches of dramatic-drawing in this pretty little book. We think the sketch of Eudamia quite a character: it lives, and affects the readers in a very positive way. And her austere, and as it would seem to the world, unimpassioned and cold reserve, is quite true to the Gospel idea of Christian purity. The contrasts, too, are well balanced, without any exaggeration and violence of colouring. We recommend this tale highly.

'A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East. Appendix to the volume entitled, "The Doctrine of the Russian Church. Recently published by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, M.A., Chaplain to the Russia Company in Cronstadt."'—An ably drawn and interesting catena, from Anglican divines, on the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church. It comprises, in a compendious form, the substance of the catenæ which have been published during the last few years; besides valuable additions.

Mr. C. E. Kennaway has published a volume of poems. (Rivingtons.) They are very unequal: so unequal as to surprise us that one who could write the really fine lines on the 'Crucifix,' p. 12, should be guilty of such poor sentimentalism as 'My Father,' p. 80, or some equally lean semi-religious substitutes for 'Oh no, we never mention her,'—'The Canadian Boat Song,'—or 'Love in thine eyes.' Mr. Kennaway is only at present preluding; he seems to be trying all styles, from the sinew of George Herbert down to the fluttering gracefulness of Moore. But he has that within which we thi-

will make a poet, if he trusts himself, his own good sense and right-mindedness, on the most important subjects. Let him husband his powers: write less, and when he writes, less diffusely. Let him not attempt to poetize on every insignificant subject, but be assured that thought and labour are required if poetry is to be anything better than an amusement. At present we suspect that Mr. Kennaway does not rate the poetic art so high as we have a right to claim of those who publish. Powers he has, and those of no common kind: we take leave to suggest that one who does possess powers should, in his own person, show that he reverences the gift. Mr. Kennaway, with a temerity almost reaching affectation, has written some sonnets on scenes connected with railways, and with very considerable success.

Our calculations with respect to the present number of this Review have been much deranged by circumstances. Although we have exceeded our ordinary quantity by more than four sheets, we are compelled to exclude most of the matter which occurs in this department of "Notices," as well as the Index, &c. of the last volume. We feel it right to account in this way for the postponement of our reviews of several very important works, to which, however, we shall seek occasion to recur. Such are Mr. William Palmer's Essay on Development, in reply to Mr. Newman (Rivingtons), of which the first part only has appeared—Mr. Allies's valuable work, 'The Church of England vindicated from the Charge of Schism' (Burns)—the reprint, with important additions, of Spelman on Sacrilege (Masters)—the translation, in three vols, of Strauss's 'Life of Christ' (Chapman), with an original Latin Preface, in which the author, with especial reference to the failure in this country of Mr. Hennell's publications, anticipates the like success for his own work. This is at least creditable to his estimate of the English mind. Also Mr. Charles Wordsworth's 'Sermons on Christian Boyhood at a Public School,' (Rivingtons;) Dr. Whewell's 'Lectures on Systematic Morality,' (J. W. Parker.) We group together what we deem the chief publications of the quarter, because they will naturally require a more extended notice than we can at present give.

Last quarter we omitted to notice a very useful 'Letter to the Bishop of London' from Mr. Cyril Page (Rivingtons). That the interest of the occasion has passed which called for this publication, although it makes the present notice superfluous, must be attributed to the admirable sense and caution which Mr. Page displayed in the management of an affair which required much delicacy and skill. These qualities we feel it right, however tardily, to acknowledge.

'Sermons on the Seen and Unseen, by the Rev. E. Caswall, M.A.' (Burns.) These sermons have simple language, but deep ideas. One main line of thought pervades them; the one conveyed in the title. The idea of an 'unseen' world is made to penetrate, quietly but effectually, the reader's mind. He is made to feel that the mysteries of the Christian religion are realities; that the Incarnation of our Lord, and our own
eneration through it; the elevation of our nature, and our new exist-
n a spiritual and angelic world,—are real facts, though invisible ones,
ould be always in our thoughts. The tone of preaching is that which
ristian Church cultivates—spiritual, dogmatic, ethical.

Of Sermons and Tracts we have to acknowledge:—'The Practical Doctrine of the Incarnation,' by Mr. Heathcote, of New College. (J. H. Parker.) —'The Treasure in Earthen Vessels; a Farewell Discourse at Lincoln's Inn,' by Mr. C. B. Dalton. (Sharpe.) 'The Theory of Development briefly considered,' by Mr. Gresley. (Burns.) 'The Scandal of Permitted Heresy; an Address by Mr. Wray of Liverpool,' (Batty;) which has attracted considerable notice. 'Brethren, pray for us; by Mr. Stafford Brown.' (Dyer.) 'An Assize Sermon; by Mr. George Sandby.' (Bailliere.) 'A Visitation Sermon; by Mr. T. C. Haddon.' (Deighton.) 'A Visitation Sermon; by Mr. Hutchinson.' (J. W. Parker.) 'Church Union; preached at Brooklyn, New York, by Mr. Johnson.' (Van Anden.) 'The Church a Debtor to all the World; by the Bishop of New Jersey.' (Morris.) 'An Historical Address,' also, 'by Bishop Doane.' (Morris.) 'Tracts for Scottish Christians: No. I.' (Edwards and Hughes.) 'Family Prayers; by the Curate of Morwenstow.' (Bray.) 'The Church Sunday-school Magazine;' (Harrison, Leeds;) and a work above all comment, whose 'praise is in all the churches,' Dr. Pusey's edition of Scupoli's most practical, and awakening, and consolidating work, 'The Spiritual Combat.' (Burns.)

We have received the following letters, with reference to a statement made on the authority of M. Souvestre, in our article on 'Brittany,' (No. LI. p. 151,) that a chapel exists near Treguier, dedicated to *Notre Dame de la Haine*, with a corresponding cultus. The attention of the Bishop of St. Brieuc was called to Souvestre's assertion, which, in the subjoined letter, he distinctly denies, and strengthens his denial by a letter from a clergyman long resident at Treguier, the principal of the Ecclesiastical Seminary there. We give the contradiction as it is made; it is, of course, of the highest authority. We will only take the liberty of observing, that M. D'Urvoy's explanation of the *origin* of the story does not appear to us satisfactory. That M. Souvestre is, we believe, a Breton born and bred, and professes to have taken the greatest care in collecting and verifying his information by continual and familiar intercourse with the peasantry;—and that it appears to us quite possible that a detestable and shameful superstition should lurk among a rude people, without their publicly acknowledging it, or talking about it. It would be very hard to make the clergy responsible for every superstition among their people; neither does M. Souvestre do so in this instance.

Evêché de St.-Brieuc. I.

St.-Brieuc, le 28 *Février*, 1846.

Monsieur,—Ce que M. Emile Souvestre raconte dans son livre intitulé *Les derniers Bretons* d'une chapelle dediée *à N. D. de la Haine*, laquelle chapelle existerait près de Tréguier, petite ville de mon Diocèse, est pure

invention, et ce qu'il raconte à ce sujet noire calomnie. Malgré les connaissances que je possédais déjà par moi-même sur toute cette accusation inique contre une population chrétienne et bien moins superstitieuse que d'autres populations dont on vante la civilisation avancée, mais qui ont à peu près perdu la foi, j'ai voulu cependant prendre à cet égard de nouveaux renseignements sur le lieu même, et je me suis adressé pour cela au supérieur de mon petit séminaire de Tréguier. Je viens de recevoir sa réponse, et je m'empresse de vous la transmettre. Il est bon de vous faire observer que cet ecclésiastique, âgé maintenant de 53 ans, est à Tréguier depuis environ trente ans, et qu'il n'a pas cessé de l'habiter. Il s'est beaucoup occupé de l'histoire du pays, des mœurs de ses habitants, des monuments, &c. C'est assez vous dire qu'il mérite un peu plus de créance qu'un jeune homme qui n'a peut-être jamais passé par le pays de Tréguier, et qui, sur quelques propos, entendus ici ou là dans les auberges ou les voitures publiques, aura cru faire merveille et rendre son livre très-piquant, en édifiant contre toute une population une histoire mensongère; dans le but apparemment de décocher quelques traits contre la religion et surtout d'attirer le blâme sur le clergé du pays, comme entretenant dans le peuple d'indignes et noires superstitions, ou du moins comme ne travaillant pas avec assez de zèle et de vigueur à les détruire. Je le repète, Monsieur, en finissant, nos Bretons ne sont pas superstitieux comme on le suppose gratuitement, et je soutiens que de tous les pays de la France, la Bretagne est l'un des moins superstitieux. Paris, si éclairé, et sa banlieue, sont beaucoup plus superstitieux. Si je prends un ton aussi affirmatif, c'est parce que j'ai examiné, et que j'ai pu comparer. J'ajoute que les nouveaux écrits sur la Bretagne ne sont que des romans. Nous nous amusons ici des innombrables bévues qu'ils présentent. Les géographes ne travestissent pas moins notre province que nos soit-disant historiens modernes. C'est pitié en vérité que de vouloir parler d'un grand peuple et d'un grand pays sans avoir étudié à fond et le pays et le peuple qui l'habite!

Je suis avec une consideration toute particulière, et en vous félicitant de votre amour pour la cause de notre sainte religion,

Monsieur, votre très-humble et obéissant serviteur,

(L. S.) ✠ J. Jn. Pierre, Ev. de St.-Brieuc.

Monsieur Charles-Ernest Ponge, Clerc tonsuré
au Séminaire de St.-Sulpice à Paris.

II.

Ecole Ecclésiastique
de
Tréguier.

Tréguier, 27 Février, 1846.

Monseigneur,—Vous me demandez des renseignements sur un passage de l'ouvrage intitulé *Les Derniers Bretons*, par Emile Souvestre. Pour repondre avec plus de clarté, je vais le reproduire ici. Ce que je peux faire tant plus facilement, qu'ayant lu l'ouvrage il y a six ans, je fus si frappé ule de ce passage que j'en pris note.

ci donc textuellement:—

Chapelle dediée à N. D. de la Haine existe toujours près de Tré-

guier : et le peuple n'a pas cessé de croire à la puissance des prières qui y sont faites. Par fois encore, vers le soir, on voit des ombres honteuses se glisser furtivement vers ce triste édifice placé au haut d'un côteau sans verdure. Ce sont de jeunes pupilles, lassés de la surveillance de leur tuteur ; des vieillards, jaloux de la prospérité d'un voisin ; des femmes, froissées par le despotisme d'un mari, qui vienne là prier pour la mort de l'objet de leur haine. Trois *Ave* dévotement repétés amènent irrévocablement cette mort dans l'année.' (Tom. i. p. 264.)

Sur cela vous me faites deux questions, 1°. Est-il vrai qu'il existe près de Tréguier une chapelle dediée à Notre Dame de la Haine? Non : il n'en existe aucune ; et l'on n'en trouve aucun trace, aucun souvenir dans toute l'histoire de Tréguier, ni de ses environs.

2°. Le peuple de Tréguier a-t-il réellement la superstition que lui attribue E. Souvestre? Non : le peuple de Tréguier, au contraire, a temoigné une grande surprise, et une grande indignation, en apprenant ce que l'auteur se permettait d'inventer et de débiter ainsi sur son compte. Et, en réalité, lorsqu'on lit son ouvrage, on voit que cet écrivain a souvent pris ses renseignements dans les cafés et les billiards plutôt que dans des sources authentiques ; et qu'ensuite il s'amuse à travestir les choses, faisant des récits de fantaisie et d'imagination, où il cherche bien plus à faire des facéties qu'à établir la vérité historique. Jeune homme, à peine sorti de l'école, tout en lui vise au roman ; ses idées sont singulières, ses sentimens exagérés, et son style plein d'enluminures et d'affectation.

Mais quel objet a pu lui donner le thême de sa burlesque histoire? Le voici probablement. Il y a sur la rive opposée au quai de Tréguier un oratoire, sous le titre de *Saint Yves de Vérité*. L'amour de la justice dont était pénétré le saint et savant magistrat, le zèle et le dévouement avec lesquels il défendait les opprimés, sont demeurés tellement gravés dans les esprits, que, dans des cas d'injuste oppression ou de procès inique, on l'a invoqué spécialement dans ce lieu pour obtenir de Dieu par son entremise que la vérité fut connue, et l'injustice condamnée. Voilà un culte et un oratoire qui sont connus ici. Mais pour la Chapelle de Notre Dame de la Haine, et sa bisarre superstition, elles sont de la création de M. E. Souvestre et réellement sorties de son imagination fantasque. Car ici on ne trouve rien du pareil, ni dans le passé, ni dans le présent.

Veuillez bien agréer, Monseigneur, les hommages respectueux de votre très humble et tout dévoué serviteur,

J. M. URVOY.

Vu pour certifier véritable
la signature de M. l'Abbé Urvoy.

St. Brieuc, le 27 Février, 1846,

(L. S.) ✠ J. JN. PIERRE, EV. DE ST.-BRIEUC.

BUNSEN ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.[1]

To the Editor of the Christian Remembrancer.

My Dear Sir,—You ask me whether a statement in another periodical is correct, that Chevalier Bunsen looks upon the ages of the patriarchs as being periods and phases of civilization, not literal years; and whether he takes a rationalistic view of this portion of the sacred history?

It is painful to speak thus of one who is known to us by the employments of earlier years—the compilation of pious hymns and of public prayers, superior to what the Germans yet possessed. But when one comes among us to introduce a very grave ecclesiastical change, and bring our Church into relations with religious bodies, such as it never yet entered into, the English Church may justly desire to know what the religious belief of the individual is, who recommends to her a great religious change in her relations, were his plan carried out,—which God avert!

This work of Chevalier Bunsen touches only incidentally upon the history of the Bible, and much more is contained in the way of implication, or of general principle, than of direct statement. Chevalier Bunsen wishes to disbelieve as little as, without giving up his hypothesis, he can; he wishes also to represent to himself that what he disbelieves is detached from the actual substance of religion; he wishes, too, to put forward rather what he believes than what he disbelieves. But his statements do amount to disbelief in plain facts of Scripture history; his principles involve the denial of all historical inspiration; his glowing approbation of other books, of which I must speak, does evince a most painful amount of unbelief in the divinity of the Old Testament and its prophecies.

The occasion of his entering into the question of the history of Holy Scripture at all is the Egyptian chronology. Of course the chronology of nations, proud of their antiquity, and exaggerating that antiquity, whether in Egypt or in India, must be at irreconcilable variance with that of the Bible; and 'the wisdom of this world,' which has not learned to subject 'the wisdom of Egyptians' to the simplicity of Holy Scripture, will take [illegible] with the latter. The world sides with the world. Chevalier [illegible]n thinks he can take a middle course; sacrifice the chrono-

[1] ptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, von C. C. J. Bunsen.' Hamburgh, 1845. Position in the History of the World.)

logy of the Bible, as 'the most outward part of outward history,' and yet not part with what a Christian must retain.

I will first set down what he says on the side of belief. He believes 'in the truth, as matter of fact, of the relation of Joseph's personal character and power' (p. 223). He believes 'the historical personality of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (pp. 222, 5); and that the 'beginning of the historical inquiry 'of the Jews into the past, and their tradition as to the present, 'which have been preserved to us [in the Pentateuch,] are to be 'carried back to Moses and his times' (p. 201). But this, unless he does himself great wrong, is the whole amount of what he believes of the sacred narrative up to Moses. He does not profess to believe more; and what he does disbelieve leaves but this naked residuum, which, except as far as it might be a step to further belief, is in itself as good as nothing.

To Chevalier Bunsen it seems something, because he is inured to systems in which less is believed, or nothing. In all stages of imperfect belief, they who believe a little more may seem to themselves to believe, by the side of those who believe still less. Eichhorn, who treated Holy Scripture with a miserable lightness, could, in 1825, speak of himself as 'too orthodox for his times,' because he believed in the genuineness of the Pentateuch, apart from all miracles, prophecy, or revelation. And now in a more earnest school (would it had learned humility also!) writers speak of themselves as being on the side of belief, because there is something which, in a shadowy way, they do not altogether disbelieve—something which they can abstract from Holy Scripture as it stands, and take as an ideal of their own. Such have no idea of the objective way in which the Christian Church has ever looked upon Holy Scripture, and believes every thing, because 'it is written.' Luther (as is so well known) gave them the unhappy example of subjecting Holy Scripture to a standard of his own, and accepting or rejecting its parts accordingly; and now those German writers on Holy Scripture, who do believe more or less, with rare exceptions, part, without scruple, with what does not fit in with their standard, and yet doubt not as to their own belief, because they are in conflict with those who believe less, and because they have given up that old simple belief, as something which it is hopeless to maintain.

Some statement of this kind seemed necessary, to explain how Chevalier Bunsen could represent to himself what he parts with, as something wholly outward only; while it, in fact, involves the whole reverence for, and credibility of, this portion of Holy Scripture, and, by implication, of so much besides. Thus he cannot bring himself to think that he is rejecting more than the chronology of Holy Scripture, arms himself with the case of

Galileo, and ridicules the idea of an inspired knowledge of the duration of this world from its beginning. He begins by rejecting the date assigned to the sojourning in Egypt, and is met by the prophecy in the mouth of Almighty God himself, as revealing it to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13). Yet, in the way in which Germans are unhappily inured to look upon Holy Scripture, he cannot bring himself even to regard this as being possibly prophecy; he disbelieves it without even the consciousness that he is disbelieving anything which any one can now think of believing; he supposes 'the *prophetical* account to have been a little earlier or later than the Exodus,' *i. e.* that the statement that it is a prophecy, is altogether a fiction; and yet cannot imagine that he has thereby stated anything derogatory to Holy Scripture. He disposes of the prophetical account with as little scruple as we might with a date of his Egyptian chronology, or of Livy. He assumes that the whole is entirely untrue. He is writing for those accustomed so to regard it. He cannot even bring himself to think that it so far claims to be true, that he is necessarily imputing untruth to it. The passage is as follows: 'For the 'sojourning in Egypt, there was no historical chronology trans-'mitted, any more than there was history itself; nay, in this 'period there were not even eminent individuals, by aid of whom 'a genealogy might be formed between Joseph and Moses. They 'doubled then that patriarchal period [215 years] for the sojourn-'ing in Egypt, in order to express its far greater duration, and 'gave to this number the form of an historical sum without any 'basis of genealogies. This statement is accompanied—*something 'earlier or later, (for this is doubtful,) by that prophetical statement* of 'four centuries and four generations, Gen. xv. 13—15.'—(P. 217). Yet what is this but to say, that there being no data as to the length of the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt, a sum entirely arbitrary was taken, whereas Holy Scripture lays a remarkable stress upon the date (Ex. xii. 41:) 'At the end of 'the 430 years, *even the self-same day*, it came to pass that all the 'hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt?' But not only so, but whereas Holy Scripture says that Almighty God revealed to Abram, 'Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not 'theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four 'hundred years; and also that nation whom they shall serve will 'I judge, and afterwards they shall come out with great sub-'stance,' Chevalier Bunsen says that this was not so; that this whole sum of 400 years was a fictitious one; and that whether 's statement was '*somewhat* earlier or later' than the account he Exodus is doubtful. Anyhow it was not a prophecy, nor to Abram, since it was only a little earlier or a little later its completion.

Having thus set aside the later chronology, as to the length of the sojourn in Egypt, he thinks, as matter of consistency, that no greater credit can be claimed for the earlier, the patriarchal period, from the call of Abram (as we believe it to be) to Jacob's going down into Egypt. As before he dispensed with prophecy, so here with the history of the Bible. He denies that Abraham was the father of those whom Holy Scripture calls his sons; and altogether, that this history contains 'the personal relation of father and son' at all. Yet he does not seem conscious that he thereby denies almost every detail which Holy Scripture relates, and leaves himself only (which, indeed, is all which he professes to believe,) the bare 'personal existence of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' The occasion of this denial is, that for his Egyptian chronology he needs a longer period than the 215 years assigned by Holy Scripture, from Abraham's coming to the promised land, to Jacob's going down into Egypt. As a ground for the denial, he takes occasion partly of some of Abraham's descendants having the same name as the countries they settled in, (a ground which would make many of our forefathers unhistorical personages, or all who 'call their lands after their own names,' or whose sons, as Holy Scripture often mentions, called places by the name of a forefather,) partly that the names of three of the grandsons of Keturah have plural endings. The passage stands thus:

'The numbers which make up the 215 years are as follows:—

	His age.	Year of this period.
Abram's coming into Canaan	75	1
Isaac's birth	101	25
Isaac's marriage	40	65
Esau's and Jacob's birth	60	85
Jacob's going down to Egypt	130	215

'As to these numbers, *no difference of accounts has been transmitted to us; still*, historical criticism assuredly is not entitled to claim more belief for the chronological nature of the genealogies before the going down into Egypt than for the like in Egypt. Besides this, it must call attention to the nature of the genealogy of Abram as a whole.

'Abram the Hebrew (Eber) was great grandson of Serug, whose name Buttmann has proved to be that of the district of Edessa, Erech, and the first forefather of Osroene. He was the son of Terah, who quitted Uz, in Chaldæa, and removed to the land of Haran. He *is called* the brother of Haran, Lot's father; father of Ishmael, the first forefather of thirteen Arabic districts, and of Midian. Further, through Jokshan and Sheba (two names proved to be those of districts), as his son and grandson, great-grandfather of the Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim. Any one who still wished not to see, with regard to these names, that they are names of tribes, not of persons, will here, through the plural form of the names, be compelled to acknowledge that he is in the province of traditions as to the connexion of tribes of people, in which epochs are indicated in the form of genealogies.

'Lastly, as Abram, through Isaac and Jacob, is great-grandfather of the twelve tribes of Israel, so is he, through Esau, grandfather of Amalek, and

five other Idumæan tribes of Northern Arabia, which, together with the sons of Seir, *i. e.* of the mountain-chain of Edom, dwelt in this land, and together with the descendants of Seir, among whom is the Idumæan district Uz, known to us through Job. Any one, then, may be perfectly convinced of the personality not only of Jacob and Isaac, but also of that of Abraham; and any one may see that with Abraham historical personages take the places of early forefathers of tribes; and yet, in the age of "Abram the Hebrew," have some glimpse into a period not continuing on along natural generations, nor capable of being measured from our present point of view. Thereby it will become the clearer that the genealogy of the chosen friend of God is historically to be looked upon as exhibiting great and long-enduring commotions of the old population of Asia from the mountains of Armenia and Chaldæa, which rolled through Mesopotamia to the northern and eastern boundaries of Egypt, to Amalek and Edom. They represent the relations of tribes of people, and their ramifications, not personal relations of father and son; consequently they authenticate to us epochs, not natural generations.'

'On this ground,' he adds, 'we pass over in entire silence the chronological measurement of the two periods before Abram, the primeval history before and after the Flood." (P. 223—225).

Now, if one is to glean from this how much Chevalier Bunsen does believe of the history of the 'father of the faithful, the 'friend of God;' who, 'by faith, sojourned in the land of 'promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles 'with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same 'promise,' it would be difficult to say, probably for himself also. He does think these three, Abraham also, historical personages; yet in their history, whether in its moral, religious, or typical character, the birth of each descendant of Abraham, whether in the line which had the promises, or by the foreknowledge and election of God excluded from it, and the relation of each to the other, are very prominent, and this in the minutest details. As a Divine history, every part of it is instructive. Chevalier Bunsen distinctly expresses his disbelief that Ishmael was any historical son of Abraham, or even Isaac, or Jacob of Isaac; for if this were admitted, since the period is measured by their lives, the chronology of the Bible would stand true, and his own would be overthrown. He tells us that they designate not the relations of father to son, but epochs, movements of people, &c. Now, let any English Christian, even apart from this sacred history itself, think how the truth of its details is implied throughout the Bible; how a minute accuracy of those details is assumed by St. Paul, in the Epistles to the Romans, latians, Hebrews; by St. Stephen, when 'full of the Holy Acts vii.); or in the Psalms; or more, Who it is Who self 'the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of r how our blessed Lord speaks of them, as though history on the surface of the Bible was true; and agine what a chaos it would make of that which is of his faith, and more precious to him than the apple

of his eye, could he adopt such a theory as this of Chevalier Bunsen.

Chevalier Bunsen denies the two leading facts upon which almost the whole Scripture history of Abraham turns—his call out of his own land, and the trial of his faith as to the son who 'had the promises,' from whom, after the flesh, the promised Seed should be born, in 'Whom all nations of the world should be blessed.'

Abraham's first act of faith, by which, 'when he was called to 'go out into a place which he should after receive for an inherit-'ance, went out, not knowing whither he went,' is to him a part only of the 'great and long-enduring commotions of the old population of Asia.' Isaac, to him, 'represents the relation of a tribe of people, not the personal relation of father to son.' In plain words, whereas Holy Scripture tells us of the faith of Abraham, receiving a revelation, obeying it, his belief imputed to him for righteousness, and his temporal reward; that '*therefore* 'there sprang, even of one, and him as good as dead, as many as 'the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the 'seashore innumerable;' Chevalier Bunsen supposes that this migration of Abraham was but part of the 'great movement of the old population of Asia,' arising out of natural causes, and Abraham to have been but the natural head of some distinct portion of it. Isaac, the whole history of whom is to us so precious, is nothing more than the head of some distinct body, of common origin, who, at some time nearer or further, within some centuries, migrated in the same direction as Abraham.

Thus, of the whole history of Abraham, one only chapter remains as real fact, that in which he is related to have delivered Lot, save that he is only 'called,' and was not really 'the brother of Lot's father.' Lot was not, what this chapter 'calls' him, 'Abram's brother's son.' By a strange coincidence, this is the one history which a writer, wholly unbelieving, whom Chevalier Bunsen highly extols, selects as giving 'an account of inestimable value,' but 'wholly at variance with all other accounts;'[1] in which Abraham 'appears, like Eshkol and Mamre, with whom he 'stands in a mutual defensive alliance as the head of a mighty 'house in Canaan;' and in which 'he wages war, an act not even 'distantly hinted at in the other documents, as not being suitable 'to a prophet and holy man in the Mosaic view.'[2]

This correspondence of Chevalier Bunsen and Professor Ewald's opinions as to the history of the Patriarchs is so remarkable, that one could hardly help fearing, for Chevalier Bunsen's sake, that the agreement went further. Chevalier

[1] Ewald, Gesch. d. Volkes Israel. i. p. 353. [2] Ib. p. 70.

Bunsen leaves no doubt. He gives us, I grieve to say, more definite proof as to his own real unbelief in the early history of the Bible. He thus concludes his own statement as to this portion of that history (pp. 226, 227):

'Since the above was written, the first part of Ewald's History of the People of Israel has appeared; a work which we look upon as the beginning of a truly historical, connected research into this ever-memorable portion of the history and its sources, and hail, with glowing thankfulness, as an honourable memorial of German learning and historical science. The learned author touches only incidentally upon the length of the period from Solomon to Moses; but we rejoice to agree with him in the assumption that the general number is to be held and not the several details. As to the length of the sojourning in Egypt, he judges of the critical superiority of the Hebrew text as we do; of the historical credibility of the number 430, more favourably than we can.'

Yet the book which thus gladdens Chevalier Bunsen, is wholly infidel, except in words. It panegyrises, indeed, as human, what it cannot reverence as Divine; but even this it does as, itself, standing above what it praises. The old Rationalism, painful as it is, is, to me, hardly so sickening as this patronizing air, wherewith men would praise what, as Divine, they understand not. There seemed some hope left, amid that stiff and naked sort of Rationalism, which little as it held and much as it denied of the truth, had not even swine-husks on which to feed itself. As soon as it felt its hunger, it must turn itself elsewhere for food. It had nothing which it could mistake for bread. Its victims were, in part, suffering from the sin of their fathers. There are many cases on record how persons have been converted to the truth which in ignorance they were opposing. The unbelief of Ewald seems of the most hopeless form. In his works, indeed, on the Old Testament, although engaged on parts of Holy Scripture which contain, scarcely veiled, the fulness of Gospel truth, he never refers to the Person of our Redeemer, or any doctrine of the Gospel; and on these, accordingly, I must say nothing as to his opinions. What he does say, falls in with what he said earlier: 'One must confine oneself to the *idea* of Christianity.' He abstracts from Holy Scripture, as it stands, what he thinks the essence of it, admires, panegyrises it; the truth which he lays aside he is not at the pains to argue about any more, but ignores it, and assumes it to be untrue. And yet, because he holds something which he imagines to be the essence of Holy Scripture, he thinks that he is on the side of faith, and, if unbelieving, speaks of himself as opposing unbelief.

...lier Bunsen praises, without any reserve or exception, ...g words, both Ewald's work on the Prophets of the Old ...t, and the (so-called) 'History of the People of Israel.' ...is work on the Prophets, Ewald does not, in any of plainest passages, even refer to Him Who is the End of

all prophecy. In his history of those to whom Almighty God first revealed Himself, the absence of all direct revelation is a first principle and axiom. It is not denied, but is courteously laid aside. If a clear prediction occur, it implies, on the principles of Porphyry, that the writing in which it occurs is of the date of its fulfilment. This is, in Professor Ewald's mind, not derogatory from Holy Scripture. Either the writers did not mean to claim to be of that earlier date, or it was their mode of writing, or such was the current character of the popular tales! At the worst, if the author of the book of Deuteronomy puts it in the mouth of Moses, and plainly says that the whole book was written by Moses, whereas Ewald lays down that it was written about eight centuries later, (p. 160,) nothing will disturb his courtesy towards Holy Scripture; this is not 'a lie,' or 'a forgery,' but only shows 'the great boldness of historical 'assumptions, characteristic of his age,' (p. 156.)

Chevalier Bunsen praises this work, as 'the beginning of a 'truly historical, connected inquiry, as to this ever-memorable 'portion of the history of the world and its sources.' I will, first, give you some instances of the unbelieving principles of his inquiry into the sources of the history—*i.e.* this part of Holy Scripture itself; and then the results as to 'this ever-memorable portion of history.'

I need not enter into the details of the capricious theory by which Ewald culls, here and there, from Genesis to Kings, portions which he supposes to have been distinct works, of different dates, from about 1140 B. C., *i. e.* about three centuries after the death of Moses, to about 623 B. C.; but the earlier, largely altered and re-moulded by the later hands. It is, happily, I trust, a theory which none but a German mind could have devised, and none but German minds can entertain. Scientifically it is characterised by great bareness of facts, although advanced with unbounded self-confidence, and a bold riddance of all difficulties which stand in his way. If any passage, for instance, belonging to one of his supposed writers, contain some word, which, according to his theory, ought not to be there, the writer 'forgot himself,' or 'it was interpolated.' But now I am to speak of the unbelief on which the theory rests. It is, as I said, an axiom with him, 'A passage, seemingly containing prophecy, is of the date of the 'event of which it speaks.' This is, in truth, his avowed criterion of the age of any portion of Holy Scripture.

1. Thus, what he regards as the earliest portion of the Pentateuch, he ascribes to 'the second half of the time of the 'Judges,' in that the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) is probably borrowed from it;' and this 'accurately represents' the tribes as they then were. The correspondence of the prophecy as to

Dan, with the history of Samson,[1] makes Professor Ewald certain that it could be neither earlier nor later.—(Pp. 79—81.)

2. The second supposed portion, Ewald refers to the reign of Solomon, chiefly on the like infidel grounds. 'It is bolder than 'the former, in essays of higher surveys of times and things; for 'whereas the former, as far as we see from its fragments, once 'only makes the dying Jacob look on to "the latter days," and 'therewith open a higher view as to the present, then hid in the 'clouds [of the future,] in this the voice of the God who appears 'to the Patriarchs oftimes flows over into glad words and joyous 'promises as to "the seed" also, or later posterity; as though the 'present of the author (to which such declarations properly 'refer, with the hope that its blessings would last for the future 'also) was one of those rare periods which feel themselves 'uplifted by the mighty dawning of pure prosperity, and look on 'to yet greater; and so it is said, among other things, Abraham 'or Israel too, and Jacob would "become a multitude of nations, 'and kings should come forth from him."' In few words, 'the promised seed' is simply an earthly posterity; the revelations of God to the Patriarchs are put into His mouth by a writer who lived in a season of prosperity, 'when Israel, after the troublous 'days of anarchy and weakness, could in the full freshness of 'its pride boast, that it too had kings,' and could hope that that

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[1] Professor Ewald says, 'The more certain it is that this position of the tribe (Dan) under Samson, soon passed by, without any important effects, the more certainly must such words have been written during the brief prosperous elevation of Samson itself.' In other words, Holy Scripture does in these words speak *only* of the history of Samson, but as it could not speak of it before, (since according to him there is no prophecy,) so, being of no lasting importance, it would not have spoken of it afterwards. I will add a passage, on the relation of this supposed work to the other parts of the Pentateuch, of which it is the very least portion. 'As to the days of Joshua and Moses, tradition at that time evidently *still* flowed very plentifully and clear; as is to be expected, when as yet no more important period can have obscured the memory of the former. The tales too, as to the patriarchal times, were evidently admitted very circumstantially and with reminiscences, the fulness of which afterwards fails more and more; [he gives as instances the mention of Phichol and Ahuzzath (Gen. xxvi. 26,)] That this work *ventured on* the early times before Abraham, of this there are, at least, absolutely no traces. Yet the date of the author was so far at least removed from the Patriarchal period, that he could then on one occasion *with poetic freedom* essay a more elevated representation—That the dying had clearer moments, and especially that a dying Patriarch could survey the future lot of his descendants, was the view of all antiquity;' (for this the note refers to Homer and his interpreters;) 'and so the author *ventured* to make the dying Jacob the voice from above declaring the purer truths which were to be spoken as to the tribes. This is the first attempt of the sort h we know; later writers evidently only follow the model thus given them.'

2 83. On this model we are told (ib. note 2) that the following prophecies are r dependent, Gen. xviii. 15—19; xxvii. 27—29; xxxix. *seq.*; Num. xxiii. . *e.* they were formed artificially upon it by later writers. This writer Ewald to have been of the tribe of Judah, 'on account of the prominence which he o that tribe,' (p. 83), as the author of the next is on the like ground pro- d to have been a Levite. (P. 92).

season would last; although it did not. This could be written, Ewald thinks, only in the time of Solomon,[1] neither before nor after, because neither before nor after were such hopes realized. —(Pp. 87, 88.)

Professor Ewald supposes that there were five other writers, at least, from whom the Pentateuch, in its present form, is derived. Two, whom he calls 'prophetic relaters of the early history,' and the authors of the song and blessing of Moses, and of the book of Deuteronomy.—(P. 118.)

His grounds for supposing that there would be still later compilers of the early history of Holy Scripture are, that 'assuredly 'the materials of the old tales were not yet exhausted; several 'might be, in different districts, differently told; other facts might 'be exhibited more fully or graphically. The lapse of time itself, 'too, forms new views and relations in the province of old popular 'tales, and amid the increased intercourse with foreign and distant 'people, which, after Solomon, was never again wholly inter-'rupted, wholly new materials for relations and tales might readily 'find entrance from foreign lands, and seek to be blended with the 'older circle. But, mightier than all besides, according to the 'whole course of those centuries, was the prophetic way of 'viewing and conceiving history; and, since this can develop 'itself the more freely, the further the ground of the history lies 'from the present, and the more it is on that very ground already 'the object of loftier thoughts, it was precisely in depicting their 'earliest history that it would most fully unite itself with his-'torical writing.' Again, in plain words, antiquity invests distant times with an air of grandeur; what is distant is more easily conceived to contain what is supernatural; a writer has free scope there to relate as he will; to alter, enlarge, picture, after his own thoughts; in one word, to introduce Almighty God as speaking, revealing Himself, and working miracles, when He did neither.

3. Of the first of these two supposed writers I need not say much, since Ewald himself seems only to be certain that there was such an one, and that he alone uses dreams as the vehicle of conveying the supposed future; and that 'he is, as relater of the 'early history, the best prophet; as the second is, as such, the best 'legislator and leader of the people.'—(P. 121.) 'The number of 'pieces which he wrote,' Ewald tells us, 'are few, and so the

[1] 'How could the blessing,' Ewald asks, 'be so limited, and restrained (?) to something so wholly insulated and seemingly accidental, as that kings too should be among the descendants of the patriarchs? And how is such a mode of conceiving of the blessing to be found in the fragments of this (supposed) work and in no other? These questions can never be answered, unless it be held for certain, that the work was written in the first times of the kingdom, in its fresh bloom, when it furthered the real well-being of Israel,' &c.

'more difficult to recognise.'—(P. 119.) 'He admitted,' however, 'one piece,' (Gen. xiv.) 'a singular remnant of a very old 'work, which may have been written of a non-Hebrew, perhaps 'Canaanitish, people, before Moses.' The ground of this strange theory, that a Canaanitish writing was taken into the Bible, is, that in it Abraham is called 'the Hebrew;' 'and so our relater, 'living, *perhaps*, in North Palestine, near the Phœnicians, 'received it into the circle of Hebrew history, *certainly* only 'because Abraham was *incidentally* mentioned in it.'—(P. 120.)

4. The second of these 'prophetic relaters,' (it is shocking to repeat such names, knowing what they mean,) is so much the later, in that the prophecy of Balaam, which Professor Ewald asserts him to have written, foretels what occurred later. According to the axiom, then, 'no foreknowledge is imparted to man;' the work which contains it is of the date of those events. Of the prophecy of Balaam, it does not ever occur to Professor Ewald that any yet interpret 'the star' and 'sceptre' of Bethlehem and Him who was there born, Christ the King; the question is only 'whether it relates to king David or Jeroboam II.;' and he decides against the latter, 'because an inhabitant of 'Judah, such as the author, could have no reason for wishing 'Moab to be reconquered by Samaria!'—(P. 131.) Its date is, however, to be decided by the words in Balaam's prophecy, 'the Assyrian shall carry thee (the Kenite) away captive;' which *must* belong to a time when Judah could look hopefully to the aid of Assyria, 'as under Uzziah or Jotham; when, in 'the kingdom of Judah, they must have been looked upon as 'friends and welcome deliverers from the pressure of its neigh-'bours; whereto the saying as to Japheth, which this author *puts* '*into the mouth of Noah*, remarkably points.' 'A saying,' he adds, 'which has a meaning only out of these very peculiar relations of the time.'—(P. 132 & n. i.) Professor Ewald is only anxious to show that Numb. xxiv. 24, does not refer to the time of Salmanezer, 'when the relation and feelings of Judah towards Assyria must have been wholly altered.'—(P. 133.)

It is only a slight instance of his unbelief in the history of the Bible, (one instance where all is unbelief,) that he sets this supposed writer after Hosea, but before Isaiah, because he supposes Hosea not to have known *his* history of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which Professor Ewald says 'was formed on the pattern of the shameful act at Gibeah,' (Jud. xix.) as being 'the more historical;'[1] whereas Isaiah (iv. v.) presup-

[1] 'One relation *cannot* have arisen without the other, [as though the same great or similar, (for here all the actual details differ) were not repeated in the course of crime] but it is easier to conceive that the more historical served, to a relater ours, to fill out the brief tale of the olden times, than the converse.'

poses the same *view* of the Mosaic sanctuary as this writer, (*i. e.* the truth of the history of the pillar of cloud by day, and the flame of fire by night,) and of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha.

Other unbelief, such as the context of every page implies, I will mention afterwards. I am now only showing how a principle of unbelief is the very basis of that 'inquiry into the sources of this ever-memorable portion of the world's history,' which Chevalier Bunsen so much praises.

5. There remain what Ewald calls 'purely artificial' modes of handling the Mosaic history; Lev. xxvi. 3—45, which is to be a whole by itself; and the book of Deuteronomy, except the song and blessing of Moses. Of these, the solemn warning in Leviticus 'cannot,' he says, 'have been written before the end of the eighth 'century, or the beginning of the seventh (B.C.) because it pre-'supposes,' [*i. e.* contains a prophecy of] 'not only a complete 'dispersion of at least the one kingdom, but also (v. 36—40) de-'scribes in the most vivid colours, the mournful feelings of the *descendants*' [of this there is not one word] 'of those thus dispersed 'in a strange land; *we cannot then doubt* that a descendant of the 'exiles of the northern kingdom (the ten tribes) wrote down this 'strong prophetic threatening' (p. 145). 'The blessing of Moses,' on the other hand, 'was probably written during the last 'gleam of prosperity, which yet again came to Judah, after the 'reformation of the kingdom under Josiah, and so in the time of 'Josiah himself. For this *imitation of the blessing of Jacob* pre-'supposes a very prosperous internal condition of the kingdom, 'or at least a very satisfactory state of the old religion, as we 'must imagine it at this very time, when after the national re-'formation, good hopes for the future might readily be formed, 'and expressed in poetry.' 'In details also, very characteristic 'but fully harmonizing with this time is the wish that Judah 'might "come to his people," *i. e.* that the kingdom of David 'might again rule the whole people of all the tribes,' [one should have thought this would have been that his people must come to Judah.] 'The description of Levi as the honoured priestly tribe, 'and of Jerusalem as the place of the temple (v. 12), as also that 'the most northern tribes are blessed, as turning themselves to 'this temple-mount in Jerusalem, in that, Galilee appears early 'to have turned to Jerusalem. On the other hand, it proves 'nothing against this, that the old words of blessing on Joseph, 'which no longer *fully* correspond with these times, are simply 'repeated,' (v. 13—17.)—Pp. 161, 162.

It is not my object here to speak of the arbitrary way in which Ewald disposes of all difficulties which oppose his theory, but simply of the unbelief involved in it. Yet I may just notice

the way in which, calling upon people to give up their belief in prophecy, on account of the preciseness of its fulfilment, and to confine that fulfilment to one narrow sense, within one narrow space, he recklessly sets aside what cannot be so confined. 'The blessing of Moses,' according to him, is to be of the date of Josiah, as describing the then condition of things; but the prophecy as to Joseph suits not, in that he says of those now gone into captivity, 'His glory is like the firstling of the 'bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns, with them 'he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth.' This, we are told, does not '*fully* correspond with these times!' and so they are 'simply' an unmeaning 'repetition' from Gen. xlix. But even this bad plea fails; they are no repetition; they do not occur in Genesis. It is characteristic, too, how Ewald, insisting that the blessing of Moses speaks of those of Galilee calling to Zion to worship there, ignores altogether that greater call which went forth from Galilee, and but for which we, the 'nations,' had been heathen still.

6. To proceed: 'The song of Moses, according to its contents 'and character, *can* only have been composed in the times after 'Solomon. What is antiquity to the poet, as he describes it '(v. 7—18) is the time of Moses; his present is a race already 'greatly fallen from the faithfulness and prosperity of the Mosaic 'time and of the first times after Moses, grown effeminate (?) and 'overbearing, now much visited by grievous enemies and other 'evils, but thereby even come to murmur against' [so Ewald is pleased to write it] 'Jahve.' 'It *cannot*, from every hint, be 'earlier than the close of the eighth century (B.C.)' 'because the 'ancient people, (v. 21,) which *already* so long made Israel trem-'ble, is certainly the Assyrians, at that stage of their empire, de-'scribed by Isaiah,' (ch. xxxiii.)

7. The proof that 'the author of the book of Deuteronomy 'wrote it somewhat about the second half of the reign of king 'Manasseh, and in Egypt,' Ewald defers to a later part of his work; here then it may suffice that he says, that its author 'ventured to refer back as *written down by Moses*, the whole large book of Deuteronomy, which in this form' [*i. e.* except such laws, &c. as are embodied in it] '*he wrote himself*.' He adds, 'This great boldness of historical assumption is certainly one 'of the many signs of the later date of the writer, which, on the 'very ground that it felt itself to be at such a distance from the 'time of Moses, gave the freest play to the mode of looking 'upon and treating history;' *i. e.* one of the proofs that Deuteronomy was not written by Moses is the boldness of the falsehood by which it asserts that he wrote it with his own

I thought it best, even at the expense of some prolixity, and so much which is painful to write or read, that you should see with your own eyes, how unbelief is the very basis of the theory as to the 'sources of the history' which Chevalier Bunsen so much praises. Ewald does intersperse other statements: as that such and such words were found in this or that number of chapters, which he assigns to one of his writers, helping himself out of any opposed facts, by charges of interpolation, &c. But the ground upon which he mainly determines the date, is uniformly that of infidels; that, since there is no real prophecy, a work seeming to foretel a future event, or state of things, must be subsequent to that event, or contemporaneous with that state of things.

Ewald's book seems to come still closer to Chevalier Bunsen's own statements, in the facts of the history, in regard of which Chevalier Bunsen calls it 'the beginning of a truly historical, 'connected inquiry as to this ever-memorable portion of the 'world's history.' Chevalier Bunsen professes to 'be convinced 'of the personal existence, not of Jacob and Isaac only, but of 'Abraham also.' How is this reconcileable with disbelief of their relation to one another? Ewald solves the question, but shows what a bare residuum this 'conviction of the personal existence' of the Patriarchs leaves, in place of the loving, reverential memory of the 'father of the faithful,' 'the friend of God.' He sets out with stating that 'the inquiry into this 'period is rendered the more difficult, because with very slight 'exceptions, our only source is the Bible;' 'yet, although we '*cannot* here *own very much*, so securely as we would wish, *as* '*pure history*, yet at least, some strictly historical truths of im-'portance do come up the more welcome out of that distant sea 'of fog so soon as we are adequately qualified to see them 'right.'—(P. 339).

The prevailing character of the Bible-relations, Professor Ewald declares to be unhistorical. The three Patriarchs stand at the head of a series of ideal pictures, analogous to the 'heroes,' as distinct from the gods, of heathen antiquity; and the juxtaposition of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as the fathers of this ideal house and the prominent figures in it, may, he says, be compared to that of Agamemnon, Achilles and Ulysses, on which three all in the Iliad turns, or of Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius in the cycle of the old tales of Troy, or as Rama and Lakshmana, Krishna and Bala, are more or less perfect ideals of the same character.—(P. 341.)

In few words, Ewald supposes what is 'really historical' as to the Patriarchs to be, that certain chiefs of wandering tribes, so named, did, perhaps through centuries, migrate into Canaan:

left certain memorials of themselves in a form of worship different from that of Moses, or rather, different forms of a religion of nature; dwelt, some more in one part of the country, others in others; that the relative importance or date of the immigrations was marked by the Hebrews 'by means of *their* genealogy 'of Abraham, by setting the earlier in a definite relation with 'that hero;' that the character ascribed in the popular tales, (Sagengeschichte) [*i. e.* the History of the Bible] is meant partly to characterise the individual chief, (as Isaac means a gentle, kind-hearted person,) mostly the tribe itself, in whom the individual chief is lost. And all this is purely human. According to him, the Patriarchs came 'as leaders of little bands, with 'their armed dependents and their herds, as good warriors and 'useful allies, at first rather sought, and *perhaps invited*, by the 'old inhabitants, than forcing themselves upon them.'—(P. 363.) Their movements were the more uncertain, we are told, 'the 'more uncertain the needs were which compelled this or that 'Canaanitish prince to seek their alliance,' (pp. 363, 364;) but on the whole, he sums up (in a way remarkably corresponding with Chevalier Bunsen's)—'Little as we can prove each individual 'portion of that migration which lasted, perhaps, through centuries, yet its whole character may very safely be conceived as 'much of the same sort, as that slow advance of so many other 'Northern people, as of the Germans towards Rome, or of the 'Turks in the same countries in the middle ages, who, too, were 'often sought out as allies, or else, in one or the other way, as 'valiant defenders.'—(P. 364.) 'Abraham can only denote one of 'the most important and oldest of these Hebrew immigrations. 'Which, of those subsequent, were most important, was fixed 'in the memory among the people of Israel by aid of *their* genealogy of Abraham, in that they set the earlier founders of connected tribes of this sort in a definite relation with that hero.'—(*Ib.*) And of those (as I said) some seem to him almost simply ideal characters. Thus Isaac is a 'fainter, often slightly altered copy, of 'the tales and thoughts out of Abraham's life, in which the variations arise from this only, that Isaac altogether ranks as the less 'self-dependent hero, less gifted with energy, and so more open to 'the attacks of the enemy, &c.' 'Lot has a name in the popular tales only, and, in ordinary life, only designates Moab and 'Ammon; and so one might conjecture that he never had any 'real historical existence, did not this very ancient piece (Gen. xiv.) at once condemn such assumptions. Here we see him quite historically as brother, *i. e.* near relative of Abraham, dwelling in Sodom, as though, among the ancient inhabitants the other side Jordan, he played the same part as Abraham on this side,' (P. 367.) Others, on the contrary, are almost identified, in Ewald's

mind, with the tribes of which they are said to have been the chiefs. Some lose all historical existence, and are supposed even to have been Canaanitish tribes mingled with the Hebrew. Thus, although he says, 'it would be pure folly to deny that such heroes 'as Jacob and Joseph really lived in those early times, as fathers 'and benefactors of the people, in other names, the traces dis-'coverable carry us only so far, that we see how they were very 'old tribes and people formed before Jacob, which, in more or less 'numerous bodies, were incorporated into the commonwealth of 'Jacob, and so continue to be regarded as sons or grandsons of 'the father of the people,' (p. 435;) *i. e.* the sons of Jacob were tribes older than him who, Holy Scripture tells us, was their father. Even 'the popular tale, [Sage] which, as long as it 'treats of the Hero-father as personally living, continues still to 'treat them, at least more or less, as his sons, after his and Joseph's 'death, drops in all essentials this mode of viewing them, and the 'twelve sons of Jacob act purely as tribes.' [What this means is certainly not very intelligible: after the death of Joseph, they, too, were dead: how, then, they could act at all, or, since their posterity became the twelve tribes, how Holy Scripture, so speaking of them, implies that they had no father from whom they are named, does not appear.] Even of Jacob himself, most which is related seems to Ewald to be a mere picture of the struggles or manœuvres of the people whom he is supposed to represent. Thus having, by a conceit which must be a great favourite with him, since he often repeats it, represented the history of Jacob (Gen. xxix. 15; xxxii. 1,) as 'the Hebrew "Comedy of 'Errors," which one may with good ground assume to have been 'formerly acted by players at popular feasts, and afterwards to 'have passed into the narrative,' (p. 393,) he says its object is 'to 'represent the contest between the crafty Hebrews on the two 'sides of the Euphrates, and to show how the Southern gained 'the upperhand, and the Northern must retire, full of derision and 'mockery. Thus, *through centuries*, may the kindred people, 'Nahor or Laban, and Israel, on the north borders of Palestine, 'in jest and in earnest, have disputed together, teased, and sought 'to outcraft the other; and since there was no such relation be-'tween them after Moses, we must own that we have here a 'remnant of those early histories, and we see how early Israel 'was accounted as the people which outcrafted the other.' The relation of the names of Jacob and Israel he explains to have been that of the people under different circumstances. '*Most* '*certainly*, the *people*, which in the North, beyond the Euphrates, 'was called Jacob, and under this name migrated into Canaan, 'then first, after it had been mingled with older Hebrew people, 'and, reinforced by them, had become a new mighty peopl-

'received the new name of its victorious hero, Israel.'—(P. 391.) Jacob, we are told (p. 427,) 'became grandson to Abraham,' 'in that he incorporated Hebrew materials which had already 'long been living in Canaan.'

This might suffice as a specimen of this mode of treating Holy Scripture. It is worth while to add another, as an instance also of the absurdly inadequate grounds on which these perversions of Holy Scripture are set before people as absolutely certain truth. The point to be proved then is, that the incorporation of un-Hebrew or Canaanitish *people* by Jacob is undeniable. In proof, it is alleged, (1.) that the biblical relaters themselves cited without hesitation that the first sons of Jacob took Canaanitish wives; (2.) that the name Ephratah for Bethlehem is on the one side very old and ante-Mosaic; on the other, it *unquestionably* is connected with the name of the tribe Ephraim, although this tribe, after the new conquest of the land by Joshua, never had rule so far south; so, then, *we have every reason* to regard it as an old Canaanitish portion of the people, which, with the genuinely Hebrew Manasseh (or Makir) formed the tribe Joseph; whence also it would be explained how it came to be originally subordinated to Manasseh, and could not be accounted as Joseph's first-born, (Gen. xlviii.) And if Esau really had, according to the unquestioned reading (Gen. xxvi. 34,) a Hittite wife, Jehudith, then the name Judah also would be old Canaanitish. Lastly, he notices that in five cases, grandsons of Jacob, by different fathers, have the same name (no unusual thing among us certainly); he adds a sixth, in which a son of Reuben and a son of Midian (a son of Abraham by Keturah) also have the same; and adds, 'this is scarcely to be accounted accidental. But these may be 'older people, which, being broken up, passed into the one or 'other tribe of fresh people.' 'A clearer instance for us of the 'same sort,' we are told, 'is the case of the sons of Kenaz. Othniel, 'Caleb's younger brother, is called a son of Kenaz; Caleb himself, 'the son of Jephunneh, bears the name Kenizzite; a grandson of 'Caleb is also called Kenaz.' To us this would prove simply that Kenaz was a name in his family. Ewald says, 'this plainly *can* 'mean nothing else than that Caleb with his followers allied himself with the Kenizzites, settled in the land of Canaan, and was 'acknowledged by them as entitled to all the privileges of their 'tribe. If, then, these Kenizzites were brought later into a relation 'of dependence to his descendants, Kenaz could also be called his 'grandson.' But Kenaz was also the name of a grandson of Esau, (Gen. xxxvi.) This, then, proves, that 'another part of the 'people dwelt in Edom, and these giving up entire independence, 'entered into the union of the kingdom of the Edomites, as those 'allies of Caleb into that of the Israelites.'—(P. 298.)

You will be prepared, after this, for Ewald's historical view of the religion of the patriarchs, at which he arrives by overlooking wholly all which God, in the New Testament, says of it; and assuming most of what is said in the Pentateuch itself to be the colouring of the later relaters. He assumes it to have been (he could not do otherwise) 'a religion of nature.' 'The 'religions of such an infantine period are,' he says, 'locally also 'manifold and different, as the essence *of religions of nature* 'involves,'—(P. 356.) The two instances of building altars with distinct names, 'God of Bethel,' 'God, the God of Israel,' (Gen. xxxiii. 20; xxxv. 7,) he looks on as 'a proof the more that a definite religion, *peculiar to it*, must have centered around such a place.' He compares in later times, Ex. xvii. 15 (*ib.*) 'Their religion, indeed, we may safely believe,' he says, 'was 'Monotheistic, as well as Mosaism, since it must contain some-'thing which was carried on in Mosaism, only further developed; 'and to conceive of the Deity as a Person or Unity is what 'occurs most naturally,' (p. 371;) and 'each of the three patri-'archs could the more readily hold one God, the more their rule 'was purely domestic, and so their God was essentially a single 'family-god; and that they conceived of this one God with 'strict morality, and in contrast with any degraded concep-'tions, is guaranteed by their whole extraordinary life, as 'beginners and founders of a new period to which the later 'look back with amazement; as also in that the Canaanitish 'priest-king, when, according to the ancient piece (Gen. xii. '20, 22), he would bless Abraham, calls upon "the most high 'God, the Creator of heaven and earth," as the God corre-'sponding to him. But such a domestic god, however elevated 'be the conceptions of him, admits of other gods, together with 'himself, for other houses and other men, and, accordingly, is no 'way a security against Polytheism, especially since these gods 'may easily be co-ordinated with him; and that God, in the 'time before Moses, was conceived of with this idea of indefinite 'extension, and possible divisibility, the standing use of the 'plural, Elohim, proves (especially as compared with the corre-'sponding Teraphim, *penates*). The oldest tale itself proves 'this, in that, in an oath it makes Jacob and Laban call upon 'the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor as two different 'gods (!); and only sets "the God of the father of both" over 'the duality, in order not to admit it as valid in itself, and so 'wholly contradictory to the Mosaic religion. That together 'with the chief God, and the house-god of the chief, at least in 'the conception of the people, a Hero-Pantheon was formed, has 'been recognised above from clear traces.'—(P. 372.) 'Enoch and 'Lamech must, in the original tradition, have been accounted as

'demi-gods, or even as gods.'—(P. 314.) Ewald sums up, 'thus 'there was wanting to this one God (the God of Abraham, and 'of Isaac, and of Jacob—see Matt. xxii. 31, 32) all the more 'precise definiteness, and sharp severance of the Mosaic God.'

Of a truth, Divine Wisdom, as she is justified of her children, so she avenges herself of her adversaries. It is sorrowfully instructive how Holy Scripture is a sealed book to those who seek not Him to open it, by Whose inspiration it was written, but would fain employ keys of their own.

When discrepancy is thus boldly invented, the marks of unity are easily dispensed with, as having been introduced by the later relaters. Thus he speaks how the second 'boldly rises 'above genealogies, in a description *seeking* to explain the 'origin of every thing visible in a history of creation.'—(P. 96). The fourth 'sets up, in the early time too, before the flood, 'a contrast of good and evil among men, yea, pursues this 'contrast still further, up to the first man, and there treats of 'it at the same time in the prophetic way. Gen. iii.'—(P. 126.) 'He describes, not only in the case of Noah, but also even 'as early as Abel and Cain, sacrifices quite Mosaic; without 'anxiously inquiring whether they belong to the gates of 'Paradise.'—(P. 128). 'It could not be an object,' we are told, 'with the second relater, to give such marked prominence 'to this difference' [between the religion of, and before, Moses]. 'Abraham is, to him, the first Hebrew possessor of the holy 'land, at the beginning of the third age of the world, and at 'the same time the type of all its later inhabitants; and as 'the idea of a covenant between God and man is, *to him*, 'the highest in every great turn in history, a new covenant 'of this sort is, to him, the height of the whole life of Abraham, 'wherein all its eminence is united.'—(P. 372.) 'The fourth 'relater conceives, in yet another way, the one eminence of the 'life of Abraham, and thereby recasts a main portion of this 'history. Such old simple purity and holiness of life, as (Gen. 'xvii.) is expected from Abraham, no longer satisfied his times, 'which were further advanced in prophetic cultivation.'—(P. 374.) On the other hand, the history of the giants, (Gen. vi.) the description of Paradise, and of the first man (Gen. ii. 4; iv.), are 'originally foreign tales'—(p.. 137), and 'such tales as 'those first imported by the fourth relater (Gen. ii. 5; iii.; vi. '1—4; xi. 1—9) in their ultimate materials are, according to 'manifold tokens, derived from foreign sources;' 'the relation '(Gen. ii. 5; iii.) must even, in its ultimate foundation, have 'travelled through many foreign nations before it received 'its Mosaic colouring.'—(P. 52.) 'In his time a strong stream 'of foreign tales, of mythological contents, had come into

'Judah through the freer and wider intercourse of the people 'since Solomon, which this relater took into the circle of the 'older primeval histories, as they admitted of being recast 'through the spirit of the Jahve-religion.'—(P. 136.)

Enough of this. Something must still be added of this primeval period, of which Chevalier Bunsen says, that he may 'pass over the chronological measurement altogether;' but thinks that, 'with Abraham, historical personages take the 'place of ancient heads of genealogies,'—(p. 225)—which, since Holy Scripture speaks in detail also of Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, what else it can mean than to deny their personal existence, I know not.

Ewald, whom he so praises, speaks out here mostly with a fearful definiteness, so that some heads and specimens of unbelief may be given in brief space.

The whole period before Abraham is denied to be historical;[1] the account is said to be in some respects clearer, in others less so, than the Indian.[2] The account of the Patriarchs before the Flood are said to be contradictory;[3] their ages a symbolical calculation, not fact, (p. 325.) Enoch is compared to Janus, or the Indian Yanaeca; and the 365 years of his life, said to be the days of the year, himself originally a demi-god, or even a god, though the Mosaic-coloured tale could only suppose him a man, (pp. 314, 326.) Lamech's wives, Adah and Zillah, two demi-goddesses, (p. 315;) Methuselah is Mars; Mahalaleel Apollo; 'Jared the river-god, and so the Indian Varuna,' (p. 316.) 'The 'history of Abel is one of the most beautiful, yet also the latest 'recastings of the original myth, as, in the time of the fourth 'relater, people had begun to look upon the seven forefathers 'before the Flood, [in the line of Cain,] as mere evil beings, and 'so especially on Cainan, or Cain, as the original type of a bad 'man; this done, (since evil ever calls out its opposite,) they must 'needs set by the side of this patriarch, who as son of Adam was 'also the original type of a bad son, a better brother, to whom

[1] 'Real individuals, who had lived in these two ages, the relater could visibly no longer name. When the idea of the four ages of the world became fixed, they were empty, and had no history of individuals. The gap was filled by the tale or mythos out of its own inexhaustible materials.'—P. 309.

[2] 'In the Hebrew tale, the broken fragments of the original tale of the four ages of the world stand forth most clearly, and from them you may most readily infer its original form;' yet, 'in the Indian relation, much may be recognised even more clearly than in the old Hebrew,' (p. 306.) The origin of mankind is a 'country of mist.'—P. 303.

[3] 'The Mosaic religion has unsparingly destroyed the olden religion, with all the tales which do not refer to the three patriarchs; here, too, the twenty names' (from Adam to Abraham) 'stand empty and lifeless, scarce of any is anything told which has more of colour; and it is a lucky accident that the fourth relater (Gen. iv.) has rescued some fuller, but varying tales out of the same ground, in a circle of seven forefathers.'—P. 311.

'Cain, as type of an evil brother, acted much as, according 'to the same relater, the good little people of Israel was 'bitterly persecuted by its elder-brother-people—Edom, Moab, 'and Ammon,' (p. 320.) The vengeance to be taken on any who slew Cain, (Gen. iv. 13—16,) is founded on the old popular poem, (Gen. iv. 24,) p. 315. The gradual declension of the life of man is a human view, resulting from human reflection; the division through the flood, a form which this view took among the Hebrews.[1] 'Noah, both in name and being, is 'nothing but the conception of a renewed, better world, con- 'ceived as quite pure in its origin and conditions,' (p. 318.) The author of Gen. iv. meant by the seven descendants of Cain, the same as the second relater by the ten of Seth; by the three sons of Lamech the same as the other by the three sons of Noah; and, 'as beginners of the now more refined age, they 'are to express the three chief classes of which every civilized 'people of this age consists,' (pp. 320—322.) 'The original 'myth may with reason have placed the giants (Gen. vi.) in the 'second or third age of the world,' (Gen. xi.) p. 324, note, [*i.e.* after the Flood, or in the time of Abraham.] 'Naamah, 'sister of Tubal-Cain, may, by side of the wild warrior, have 'had the same position, as among the Greeks, Aphrodite as 'the beloved of Mars,' (p. 322.) On the contrary, in the series after Noah, 'the five names no longer designate gods or heroes. 'If we are here on surer ground it is that of countries:' Peleg, Reu, Serug, and Nahor, are 'four cities or empires, which the 'Hebrews, as they passed southwards, formed successively, or 'four very old princely residences, whence they may, in the 'remotest aboriginal times, have ruled,' (pp. 316, 317.)

I do not mean, either in what precedes or follows, to say that Chevalier Bunsen agrees in all detail with the sad books which he praises; but I have put before you enough (and the same unbelief lies more or less in every page) to show (I grieve to

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[1] 'Out of the attempt to survey the history of mankind, from the present up to the most distant times, arose easily the idea of four great ages of mankind, outwardly extending itself more and more, and making progress in arts, inwardly wearing itself out more and more rapidly, in the last of which the present feels its life swiftly vanishing—a view which pervades the antiquities of many civilized people, *and may have come from older people to the Hebrews; only among these it at that time took the form*, that the whole period since the patriarchs was conceived as the last age, that of the patriarchs as the last but one; the whole of the *immeasurable* time previously, up to the origin of mankind, was divided by the great flood into two halves, the oldest and the second ages; the life of man accordingly as continually decreasing in these spaces. Since, then, these four ages *must be conceived of*, as in such wise gradually advancing in the manifoldness and development of life, that the last should be the most varied of all, *there resulted*, [illegible] minuter periods in the last but one and the beginning of the last, that of each [illegible]e patriarchs, of the residence in Egypt, of Moses, and of Joshuah,' (pp. 94-5.) [illegible]ord, the whole history is framed on an artificial basis.

say) how impossible it would be—I say not for any orthodox Christian, but for any one who claims the name of Christian at all among us—to have praised them as Chevalier Bunsen does.

Not to limit this to this one work, I will add the praise which Chevalier Bunsen gives to another work of the same Ewald 'on the Hebrew Prophets,' and then speak of its application to one instance—the book of Daniel, and the prophecy of the seventy weeks.

After ridiculing Baumgarten for attempting to account for the increase of the Israelites in 200 years, Chevalier Bunsen says, 'Reverence for the Old Testament, without a critical eye, 'or a philological conscience, furnishes no call to be an inter-'preter of the holy documents; and we own that to us it is one 'of the most mournful phenomena of the time, when we find 'such things in a divine, evidently of earnest thought and learn-'ing. O that Ewald would turn his earnest and sifting eye to the 'historical traditions as he has done to the prophets!'—(Pp. 221, 222.)

In what way this 'sifting eye' of Ewald is supposed to apply to the prophets, whether to the date of the several books or their contents, I know not. I know not (as I said) that either in the Prophets or the Psalms does he apply one passage to our Lord. Mostly he writes as if the New Testament had never existed, or if he refers to it, (as on Ps. xlv.) it is to say that 'questions 'as to the meaning of *later readers* do not affect the meaning of 'the song.' Enough to say here that he comments on psalms and prophecies which most evidently are prophetic of our Lord, and of the deepest mysteries relating to Him, as if he were without a suspicion that they ever had or could be interpreted of Him. It will suffice to name Ps. ii. xvi. xxii. xl. xlv. lxxii. cx. Is. vii. ix. liii.

I will take, at length, one full instance only (in which, as before, he is on the same ground with Porphyry), because in it, as to both questions, (whatever Chevalier Bunsen may mean, whether the date or the contents of the book,) the unbelief of Ewald is transparent at once. He places then the book of Daniel at the date of Antiochus Epiphanes, and he interprets the prophecy of the seventy weeks, as though the writer of it, wishing to repair a mistake of Jeremiah, himself fell into another.

'Assuredly,' he begins, 'Jeremiah meant that after the seventy 'years' exile, the full deliverance by the Messiah would come. 'Yet now, after some seventy years, the Holy City had indeed 'been rebuilt, with the temple, but centuries had passed away 'since, and yet the Messianic times did not seem to come much 'nearer. How then the letter of those seventy years, of which 'the author read in *a sort of Bible* (v. 2), was to be reconciled

'with the truth of the Divine Spirit, an earnest observer of the 'times of the Maccabees might well be in lively perplexity. The 'author looked upon the letter of Jeremiah as something out- 'wardly holy, and so could not come to so calm a solution as '2 Pet. iii. 8; partly he earnestly longed for the near approach 'of the kingdom of the Messiah, and so of the fulfilment of that 'prophecy of Jeremiah for his own times: so then the seventy 'years of Jeremiah are to remain, but to be measured by a new 'measure as weeks of years; since sabbath and week altogether 'appear the holy and hidden measure to be applied to Divine 'things. This is an intellectual leap, an interpretation springing 'out of certain previous conditions which are assumed as holy 'and essential, else not further capable of proof; the like whereof 'the Jews often allow themselves in the Old Testament. In 'brief, it is what is later called "allegory," of which we have 'here the earliest instance which can be historically proved.'— (Pp. 568, 569.)

'The space of 7×70 years he thus divides, (1) 7×7 years 'from the revelation of that word of Jeremiah, that Jerusalem 'should one day be gloriously restored by a certain prince; he 'is not named, but it is plainly Cyrus, the celebrated prince, 'under whom Jerusalem was so rebuilt that Jeremiah's prophecy '*seemed* in him to be fulfilled, as indeed it is actually *said to be* 'in 2 Chron. fin. However, our author, *varying from him*, having 'once *assumed* a larger space, further distinguishes (2) 7×62 'years to the violent death of a prince, without children of his own 'or heirs, *i. e.* Seleucus IV. Philop. the predecessor of Antiochus 'Epiphanes, who, A.C. 176, was slain by Heliodorus, having no 'children.'——'Here indeed the difficulty occurs, that from 'A.C. 607 (as according to Jer. xxv. 1, the beginning of the 7×70 'years), there elapsed to Cyrus more than 49 [*i. e.* 70 years], 'and from Cyrus to B.C. 176, fewer than 434 years [*i. e.* 360 'only, fewer by 74 years); thus, too, the whole sum does not 'perfectly agree [*i.e.* it has 60 years too few]. But if objections 'of this sort are to have decisive weight, it must be first proved 'that the author knew the history of those centuries so very 'accurately that in dates he could not err, even in a lesser degree.' (Pp. 569, 570.)

'In brief, the real present of the author was that fearfully 'oppressive time in which the extremest offences and sufferings 'so exceeded all measure, that the Messias, it seems, *cannot* long 'linger. After the 7×70 years, the Messiah is really on his way; 'only a brief respite is still given, that his real adversary, Anti- 'christ [*i. e.* Antiochus] should first stand forth quite openly, 'the decision of the contest come the sooner. It cannot id plainer than by these words of the author himself, that

'the work was written 167-6 A.C. The destruction of Antiochus 'Epiphanes is announced as something near and certain; but in 'all parts of this book, this destruction, contemporaneous with 'which is the coming of the Messias, appears as a real future 'and pure anticipation, even after the longest piece, when the 'deeds of that tyrant, *already past*, are described quite accurately '(xi. 21—45). The reports which he received of insurrection in 'the East (Parthia) and North (Armenia) were the last which 'had at that time taken place; whereas if Antiochus Epiphanes 'had been already dead, and the very peculiar mode in which 'he perished been already known, the time between the veiled 'and the real future would have been fixed somewhere else, and 'what is pure anticipation have been formed very differently. 'And it may have contributed much to the early estimation of 'this book, that the tyrant really, if not after this precise 'number of days, (for this, as men then felt, mattered little, for 'the author himself estimates them in one place somewhat 'higher, in another somewhat lower,) still not long afterwards, 'was overtaken by his punishment.'—(P. 572.)

Of a truth, smooth words are given us, if we will part with our treasure. Yet in these same smooth words it is said that in the book of one whom our Lord calls 'Daniel the prophet,' is contained, not a prophecy of that which He says is prophesied of in it, and which was far beyond human wisdom, but of an event near at hand; that almost all which professes to be prophecy is the description of the past; that prophecy does not relate to distinct events, but to indistinct anticipation (Ahnung); that one of the prophets (Jeremiah) who 'spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost,' made a mistake in that whereof he prophesied, although the very centre of all prophecy, the coming of our Lord; and another (Daniel), endeavouring to correct him, although right in one thing which he anticipated, himself fell into the same mistake, prophesying that Christ would come when He came not. It is the very wantonness of theory, that when one book of Holy Scriptures (2 Chron. fin.) says that the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled in Cyrus, and Ewald admits that it 'seemed' to be so, and himself gives the number of years as the same which Jeremiah had foretold (607—536=71); yet he imagines a scheme whereby in Daniel this number should be corrected, and his own $7 \times 7 = 49$ substituted; and then, in excuse for the want of agreement, says that the chronology was not accurately known, and the sacred writers might be in error, when he had himself shown that they knew it accurately, and that Jeremiah's words, which he explains as a mere indefinite number (ii. p. 132) were definitely, and to the year, fulfilled.

As I said, I do not mean to imply that Chevalier Bunsen

would adopt this or that detail of these works; but he could not be ignorant of those details in the main, and he does give glowing praise to works whose first principle is infidel; and the details so strangely fit in with his own, that but for the relative dates of the works, I should have thought his own views to have been formed on Professor Ewald's. His statement as to the early history of Holy Scripture, in which he denies the existence of 'historical personages;' his selection of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, in a later period, as such personages; his denial of their relation to one another, or of any Divine meaning of Abraham's call to the promised land, and the virtual allegorizing of their history; the cold way in which he says that they who have been counted forefathers or descendants of Abraham have been 'proved to be names of districts,' are outlines which require to be filled up in much such way as they are in Ewald's ante-historical period of Jewish history. The history of the Bible they would so break in pieces, that there would 'not be found 'in the bursting of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth, or to 'take water withal from the pit;' not one fact for 'doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;' but that by God's mercy, all such attempts themselves shiver.

There is yet another principle of Chevalier Bunsen, which, as it, in fact, explicitly denies all historical inspiration, so also admits into the later history of the Bible the same scepticism which his work avowedly allows as to the earlier.

'In order,' he says, 'to make use of this freedom to any result, 'inquiry must, first and foremost, set itself against an unclear 'view as to the difference between tradition and inquiry. Tra-'dition is information given by a witness, or at least by a well-'instructed contemporary, to a fact; inquiry is that of a learned 'person who examines testimonies as to the past. The most 'enlightened inquiry can, as far as facts are imparted, not go 'beyond that which has been handed down; *no one can bear 'witness to that which he has not seen, or what has not been in his 'own times.*'—(P. 206.)

'No one!' says Chevalier Bunsen, speaking directly of the sacred writers. If so, none of the historical books of the Old Testament which were not written by contemporaries, '*can*, as far as 'facts are imparted, go beyond that which has been handed down.' This principle, in all its strictness, Chevalier Bunsen maintains, and applies it to the Pentateuch. Moses is to him an historical 'inquirer' as to the past. He ridicules the idea of an inspired knowledge of the date of this world's history. 'That should have lain in the plan of the Divine Providence, to to us, through actual tradition, the chronology of the

'Jewish people and its forefathers, or to endow with magic 'powers, subsequent inquirers as to this most outward point of 'outward history, may seem to one necessary, to another 'absurd; historical investigation has nothing to do with such 'idle, impertinent, and often lying presumptions; it has to see 'whether anything was transmitted, and what.'—(P. 206.)

Now, these 'subsequent inquirers' are Moses and such as Moses, whenever writing of times anterior to their own. This distinction he makes at the very outset of this discussion. 'If we carry back the *beginnings* of the *historical inquiry*[1] of 'the Jews as to the past, and their *tradition*[2] as to the present, (these are the two words defined in the passage just quoted) 'which have been preserved to us, to Moses and his time—and 'to this the criticism of the Old Testament will assuredly come 'back, this second source of Egyptian Chronology begins to flow 'contemporaneously with the oldest written document of *his-* '*torical inquiry* among the Egyptians,' (p. 201). Moses is thus far at least, a mere human inquirer, not 'endowed with magic powers,' (Chevalier Bunsen's term for inspiration as to facts,) and accordingly liable to errors, not in dates only, but in plain matters of fact, as the birth of Isaac from Abraham, &c. Moses is but an 'inquirer,' just as the Egyptian with whose 'inquiry' his is compared, only that Chevalier B. judges the results of the contemporaneous Egyptian inquiry the more authentic. Such inquirers, according to Ewald, were the writers of the later historical books, and the history of David during the persecution by Saul is to him a popular tale, (*e. g.* p. 18) just as much as the history of Abraham. Quite consistently; I only name it to illustrate the extent of this scepticism. And of the truth of this his view, *i. e.* of the historical inaccuracy of Holy Scripture, Chevalier Bunsen is so convinced that he gives hard names to the contrary, as 'dishonesty or indolence' (p. 207); he designates as 'a Jewish rationalism' that 'adherence to preconceived 'notions, which holds fast to the letter, as heathen rationalism 'despises it.' He says that 'not in theology alone has Jewish 'rationalism, *up to our own days, done just as much harm as the* '*heathen*,' (p. 205) *i. e.* the total denial of the truth of Holy Scripture and of Almighty God is no greater evil than what he calls an undue adherence to the letter of Holy Scripture.[3]

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[1] Forschung. [2] Ueberlieferung.

[3] This sentiment is more fully expressed in those other fearful words: 'If an angel from heaven should manifest to me that by introducing, or asserting, or favouring only the introduction of such an Episcopacy, [one which is held as an essential] I should ... combat successfully the unbelief, pantheism, atheism of the day, I should not do it, so help me God, Amen.' If by these words he simply meant that *he* could be no agent in introducing what he did not believe, of course he could not; there needs no declamation to say, 'I dare not lend myself to what

Yet Chevalier Bunsen would retain what on his principles he can. 'The safest way,' he says, 'is, convinced of the historical 'character of the kernel and centre of revelation, to be *disposed* 'to presume *all the facts* of the outward history of the Jewish 'people *connected with it, to be in the main historically true, until* 'it has convinced itself of the contrary.' 'But,' he adds, 'his- 'torical science can and will not allow itself to be deprived of, 'or disturbed in, its inquiry as to this.' Nay, he makes indifference as to the result, however it may involve what he calls 'the outward side of history,' a mark of 'a strong and pure faith.' 'The stronger and purer the faith is, the more unpre- 'judiced and free are its bearings to the question (as, from her 'point of view, of the utmost indifference), as to the outward 'shell of the Divine kernel, which is just the outward side 'of history, and its outward fulness, and chronological defi- 'niteness.'

From such 'strong and pure faith' of Chevalier Bunsen, may God in His mercy defend us. It has been a lesson which, I trust, will be long remembered among us, how a friend of theological friends of Chevalier Bunsen sunk down, step by step, unwillingly, from one stage of misbelief to another, after he had, under the name of Athanasianism, parted with the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. Yet he, who died a Pantheist, thought at least, at an earlier stage, that he was holding 'the inner truth of revelation,' while he set himself loose from its outward form. So did Semler, after a life of scepticism outwardly increasing, shrink back, as a rest from himself, into this 'inward truth.' This same 'inward truth, or kernel,' Ewald, too, maintains that he holds, while denying, in any real sense, any revelation or prophecy in the Old Testament. Rather, one would say, 'May God in His mercy enlighten the mind of 'Chevalier Bunsen, that he follow not out his own principles, 'nor lead on others;' since far lesser beginnings than these have ended in total misbelief.

Yours faithfully,

E. B. P.

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seems to me a lie, promise it what good it may.' It is not on such ground, but that he regards it so great an evil in itself, that he says, 'I should consider it as a parricidal act, (besides its being godless in my mind at all events,) if I did not vow to devote all the energies of my mind, insignificant as they are, and the last drop of my blood, to protest against such an Episcopate in the Church of that nation to which it is my privilege to belong.' (Letter to Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone in his 'Wi-che der Zukunft,' p. 409.) 'Unbelief, pantheism, atheism' in Germany are not the produce of this Episcopacy. Again, what idea can a person have of fulness of atheism who thus writes?

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

OCTOBER, 1846.

ART. I.—1. *The Influence of Christianity in promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Europe. A Dissertation which obtained the Hulsean Prize for the Year* 1845. *By* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.A. *Scholar of St. John's College.* Cambridge: Deightons.

2. *Remarks on the Slavery and the Slave Trade of the Brazils. By* T. NELSON, R.N. *late Senior Assistant Surgeon of H.M.S. Crescent, at Rio de Janeiro.* London: Hatchards.

3. *Excursion through the Slave States of South America. By* G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Murray.

WE are not purposing, at this day, to enter into an argument to prove the iniquity of the African Slave Trade, or to recite any of its horrible details for the purpose of rousing our readers' feelings against it. It is a question on which we believe there is but one feeling throughout not only this country, but the whole of civilized Europe. In reprobating its detestable cruelties, exaggeration is impossible; and language which on almost any other subject would be felt to be heated and extravagant, on *this* fails of giving just expression to the indignation which human nature — for Christianity may be put aside for the moment—feels, at seeing itself so outraged: at seeing one human being inflict, and another suffer, such atrocities. It is impossible to acquit Mr. Wilberforce's speeches on the subject, either at public meetings or in the House of Commons, of some degree of violence; but it is violence which here, if anywhere, is rightly placed; and to a reader it is no more than the cordial required by his spirit, as it were, fainting at the spectacle of so much misery and crime.

Thirty years ago, indeed, an Englishman's mind had almost become callous from the continual repetition, in print, of such exhibitions; it was so impossible to take up a book, pamphlet, review, magazine, or newspaper, which did not open at some horrible tale of African suffering, that the natural impression was lost. The question of the slave trade had shared the fate of every question which is made the subject of public dispute.

and is attempted to be carried by public agitation. It is peculiarly unfortunate and distressing to the feelings of the good, where such a question happens—like that of Irish distress, or the workhouse system—to involve the sufferings of thousands. In the course of that long public struggle which was crowned by the Emancipation Act of 1833, it will not be denied that the conduct of the Abolitionists was far from perfect, often far from wise: they had all the faults of agitators. Injurious language, libellous personal attacks, inflammatory speeches, and all the unworthy machinery of religious quackery, contributed to carry a series of measures of relief and emancipation, which were so clearly right, that they ought to have stood in no need of such auxiliaries. Yet, unhappily, such were the hasty, crude, and intemperate projects of the Abolitionists, that themselves justify some of the opposition which their noisy and ill-informed zeal excited. The Sunday-school and old-maid portion of the agitation was justly open to ridicule; and we cannot suppress a smile when we find the venerable leader himself, in introducing the since better known T. B. Macaulay on the scene of an anti-slavery meeting, finding 'a clear proof of the interposition of Heaven in favour of the cause, in providing such an advocate for its support.' By a subtle and circuitous process of imagination, ridicule fastens itself upon almost all human characters and actions, which are for any length of time the object of contemplation. Blanco White tells us that the idea of a nun and of a nunnery carried with it something of the ridiculous in his time, and in the circle in which he lived, in Spain; and so the sufferings of the negro became the subject of many a joke in the *John Bull*, and papers of a similar character. But all the accidental features of the struggle have died from memory; all that was ridiculous, mismanaged, and imprudent in the means employed, may safely and justly be now forgotten, now that their just end is obtained; and gratitude and admiration may well be the only feelings entertained towards those brave and worthy men who devoted their whole lives, time, fortunes, and character, to the attainment of this end.

We would rather not, we repeat, open out the private history of Abolition. But there are occasions when we are almost compelled to do so, when we are challenged to the inquiry, much against our will, by the continued repetition of a strain of self-congratulation on the virtue, benevolence, and philanthropy of

ish public, shown in their abolition of slavery. When
nore than the rant of Exeter Hall, it would not
is notice; but it is a text too often adopted without
men who are ordinarily in the habit of thinking of
e saying, and of attaching some meaning to the
ise. Let any man who is capable of forming an

impartial judgment, go over the history of the connexion of this country with the slave trade, from the time that Las Casas first proposed to substitute the Negro race for the sake of saving that of the native Indian, down to the 1st August, 1834, itself, and so far from feeling anything to be proud of—anything on which to hold ourselves out, as is so often done, as a pattern to the other nations, the only sentiment of real patriotism must be one of shame and sorrow on such a retrospect of the past. It is, indeed, easy to talk, and to make a favourite topic of such pharisaical declamation, of the noble sacrifices, the magnificent compensation of twenty millions made by the country for the attainment of its object, and the energetic efforts she still continues to use to check the evil in other nations less humane than herself. But what are the facts of the case? Such was our original and long-continued share in this traffic, that all we have hitherto done, and continued to do, to effect its discontinuance, would be little to remove the indelible stain of the past.

The African slave trade dates almost as far back as the first settlement of the West Indies. Bartholomew Las Casas, a Dominican, and afterwards Bishop of Chiapa, in Mexico, had spent the greater part of his life in St. Domingo, as a missionary among the Indians. Struck with horror and pity at the unavailing sufferings which were inflicted by the whites on this helpless race, he formed the idea of transporting from the Portuguese settlements large numbers of Africans, whose hardy nature and powers of endurance rendered them capable of toil which the feeble and listless Indian races could not support. It is probable that he did not contemplate any forcible or piratical seizure of the persons of the Africans, but imagined that their transportation (a few had been carried over by the Portuguese as early as 1503) was with their own consent; and also that he was in expectation of a code of laws being promulgated in favour both of Africans and natives in the Spanish settlements, and he flattered himself that being about to return and live in the country of their slavery, he could look to the execution of it. The proposition, however unfortunate, thus originated in motives of humanity; it was an attempt to remedy a present and pressing evil by the introduction of another, which seemed at the time to involve less misery and suffering. Cardinal Ximenes, however, the Regent of Spain at the time, to whom the proposition was made, with a foresight and justice that might be expected from that great man, absolutely rejected it. But the experiment once begun to be made, was found to succeed so well for the purposes of the settlers, that a regular piratical trade was soon established. And now began the share of England in the business. Before we had a colony of our own, and long without any views for our c

settlements after we had made them, we undertook the carrying trade in slaves for the Spanish colonies. The first importation of slaves by English ships was in the reign of Elizabeth, in 1562, by a Captain Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by her. The trade was encouraged by statute and proclamation through the successive reigns of Charles I., II., and James II. The acquisition of Jamaica under Cromwell, who introduced the practice of selling his political captives, English and Scotch, but chiefly Irish Royalists, as slaves to the plantations, gave it a fresh stimulus. But it was William III. who outdid them all. With Lord Somers for his minister, he declared the slave trade to be 'highly beneficial to the nation;' and that this was not meant merely as beneficial to the nation through the medium of the colonial prosperity, is demonstrated by the Assiento Treaty in 1713, with which the colonies had nothing to do, and in which Great Britain binds herself to supply 144,000 slaves, at the rate of 4,800 per annum, to the Spanish colonies. From that time till within a few years of the present time, our history is full of the various measures and grants which passed for the encouragement and protection of the trade. In 1760, South Carolina (then a British colony) passed an Act to prohibit further importation. Great Britain rejected this Act with indignation, and declared that the slave trade was beneficial and necessary to the mother country. The colonial assembly of Jamaica made more than one attempt, towards the close of the last century, to prohibit it, but the British government resisted the restriction. Bristol and Liverpool, the foundation of the prosperity of both of which towns may be said to have been laid in the slave trade, petitioned in favour of it. The matter was referred to the Board of Trade, and the Earl of Dartmouth, then President of the Board (in 1774), answered by the following declaration,—'We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation.' Still less can we lay claim to a national character for humanity, from a consideration of the progress of the Abolition struggle. The energy and motion of the struggle came from a few high-minded and generous men, who, after a long and indefatigable warfare, succeeding in conquering public sentiment, and through it the government. The history of the Abolition cause is the history of an ably conducted agitation, and those who wish to learn the secret machinery by which any point whatever, which is sufficiently in harmony with the spirit of the age, may be carried in constitutional states, could not study a better or more perfect

'ance. But, would it be a just inference from this success
the nation had made an advance thereby in the virtues of
y and humanity? and that the public which demanded
otained, in 1834, the emancipation of the Negro, is a more

humane and enlightened public than that which, in 1774, petitioned in favour of slavery? When the inhabitants of Liverpool signed this petition, they had before their eyes, not the sufferings of the Negro between the tropics, but the opulence, splendour, and grandeur, produced on the banks of the Mersey; just as when we dwell with admiration on the splendid career of Napoleon, we do not admit into our minds the thought that this career cost the lives of three millions of men.

But the magnificence of the sum which the country was willing to pay for the attainment of its philanthropic design seems a sufficient proof in itself of its sincerity and real heartiness in the principle of liberty, and has dazzled the eyes of foreign nations, not more by its evidence of our wealth, than of our magnanimity. 'Great Britain,' says Dr. Channing, 'loaded with an unprece-'dented debt, and with a grinding taxation, contracted a new 'debt of a hundred million dollars, to give freedom, not to 'Englishmen, but to the degraded African! I know not that 'history records an act so disinterested, so sublime. In the 'progress of ages England's naval triumphs will shrink into more 'and more narrow space in the records of our race. This moral 'triumph will fill a broader, brighter page.' Without any intention of extenuating the real merit of our sacrifice, we may, and with no affectation of modesty, decline this highly scented incense of flattery offered to Great Britain from a quarter so unusual. The present in itself is of dazzling splendour; but as regards the giver, it costs little when it can be paid by a bill drawn on posterity; and as regards the receivers, besides that it did not, in point of fact, compensate the planters for the losses of one season, it should be remembered that it was but a return of a trifling portion of that wealth which for years we had been drawing into our exchequer at the expense of these very planters themselves. It is a delicate task in dissecting the acts of individuals to be just in ascribing motives; it is still more difficult in considering national acts to decide how much is owing to the prevalence of a really humane and generous sentiment in the people, and how much to fashion, to imitation, to the catching nature of a popular cry, when once the small party in whom the sentiment is genuine, have succeeded in raising it. And in the instance under discussion, it must be remembered that if Abolition was a British act, the opposition to Abolition, with all the hardness, cruelty, and base self-interest displayed through the protracted struggle, were equally of British growth, and met with countenance, encouragement, and eloquent support from men then and since high in public estimation, and not thought the worse of for the part they took on that question. Let all due allowances then be made, and the Abolition may still justly set down among the great and good deeds of

testant England; but always remembering that it is at best but a poor atonement for the past; that it was, after all, but a tardy and reluctant assent to an act of bare justice, a putting an end to an evil of which we had ourselves been among the creators and most active maintainers, let us have the good taste not to be perpetually quoting it as an instance of generosity, or habitually assuming that on the continent of Europe, or in America, the understandings and feelings of society are comparatively insensible to the principles of justice and freedom.

But while we are thus sounding the note of triumph for what we have achieved, and while the victors are contending for the *spolia opima* of the fallen enemy, and the country is called in to arbitrate between the contending claims of Clarkson and Wilberforce, let us stop for a moment to ask ourselves what it is that we have accomplished, where are the fruits, the evidence and token of our victory? We have been reposing ourselves in the confident satisfaction of having finally overcome our great enemy; the Emancipation Act, carried by such great and unremitting exertions, seemed to be acquittance in full of all our obligations; and though every infringement upon the measure has been jealously watched, and its gradual march quickened by our impatience; yet as far as general public attention is concerned, that may be said to have been entirely diverted from this to other topics, chiefly those of more domestic interest. For ten or fifteen years the words 'Negro' and 'abolition' have hardly been heard within the walls of Parliament, or attracted notice out of it; pictures of the fettered African kneeling to Britannia have had time to disappear from the cottages; and all this, not because the business was forgotten, or laid aside through weariness, but because it had been satisfactorily settled, as was supposed, and the public mind was at ease on the subject. Great then was our surprise when we found, on a sudden, the question of slavery once more on the carpet, being discussed in Parliament and the newspapers as though it was quite fresh, and had never been settled at all, and even beginning again to be the ordinary appendage to the tea-equipage in such domestic circles as pride themselves upon tolerably *au courant* of the affairs of the day. It was amusing indeed to trace in the progress of the sugar question in the House of Commons, how, as they found themselves slowly but inevitably approaching the fatal shoal of the slavery question, several speakers tacked and manœuvred in ineffectual efforts
clear of it. They had rather not on the present occa-
ch on the moral points involved in the subject; this
was to be settled on economical grounds alone; they
t to debate measures of finance alone, and therefore
ot to mix up the totally different subject of the social

condition of the Negro. However, notwithstanding all these polite evasions, the question was inexorable as fate, it would take no excuses, and it is quite evident that the slave-trade is the cardinal point of the whole sugar duties debate. Colonial protection and the maintenance of the revenue might be the topics that occupied the largest space in the speeches of honourable members, but what they felt most was simply the interference with the established Anti-slavery system. Here was the real point of difficulty, though so carefully kept in background; and it is, perhaps, to this policy (a not uncommon one) of getting over it by never mentioning it, by affecting to forget its existence, that we are to ascribe the fact that we have seen no even tolerable attempt to vindicate the sugar measure of the new ministry on this its weakest side. It was proved over and over again with respect to the Colonies, first, that they did not want protection; secondly, that they wanted it, but had no right to it; and lastly, that they had a right to it, but that this bill would give them all that they wanted or could claim: and with respect to the revenue, it was shown that no other adjustment of the duties could be hit upon which would so well reconcile the claims of the consumer, and of the exchequer; which would give 'cheap sugar,' while it incurred no diminution of the customs. But with respect to the question, Does not your measure tend to give a direct stimulus to the slave-trade, and to compromise that now established policy of the country which has been directed to its suppression?—to this question we listened anxiously for some satisfactory answer, but none ever came. Hints were thrown out, and palliatives suggested, but no fair, direct, explicit meeting of the difficulty by any of the advocates of the measure has yet met our eye. We do not mean to say that it cannot be met, that the Government measure is on this ground unjustifiable; we think, if it had been intended to meet it, if the whole question had had a fair field and ample examination, if it had been the beginning instead of the end of a session; if this had been the chief measure of the year, instead of an appendix to the one great measure which had exhausted all men's attention and energies; if a full and free discussion had been brought to bear on the slavery part of the question,—that much would have been elicited, and that some further additions might have been made to the provisions of the bill, which would have mitigated the hardihood with which it at present seems to have committed the country to that iniquitous trade, which it has been our boast that we had wholly repudiated all participation in. But though a measure involving the forfeiture of this principle has been got through Parliament by the scheme of ignoring the main objection, a scheme favored by the haunting recollections which many members must re-

of the Abolition debates of old, and their shrinking fear of reviving them; yet it is quite obvious that matters cannot rest as they are. The bill, if it stands, cannot stand alone; when public attention has had sufficient leisure to consider the subject, and the *Times* has had time to change its mind twice on it, and finally to decide on writing the Slave Trade down, there will be a clamour, and the measure must either be recalled, or, which is far more likely, it must be *carried out*, and the wedge once introduced, our whole anti-slavery policy in our dealings with foreign states must be given up.

But before we speculate on the future, let us briefly review the past, and consider wherein lay that force of circumstances which has been supposed to necessitate the introduction of slave-grown sugar. We shall dwell lightly on the merely commercial part of the subject, and, reversing the order observed in Parliament, invite our readers' attention to the moral and political question involved. And let not any of our readers turn away from the subject from the notion that it is so difficult and complex that it requires a special study, and almost a commercial education to understand it. This indeed is a notion which might, but without reason, be formed from following the daily discussions on the sugar-duties, whether in or out of Parliament. So conflicting and contradictory are the principles assumed, and the statements of fact made; every calculation drawn out by one party is met by a wholly different array of figures on the other side; every instance quoted is confronted by some counter-instance, and to such an extent has Parliament, to use an expression of Mr. Gladstone's, been flooded with worthless rumours, that the looker-on on the irreconcilable discord may well be excused for turning away, hopeless of ever ascertaining anything like the merits of the case. But in this, as in most other similarly circumstanced questions which party strife or sophistical controversy has enveloped in a mist of contradictions, there will be found by unprejudiced inquirers a basis of truth, sufficiently authentic at bottom to repay and to satisfy a patient attention to proved facts. Only let the rule of such an inquirer be modesty and sobriety; starting without any self-interest, without engaging himself beforehand on either side, let him not be ambitious of deciding positively on every collateral topic that may embarrass the main-springs of the subject; let him not think it necessary to refute or accept every argument, or to be able to

ain every anomaly. Because we are justly offended by the osten-
's vanity by which that not uncommon character, the man
ows every thing,' pronounces off-hand a fluent opinion on
ossible subject, we are not, therefore, to relapse into that
anly indifference, the cover of an indolent mind, which
ll special subjects to professional people, on the plea that

those who ought to know best, seem to differ so among themselves, that it must be impossible for the ordinary reader to arrive at any conclusion. But this is exactly the position which the sceptic assumes towards the universal questions of religion and morals, and may be met therefore, *mutatis mutandis*, with the same answer. We will only observe at present, that the plea may be in some measure true; that the acquisition of just knowledge on politics and economy is not incumbent on men in general, even on educated men. A man may acquit himself honourably in all the duties of his station, without 'troubling his head,' as the phrase is, with statistics and political economy. But then let him be consistent. Let him, if on this ground he claims at all, abstain altogether. Let him not shun only that much which calls for exertion and exercise of judgment, while he indulges himself in an adoption and expression of positive opinion. Let him give up his newspaper and review, and keep away from elections and public meetings, if he does not intend to qualify himself for reading and hearing properly. Men in general will not do this. When they come to perceive fairly the difficulties of a new subject, instead of adopting one of the two alternatives which are equally open to them, of either taking sufficient pains to master the various branches of it, or of abandoning the field entirely, they take the middle course, of taking up an opinion ready made, and endeavouring to make it their own by mere adhesion. The true evil of the abundant diffusion of miscellaneous reading within every one's reach is, not that it is used and enjoyed, but that it is swallowed by those who have not learned to use it. It is not true that cheap literature is an evil, nor yet that it is a benefit, alone and by itself. The use of those collections of facts and arguments called books, is an art, and like all other arts must be taught, and this teaching is education. A literature for the people, without an education for the people, is an evil. But speaking at present only of the classes who receive more or less education of some kind: little or no attention is paid to qualify them for making a right use of the knowledge which is to be afterwards put into their hands. The most that is generally done is to give them a taste for information. That most important part of education which labours at such moral discipline of the intellect as shall qualify it for the conscious and conscientious forming of opinion, is almost entirely neglected. It is forgotten that knowledge, of every kind, involves a moral obligation. We may let it alone altogether, we may refuse to enlarge our knowledge in any direction, and be blameless. But we cannot indulge ourselves in the luxury of reading at all, without incurring corresponding duties. The exercise of the understanding in common with every other portion of our nature, is subjec

a moral law. Indeed this is so indisputable, that we should not have thought it necessary to dwell upon it, but that we see it every day so left out of sight in the practical adoption of opinions. It is not in theology alone that the duty of private judgment is forgotten, while the right is actively assumed.

We have been led into these remarks by the observation, that the sugar question, while one of universal interest, belongs to a class of subjects which, above all others, has been prolific of contradictory allegation. And we propose to justify part of what we have above said, by laying before our readers a plain statement of the case and its principal difficulties,—not one, indeed, sufficient to enable them to adopt at once a definite view on all those difficulties, or even on the main issue itself; but such a statement as may assist them towards a solution of the political dilemma in which this country has found herself placed, in the present year,—the era, when the advancing wave of her free trade policy has encountered the receding wave of her anti-slavery policy.

The native country of the sugar-cane, like that of another important plant, tobacco, is uncertain. There is no mention of it by Greek and Roman writers; the saccharum of Pliny and others being, probably, the crystallized juice of the bamboo. It appears to have first become known to Europeans during the crusades. It was grown in abundance in the plains of Tripoli; and on one occasion, an army of crusaders, engaged in the siege of Albarea Marea, owed to it their preservation from famine, in a way that will remind the classical reader of the support of Agricola's army on the Scotch moors by the legumen of the *Lathyrus Sylvestris*. And this was not an accidental growth, but cultivation for purposes of commerce. Jacobus de Vitriaco gives an account of the process by which it was manufactured; and other crusading authors mention the capture of caravans of camels laden with sugar, and a regular export trade, which was maintained from the neighbourhood of Tyre. Remains also of refining furnaces have been found in Sicily and in Egypt. It was very early carried into the New World by the Portuguese; and from Brazil it is supposed to have found its way to St. Domingo, and the other West Indian islands. It is now cultivated, more or less, in all the countries within the tropics; being, perhaps, of all vegetable productions that which best adapts itself to all the different qualities of soil.

It is, at the same time, one of the most advantageous in an economical point of view. Every portion of the plant is available for some useful purpose. While the juice furnishes molasses, sugar and rum, a kind of wine and vinegar, the green [illegible] rve for food for the mules and cattle, or to thatch the [illegible] of the negroes, while the dried leaves are gathered into

bundles for the fires of the furnaces. There are several varieties of the plant; but the two most commonly cultivated are those called the Creole cane, and the Taiti, or Bourbon cane. It is the latter that is almost exclusively in use in Jamaica, whither it was brought by Captain Bligh, in 1789.[1]

The civilization of modern times is distinguished from that of Greece and Rome by great differences of institutions, religion, climate, &c. But among the secondary causes which influence the character of a nation and an age, the nature of the ordinary food of the animal man ought never to be omitted. Some results on the habits of society from the gradual substitution of tea and coffee for more stimulating drinks among all classes, and more so, perhaps, among the working classes than any other,—a substitution, which has, in great measure, effected itself within the memory of the living generation,—are obvious to all. Not adapted, like fermented liquors, to give a violent stimulus to the whole animal powers, nor forming, like gruel, or preparations of milk, a nutritious food in the shape of liquid, the infusions of tea and coffee operate gently on the nervous system, and through it, on the mental faculties, and would seem directly adapted to stimulate that healthful exercise of the mental in preponderance over the physical powers, which is the chief condition of our civilized life. But what we wish to remark at present is, that the adoption of these beverages never could have become so general, but for the simultaneous introduction of manufactured sugar. There has happened in this matter something similar to what has been observed of the invention of printing. It has been often asked with surprise, how an art so simple, in its principle at least, as that of printing, should have remained so long undiscovered. The answer is, that the sudden appearance in the world of the press, with all its train of wondrous results, was the effect, not of one discovery, but of the coincidence of two. Without an abundant supply of paper, the use of moveable types could never have been practised to any great extent; and without the application of the moveable types, the discovery of the process of making paper from linen rags would have remained unproductive. So it is with the infusions of tea and coffee; it is the use of manufactured sugar with them that has produced the all-popular beverage; while on the other hand, but for the simultaneous introduction of the tea-leaf and the coffee-berry, the consumption of sugar would have been limited to that

[1] A very complete account of the culture of the plant, and the manufacture of sugar, may be found in *Tussac, Flore des Antilles*, 3 vols. fol.; Paris, 1808,—one of those magnificent works of science which owe their existence to the patronage of Napoleon. A more recent and accessible book is Mr. G. R. Porter, 'On the Nature and Properties of the Sugar Cane.' 2d edit. 1844.

trifling proportion which goes to the preparation of preserved fruits and other condiments. Of the extent of the consumption of this article, some idea may be formed when it is stated that above twelve millions sterling are annually expended by the British people in the purchase of sugar. And this, too, under the disadvantage of a high price and an exorbitant duty. Under all these obstacles, the use of sugar has gradually been extending and increasing itself; and were there no customs, and no restrictions on trade, the further increase of consumption would be almost unlimited. Yet, notwithstanding this natural tendency of a luxury, once tasted, to diffuse itself more and more widely through the community, such has been the effect of our legislation, that for some thirty years past this natural growth of the trade has been artificially checked and diminished.

For a long period our West Indian colonies had enjoyed a monopoly of supplying the mother country with sugar. That is, a duty so high as to be completely exclusive, was imposed on all foreign sugar without distinction. This system was continued without much complaint being heard, so long as these colonies continued to import a quantity equal to the demand. For a long period they not only did this, but bringing their whole produce of sugar to this country, sold all of it they could sell, at the high price to which the absence of competition raised it, and re-exported a surplus to the continent to sell at whatever price they could there procure. But the supply they furnished began gradually to fall off, while the population of the consuming country was rapidly increasing. This diminution in the supply was not owing to Emancipation, for it had commenced before Emancipation was thought of, but it has been very greatly aggravated by that measure. For example, the whole importation of sugar from the West Indies into the United Kingdom in 1831 was 4,103,850 cwts., and only 2,508,910 cwts. in 1842. If to this decrease in the supply be added the increase in the population, and the average of consumption per head be taken, it is found to be scarcely more than half what it was forty years ago. This pressure, then, for under such circumstances the price was of course continually rising, obliged the legislature to give several successive measures of relief from the restrictions itself had created. And first, while the duty on West Indian sugar has been gradually lowered, the sugar of the East Indies was admitted on equal terms with that of the West, after a long and obstinate opposition to a measure apparently so equitable. But the Indies can never successfully compete with the West, owing heavy cost of carriage and freight, and a certain degree of ty in their quality. Next, sugar of foreign growth was adrom all countries in which free, and not slave-labour was

employed, including Java, where, though there is no slavery, yet the obligation to cultivate makes the application of the term free-labour somewhat dubious. But all these relaxations, and a still further reduction of the duty on colonial sugar, did little to palliate the evil of a deficient supply, and a consequent high price. Add to this, the gradual advance of the doctrine of free trade, its successful application to so many other branches of commerce, and the signal victory gained by it in the beginning of the late Session, and it is easy to see, that a monopoly so injurious to both the consumer and the revenue, as that of sugar, must have come to be felt more and more galling, and more and more inconsistent with the system which was being adopted throughout in our commercial enactments. And what was the obstacle which prevented its application to the sugar trade. First, and that about which most has been said, the colonial interest. We shall say a few words on this subject presently. But the real obstacle to the equalization of the duties, was the direct encouragement thereby given to the slave-trade. Every relaxation of protection had been given that could be given, short of admitting slave-grown sugar, without materially diminishing its high price, or furnishing a supply equal to the demand. This was the dilemma to which we were brought. Urged by every consideration of pecuniary and commercial interest, by the pressure of high prices, and the obvious loss to the revenue occasioned by the limited consumption, and by the growing conviction of the soundness of the doctrines of the economists, and the necessity of applying them uniformly, if we would give them a fair trial,—the only barrier between us and the removal of so many difficulties, and the attainment of so many advantages, was our fear of giving a stimulus to that slavery which we had made so many sacrifices to destroy. This, indeed, was no new or unexpected situation. It was one which had been long before foreseen and repeatedly foretold by the chief of the abolitionists themselves, that a time would come when the cost of producing sugar in the British colonies would have risen so high, that the country would no longer endure the increasing price and diminishing quantity of an article becoming every day more essential, when, in short, the temptation would have become too strong, and the necessity of self-protection would overpower the dictates of disinterested philanthropy. The accidents of party strife have determined this crisis to the present year; but it was inevitable in the long run, whoever was, or was not, minister; and even those who felt most keenly the aggravation of the evils of slavery that would be thus produced, must have felt, even while they maintained a hopeless resistance to the last, that according to the ordinary course of human affairs, it was impossible to expect

the mass of men,—a nation,—to continue long to inflict upon itself so heavy a privation for the mere maintenance of an abstract principle of philanthropy. It is true, indeed, that we have by the late measure laid ourselves open to the sarcastic comments of the other nations, who are not slow to taunt us with having become weary of our philanthropic Quixotism,[1] and ready to resign our lofty pretensions to a superior morality, as soon as they have come seriously to stand in the way of our interests. So far as we have provoked such comments by an arrogant parade of our virtue, so far must we submit to them as just and merited; but those who endeavour to judge of passing events, divesting them of that party-colouring they receive from the newspapers, as they could not join in the unmeasured approbation we bestowed on ourselves for Emancipation, so they will not now consider that by the late sugar-duties act we have incurred a deep national disgrace. Had, indeed, the dilemma in which we found ourselves been one of a mere choice between interest and duty, between humanity and revenue, between the slave-trade and cheap sugar, it would be impossible to defend the measure that has been adopted; no case of necessity could be made out for what would be a deliberate crime; what is morally wrong could never become fiscally inevitable. But a little further consideration of the subject will, we think, incline the reader to the conclusion we have arrived at; that though it would undoubtedly be better, if we could, to have no connexion, however remote, with negro-slavery, and to reject the contamination of all produce of slave-labour, yet that, under the circumstances in which we are at present placed, the admission of slave-grown sugar, though truly inconsistent with the high moral tone that we have so long affected on the subject, will prove in the long run to have been the wisest and most sensible measure that could have been resorted to in a matter in which some new measure was absolutely necessary.

And first let it be observed, that the restrictions in question did not originate in favour of the negro. The distinction between free-labour and slave-labour sugar is one of quite recent introduction into our legislation. Up to the period of emancipation all foreign sugar whatever, without distinction of country, was prohibited. This exclusion was in favour simply of colonial interests, and was a remnant, and the most important one, of the old 'colonial system.' Those who have recently maintained that prohibition of foreign sugar, have maintained it principally on the ground of the claims of the West Indies to protection, and have only used the anti-slavery argument as

[1] for instance, an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for August 1.

secondary. This new position of the question of slavery,—its thus being displaced from being itself the object and aim of legislation, and becoming the accident of another question, which for the time is one of prime importance, is unfortunate, as not only tending to draw attention away from it, but as causing the advocates of free-labour to be looked at with suspicion. Their cause was formerly that of justice, humanity, and generosity, striving against and overcoming the resistance of the pecuniary interests of the planters. But now, the colonial monopoly and its supporters, and those who are called the friends of the West India interest, are the parties who are adopting the cause of the negro; while the Whig statesmen, who have been trained in the school, and inherit the principles, of Mr. Fox and Lord Grey, and who are wont to refer with so much pride to the long and unequal contest they waged in favour of liberality, toleration, and commercial freedom, and to whose unremitting exertions Abolition owed its final triumph, appear on the other side. This is surely one of the most singular of the shiftings of party position on the quicksands of Parliamentary politics which our history presents. It is one which supplies abundant materials for those personalities of retort, and *tu quoque*, which form the staple of argument in the House of Commons,—but to the reflecting bystander is rather a proof of the necessary insincerity of all political parties, than of any real change of views on either side.

Let us now consider the claims of the colonies to have their sugar protected in the home market against all foreign sugar, without any reference to the mode in which this foreign sugar is raised, whether by free or by slave labour,—a question which is immaterial to that of colonial protection as a question of commerce. And when we say that the question of colonial protection is a commercial question, we must beg those of our readers whom such a prospect may deter from proceeding further, to follow us patiently a little way, when they will find, that though on the face of it it appears a mere matter of profit and loss, yet it is worth following into its roots in the social condition of the West Indian islands, and that, like all economical questions, highly interesting and important moral questions are involved in it.

An absolutely prohibitive duty on any foreign article in favour of the same article the produce of the colonies, gives a protection to the colonial produce to the amount of the whole difference between the natural price of the colonial article and the natural price of the foreign article. The natural price of an article is the price at which it can be sold, duty free, so as to allow a fair profit, after all expenses of manufacture, importation, &c. are paid. A prohibitive duty does this at least. But it does also

more; for it is the tendency of a monopoly to raise the price of the monopolized article beyond the natural price. Thus an absolutely prohibitive duty will give a protection to the colonial article to the amount of the whole difference between the natural price of the foreign article, and the natural price of the colonial article plus the rise upon the price of the colonial article caused by the prohibition itself. When the article is a necessary of life, such as sugar is become, there is no defined limit to this additional rise. The British consumer must have sugar, and he must give whatever price the colonial importer chooses to ask. However, competition between the planters themselves will keep the price from rising very much above the natural price,—above the rate of fair profits on their capital, &c. The prohibitive duty which keeps out the foreign sugar secures to them safely all the difference between their natural price and the foreign natural price, secures them against foreign competition, while (owing to the influence of a monopoly) the competition among themselves is not enough to keep down the price to the level of their natural price. The indirect effect, then, of a prohibitive duty is to give the colonist not only his fair profit, but an additional profit, above the rate of fair profit. For example,—suppose a cwt. of sugar, raised by the slave-labour of a foreign plantation, can be brought into the market of this country at 20*s.*, while the same quantity of colonial sugar cannot be brought in under 30*s.*; by prohibiting the foreign sugar, you not only give the colonist the difference of 10*s.*, but you cause a rise in the price of his sugar above the 30*s.* at which he can fairly afford to sell it. Now, those who think that our West Indian colonies are for various reasons entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of this fair profit, as against the foreign producer, yet saw that it was evidently unjust that they should also enjoy the additional surplus profit arising from the nature of monopoly, introduced the system of differential duties,—that is, to place such a duty on foreign sugar as should not be absolutely prohibitive, but should admit it whenever colonial sugar should rise in the market beyond the limits of fair colonial profit. At least, this is the principle of a differential duty, though it has not always been kept in view in its application to sugar. Such a principle, however, could not be applied to all foreign sugar without touching on the slavery question. Hence the distinction between slave-labour sugar and free-labour; while foreign sugar, the produce of slave-labour, was, as before, absolutely prohibited by a duty of 63*s.*, foreign free-labour sugar was admitted first at a duty of 34*s.*, by a further reduction at 23*s.* 4*d.* We purposely omit all ion of the discriminating rates on different qualities, as h a scheme very ingenious in itself, only embarrassing the

subject for our purpose, and speak only of Muscovado sugar as the standard which regulates the rest. The duty on British plantation sugar was at the same time reduced to 14*s.*, thus leaving a differential duty of 9*s.* 4*d.*

Now, what is the effect of this scale of duties on the market? Cuba sugar can be brought into the British market at 20*s.* per cwt. on the average, while British plantation sugar cannot be brought under 30*s.* on an average, a difference of natural price of 10*s.* per cwt. for two articles of precisely the same intrinsic value. If, then, for the sake of her colonies, the country were to consent merely to secure to the colonist this average surplus, the effect would be that we should be paying for every cwt. of sugar 10*s.* more than the value of the article,—10*s.* more than we could procure the same article at in the market of the world. But as the average importation of colonial sugar may be reckoned at 200,000 tons, this difference of 10*s.* a cwt., being 10*l.* per ton, amounts to 2,000,000*l.* sterling. That is the sum, which, on the system of colonial protection, it is thought right should be paid by the country, over and above the intrinsic value of the article supplied, in order to maintain the colonial producers. This, then, will be the effect of the differential duty of 9*s.* 4*d.*, which represents very fairly the difference in cost between colonial and foreign sugar. Foreign sugar costing 20*s.* per cwt., at a duty of 23*s.* 4*d.*, will sell for 43*s.* 4*d.*, and consequently would have prevented, had there been enough of it, colonial sugar at a duty of 14*s.* from ever rising above that price. But as the supply of foreign sugar last year was limited, and soon absorbed, the differential duty ceased to operate at all, and the natural effect of a prohibitive duty was then exemplified in the rise of colonial sugar at one time as high as 35*s.*, which, with the 14*s.* duty, made a selling price of 49*s.*, thus giving the colonists from 5*s.* to 6*s.* per cwt. over and above the average 10*s.* bounty which is secured to them. Of this 49*s.*, 14*s.* goes to the revenue in the shape of duty, 20*s.* is the value of the article, the remaining 15*s.* is simply a bonus paid by the country to the colonial producer.

And by whom is this extra 10*s.* or 15*s.*, this surplus 2,000,000*l.*, or 2,500,000*l.*, paid? A rise in price in an article of general consumption does not press equally on all classes; it is a burden on the country, but not on the whole population alike. A difference of 10*s.* per cwt. is not perceptible to those whose incomes reckon by hundreds a year, to say nothing of thousands; the rich man does not consume an ounce of sugar the less, be its price what it may. It is upon the labouring classes that the burden of the extra 10*s.* falls; it is from the working man's consumption that high prices subtract. The middle classes car

go on through great fluctuations in price of articles of prime necessity without perhaps ever hearing that there has been any difference, while in the labouring population their effect is felt at once. A difference of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ is a difference quite sensible in an income of 10*s.* a week, when it is barely perceptible in 300*l.* a year. Or the same thing may be stated in another way. Sugar, like all imports, foreign or colonial, is ultimately paid for by corresponding exports of British produce, or manufacture. It is merely an exchange of the produce of British industry for the produce of colonial industry. Now when foreign slave sugar can be sold in bond for 20*s.* and the same quality of colonial sugar costs 30*s.* per cwt., it is evident that 100*l.* sterling will purchase 100 cwt. of the former, but only $66\frac{2}{3}$ cwt. of the latter; in other words, that the produce of British labour to the value of 100*l.* sterling will exchange for 100 cwt. of foreign sugar, and only $66\frac{2}{3}$ cwt. of colonial sugar. Now these are sugars of precisely the same quality, and therefore if they were admissible on equal rates of duty, the cheapest would govern the market price, and the manufacturer would be able to exchange his goods to the value of 100*l.* for 100 cwt. of sugar. But the system of protection, of protection to home and colonial industry, interferes with the simple exchange, and says to the British manufacturer, 'Though the produce of your labour and your 'manufacture is fairly worth 100 cwt. at the prices of the 'world, yet we shall not allow you to receive more than $66\frac{2}{3}$ 'cwt. for it.' The British labourer is not permitted to take his labour into the most profitable market, and to give it in exchange to that man who will give him the most for it. 'The loss does 'not fall upon the manufacturer alone: of course not; it falls 'on the whole community, upon all who purchase sugar, but 'most especially upon the labouring classes, whether agricultural 'or manufacturing; and it does so because it tends to diminish 'the power of British industry, it diminishes the remuneration 'which that industry can command.' (*Lord Howick's Speech in the House of Commons, Feb.* 24, 1844.) Thus the system of protection to British industry bears severely on the British labourer in a two-fold way; it affects him as a purchaser by the increase of price in the retail shops; and it affects him as a seller of his own commodity—labour—by the diminished amount of imported goods which he is made to receive in return for his labour.

And let no one say that sugar is but an article of superfluous
y that use alone has rendered necessary, and that it is no
dship, after all, for the labouring classes to drink their
at sugar; they are but where their forefathers were
ar became abundant. Sugar is not merely grateful and

soothing to the palate, but highly nutritious, containing a greater quantity of nutriment than starch, or any other of the vegetable principles. It is well known how fat and thriving the negroes become during the sugar harvest. It may be quite true that, as far as the palate is concerned, tea and coffee might be drunk without sugar, without much cause for complaint, if that were all; many persons so prefer it as matter of taste. And there is hardly anything which writers on diet desire so earnestly to proscribe as sugar and sweets. It is not the tea, but the sugar, of which it is the vehicle, which is mischievous. And this is all very true; but then it is true as addressed to the dyspeptic patient, to the invalid who is suffering from the consequences of too nutritious a diet. For him sugar is 'indigestible,' because it is so highly nutritive, and it has been in his case habitually taken into a stomach already too abundantly supplied with rich and nutritious food. But to the poor, on the contrary, it is a staple article of support, and not a mere condiment, or accompaniment of other meats and drinks. Only those who are aware to what an extent the lower orders depend on tea for their sustenance, how it constitutes the principal article in every meal, and is often the only beverage which the female part of a family at least partake of, can feel the full hardship of this privation. To the rich dyspeptic the physician will rightly say, 'Drink your tea without sugar,' because what his stomach requires is a slight tonic and diluent. But tea, or coffee, in common with all other stimulants and narcotics, though it is beneficial rather than the contrary to the man who has a sufficient quantity of nutritious food, has an injurious effect on the system where the aliment that is taken is deficient in quantity or too poor in quality. Women exhausted by work, bad food, or nursing, fly to this as the stimulus that seems to them necessary 'to keep them alive;' but if taken under such circumstances without some corrective, it is to the full as pernicious to the system as a dram. Such a corrective is supplied by either milk or sugar, but much more conveniently by the latter for many reasons. A quantity of milk sufficient to answer the purpose of protecting the nervous system from the hurtful influence of the tea, would cause too great a dilution, and render it altogether ineffectual as a tonic; while that very exhausted state of the stomach which makes it feel the want of the tea as a restorative, is one quite unfit for the peculiar process of digestion which milk requires.

But the increase in the consumption of sugar has kept no pace with that in tea and coffee; and what Mr. Huskisson stated in 1829 is probably as true at the present time, that 'two-thirds of the people drank their tea and coffee without sugar;' while the quantity of tea

consumed in this country had doubled in the last fifty years, and that of coffee is twenty-eight times as large, having advanced from 1,000,000 lbs. in 1790, to 28,000,000 in 1840. We are still, indeed, the greatest sugar consumers in the world. Taking the average imports for home consumption at 200,000 tons, it will give an average consumption per head on the whole population of about 21 lbs. This, though a higher average than that of any other European country, is small compared with what it might be. In workhouses the customary annual allowance is (according to Mr. Maculloch) 34 lbs.; and in private families the smallest separate allowance for domestics is 1 lb. per week, or 52 lbs. a year. The Irish average is still lower than the English, being calculated by the same authority at about 7 lbs. per head. While some economists are computing that, as some consolation for the present pressure of famine, it will probably have the beneficial effect of substituting, as the staple food of that country, the more nutritious maize for the potato, it might be suggested that a further reduction in the duty of sugar would introduce to them an article, not indeed capable of becoming the principal food, but as a subsidiary article of diet, conveying the greatest quantity of nutriment in the most agreeable form, of the whole vegetable kingdom. Those who have not seen with their own eyes, says Humboldt, what an immense quantity of sugar is consumed in Spanish America, even in the poorest families, must be astonished at finding that France requires for her supply not more than three or four times as much as the island of Cuba, which, when Humboldt visited it, had a population of only 340,000.

But if it is the labouring class of the mother country that are comparatively excluded from the use of sugar by its high price, and upon them ultimately that the burden falls of the price that is paid beyond the intrinsic value, let us now ask, for whose benefit is this high price maintained by our legislature, who are the receivers of the sum for the payment of which the home labourer is taxed? A sum which is very moderately rated at 2,000,000*l.* per annum is drawn from the pockets of the labouring class of this country by the effect of the exclusion of foreign sugar; to whom does this 2,000,000*l.* go? The answer is, of course, to the colonies; we give this benefit to our colonies, both for the general encouragement and support of their trade, which is due from a mother country to her colonies, and also specially
[illegible]ause of the loss we occasioned them by our Act of Emancipa-
[illegible]nd the severe blow we thereby gave to their wealth and
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ntry, though the amount may be disputed,—there is no
ı that a benefit is given by the restrictions, for that is

the only purpose for which the restrictions are imposed. But the benefit is accepted, the imposition of the restrictions on the foreign article is openly claimed, by the West Indian as a debt or duty on the part of the mother country, and any questioning of that claim, any disposition to refuse that debt, is treated as injustice and spoliation directed against the colonies. There seems at first sight something plausible in this claim for favour and protection on the part of a colony from its parent state. It seems but what might be fairly asked, that a preference should be given in the ports and markets of Great Britain to the produce of her own children before that of strangers, even though it should be at some little sacrifice on her own part. More generous than the profit and loss calculations of modern political economy, more partaking of the liberal spirit of ancient commerce, and the paternal temper of ancient government, is the expression of the preamble of the Navigation Laws, that they were enacted 'for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home and those in the plantations.' Are not the colonists, it may be said, of our own blood, speaking our own language, bearing our name and our greatness to every corner of the world, and as integral members of the commonwealth as though they had happened to be born within the limits of the four seas, and shall we treat them on the same footing as aliens, throw aside all care for their interests, and inquire only where we can purchase cheapest? If they find themselves thus treated at home, why should they on their part cherish any filial feelings towards this country, but rather address her in the language of a memorial presented in 1833 by the inhabitants of Jamaica to the Governor (the Marquis of Normanby)? 'Should this be 'refused, we finally and humbly require that the island of 'Jamaica should be separated from the parent country, and that, 'being also absolved from allegiance to the British crown, she be 'free either to assume independence, or to unite herself to some 'State by whom she will be cherished and protected, not insulted 'and plundered.'

This reasoning seems, at first sight, fair and moderate; but if we look a little into colonial history, we shall see that such a change has taken place in the condition of our West Indies, so entirely altered are they from what they were when the restrictions in their favour were originally enacted, that even had the old 'colonial system' been a wise and salutary system, it would not follow that it should be maintained under their present altered circumstances. But that colonial system was not, even under the original circumstances of the colonies, wise and salutary, nor productive of any of the benefits that were proposed by it. This may be shown in very few words.

Colonial history offers a remarkable exemplification in quite recent times of the maxim that is acknowledged of states of high antiquity, that their constitutions and systems of government have been the growth of accident and circumstance, and have not been determined from the commencement by any abstract rule or principle, though throughout implying one. The 'colonial system,' which has been the basis of all our legislation and dealings with our colonies ever since we possessed any, is no theory founded on observation or the statistics of trade, or deduced from any settled economical principles, but has been the gradual, though consistent, growth of circumstances, the result of a short-sighted and miscalculating, though natural self-interest. That it is thus natural, and not a mere national experiment or private theory, is evident from the fact of its not being peculiar to this country, but common to it with all the modern nations of Europe who have had colonies, and the result of their then commercial situation, and the notions of trade prevalent in the seventeenth century. Thus our colonial system cannot be said to have been borrowed by us from Spain, but is the effect of our similar circumstances.

The earliest colonies of England were, generally speaking, not settlements deliberately planted by the parent state, like the Roman *colonia*, but accidental lodgments of private adventurers, independent of all government at home, and only recognising a sort of nominal sovereignty in the crown of Great Britain. Hence the early English colonist grew up in a spirit of independence and self-reliance, and, instead of parting with a portion of his rights when he settled in a distant dependency, the emigrant felt that he breathed a freer air than that of the land he had relinquished. Hence, of course, their trade, such as they had, was perfectly free; such commodities, the manufacture of the Old World, as they had need of, they bought wherever they could get them; such produce, chiefly the raw and spontaneous produce of the unexplored New World, as they had to dispose of, they parted with to whoever came to buy. Now, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the great carriers of Europe, and the trade with our western settlements fell chiefly into their hands. But as our marine began to rise in importance, and our commercial jealousy involved us in continual war with the Dutch, while at the same time a process was gradually going on of the new settlements throwing themselves into the arms of the government at home—these two combined influences, of closer connexion with the settlements, and rivalry with the ch, produced the earliest of the Acts of Navigation, the basis ir colonial policy, which was passed during the Common- in 1651. No commodities, the produce of Asia, Africa,

or America, were to be transported into England, or her colonies, except in English vessels; and such as were the produce of Europe only in English vessels or in vessels of the country of which they were the produce. This is the Navigation Act of Cromwell, the object of which is well expressed by Blackstone as having been 'to punish the royalist planters, and to clip the wings of the Dutch.' Thus the colonial trade system consisted of two parts;—restrictions on imports into the colonies, or an obligation laid on them to take our goods, and restrictions on the imports into this country in favour of the colonies, or an obligation laid on us to take their goods. And the simple apprehension of self-interest from which this complex system has branched out, was nothing more than the maxim universally admitted at the time that the chance settlements of errant adventurers came into connexion with the home government, viz. that the use and end of a colony was to benefit its mother country. Acting on this doctrine, the mother country first secured to herself the sole enjoyment of the most precious commodities produced in the colony, as the Dutch so long did the spice trade. Next, as a further result of the same doctrine, she subjected the colonies to the necessity of purchasing her manufactures exclusively. This has been, throughout, the favourite policy of England. The main gist of our colonial legislation has been to secure in our colonies a mart for our manufactures. Instead of allowing the colonists that simplest and most natural of the rights of commerce, the right to buy in the cheapest market, we interposed all sorts of legislative enactments to force them to take our commodities. So entirely was this principle of restriction accepted by the political men of the day, that Lord Chatham declared that the colonies had not the right to manufacture so much as a horse-shoe nail for themselves; and while declaring himself most unequivocally against the Stamp Act, as founded on an illegality, he required that 'at the same time the sovereign authority of 'this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as 'can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legisla-'tion whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their 'manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except 'that of taking their money out of their pockets without their 'consent.' (*Speech on the Stamp Act.*) And as an instance of the inflexibility with which this principle has been adhered to, may be mentioned the case of the West Indies at the conclusion of the American war. They had hitherto drawn all their rough stores, provisions, and lumber, from North America. When the United States became independent, an Act was passed by the British parliament, transferring this branch of trade to our remaining colonies, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

In vain did the planters urge upon the home government that these provinces were then quite unable to furnish the supply required by the West Indies. Every thing was made to give way to a maxim of policy then regarded as fundamental. The consequence was a dreadful famine, aggravated by an unusual succession of hurricanes. According to a statement of Bryan Edwards, 15,000 negroes perished in Jamaica alone, between 1780 and 1786, in consequence of the prohibition of American provisions in favour of those of our other remaining colonies.

But, having thus far consulted her own (supposed) interests, by first procuring a monopoly of the most valued articles of the produce of her colonies, and secondly by compelling the colonies to take her own manufactures, the mother country found herself necessitated, in progress of time, to grant some compensation for the increasing losses to which the colony was subjected by these restrictions on its trade. This has been done by granting to the colonies the exclusive right of producing certain articles for her consumption. This last provision is a concession to the interests of the colony, in return for the prohibitions imposed by herself. And this last act completes the circle of our colonial system. We first oblige them to take our goods, though they could get the same articles cheaper or more conveniently elsewhere; and when, by the advance of their population and their wants, the hardship of this obligation becomes oppressive, instead of removing it, which would be the simple remedy, we counterbalance it by inflicting upon ourselves another hardship in *their* favour, by obliging ourselves to take their produce, though we could get the same cheaper elsewhere. We first create an artificial market for our own manufactures, by restricting them; and then, to make up the loss to them, we create an artificial market for their produce, by restricting ourselves from buying that of foreign nations. The colonist suffers from the protection which the home manufacturer demands, and he is thereupon compensated by having a parallel injury inflicted on the home manufacturer.

Such is the principle of colonial protection. But it happens that the actual state of trade has so far interfered with the original design, that only one side of this legislative equation remains. At the present moment, such is the triumphant superiority of English skill and industry, that this country has, almost, a natural monopoly in the market of the world, of some of the most indispensable articles of manufacture. That is, she can supply the colonies with cotton goods and other articles ' 'ter and cheaper than any other nation can. Hence the "ions on their imports are so far unavailing. They would ' be our customers if there were no such restrictions. case is very different with their produce. The colonial

articles of prime necessity, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, we could procure better and cheaper anywhere than in our own colonies. Thus the natural course of events has completely reversed the original relations of the colony and the mother state, and that very commercial system, so laboriously built up by enactments designed solely for our own benefit, has become a burden on our own shoulders; the only substantial fragment of it remaining being those prohibitions which restrict the trade of the parent state alone, and of which the heaviest and most oppressive item were the recently abolished sugar duties. Besides defraying the whole expenses of their civil government and military protection, and a liberal contribution towards the education and the maintenance of a stipendiary magistracy, bishops, and a body of clergy, for the West Indies, we long imposed upon ourselves a tax of at least two millions in the single article of sugar, as the price of a beneficial interest which we had ceased to enjoy.

Thus, then, any claim set up for the West India colonies to the monopoly of our sugar market, on the ground of their relation to us as colonies whose trade we are bound to foster and protect, is shown to have been in its origin an impolitic attempt to counterpoise one injury by the self-infliction of another; and, in the present state of trade, to have not even this justification, when only the compensation continued to be paid by us, and the grievance for which they were compensated, had ceased to be suffered by them. But the full extent of the fallacy of this claim of the colonies will only be seen by calling to mind who and what the parties are that make it. There is a great fallacy hidden under the very term 'the colonies,' as applied in this subject. It is continually repeated that the British Parliament 'ruined the colonies' by its Acts of Abolition and Emancipation, and that it therefore owes them this protection in compensation. For as to the twenty millions, that was the mere price of the purchase of their slaves, the capital invested in the persons of the slaves, and was no compensation at all for the estates themselves, which had been rendered valueless by withdrawing the labourer who cultivated them. Now, were the British West Indies thriving states, like the states of North America at the time of their independence, inhabited by a growing and equal population, supporting their own establishment, regulated by equal laws, and having all the elements of independent national life, and only kept down by their weakness and the superior force of the mother country, who used her strength to inflict an injury upon them, there would be some justice in the language thus held on their behalf. But the real state of the case was quite otherwise. The West Indian islands, notwithstanding the advance of trade, and the diffusion of some of the implements of

civilisation, were really and truly in an inferior condition, as regarded all the important elements of social and political life, than they had been in the first century after their settlement, while yet mere rude and lawless plantations. At least this is the case as far as the European population is concerned. They are not in progress towards becoming countries possessing a native white race. Property in land does not carry with it birth, education and residence; thus Jamaica is not a colony, but a huge factory, not owned by its inhabitants, but belonging to foreigners; some English nobleman, or great Liverpool firm, Lord Sligo, the Duke of Buckingham, Messrs. Park, Hall, and Co. &c. &c. These are 'the colonies,' and the profits of their sugar manufactories are 'the colonial interests,' of which so much is heard. To them, and for their sole use and benefit, is it that this tax of two or three millions is claimed to be laid on the industrial classes of this country. Who is it that emancipation is said to have ruined? Not the negro population, certainly: for amid all the difference and contradictory statements of the effects of that great measure, there is a general agreement that the negro has gained in the possession of all the comforts, advantages, and luxuries of (at least negro) life. And this, the negro, is the true population of the island, being in the proportion of nine or ten to one white. But it is not even the small body of resident whites, whether employed in trades, or commerce, or the proprietors of small estates; their condition is just what it was before Emancipation, with the exception of the additional advantage which they derive from living in the midst of a free, instead of a slave population. It is expressly affirmed (*Report on Jamaica*), that the smaller estates, where the proprietor is resident and attends to his own cultivation, have not been deteriorated. The sole losers, then, by Emancipation have been the large proprietors, persons whose connexion with the island is just about the same that the holder of Mexican stock has with the city of Mexico. It is for their benefit, solely, that the price of sugar has been maintained so high as to be, in many years, beyond the reach of the poorer classes at home; and it is into their pockets that parliament, after paying them the full price of their slaves (the average price per head paid to the Jamaica planter was £44. 15*s.* 2*d.*), has continued for several years, by the effect of the late sugar duties alone, to pay two millions sterling.

'The mode in which West Indian business is conducted,' says Mr. Macculloch (*Dictionary of Commerce*), 'is as follows:—A
ar planter forms a connexion with a mercantile house in
n or Liverpool, stipulates for an advance of money on
rt, grants them a mortgage on his estate, and binds him-
nd them annually his crop, allowing them the full rate

'of mercantile commissions. These commissions are 2½ per cent. 'on the amount of sugar sold, and of plantation stores sent out, 'along with ½ per cent. on all insurances effected. Persons resi- 'dent in the West Indies are almost always bare of capital, and 'for obvious reasons. A climate of such extreme heat, and a 'state of society possessing few attractions to persons of education, 'offer no inducement to men of substance in Europe to go thither. 'Those who do go must trust to their personal exertion and the 'support of others; and when, after a continued residence they 'have made some progress in acquiring a competency, and have 'become accustomed to the climate, they hardly ever consider 'themselves as settled there for life; their wish and hope is to 'carry their acquisitions so far as to be enabled to pass the re- 'mainder of their days comfortably at home. The readiest means, 'in the view of the planter, of accomplishing this, is the exten- 'sion of his undertakings. This he can only do by borrowing 'money, &c.'

This, then, enables us to understand the true meaning of the phrases 'decayed prosperity,' 'declining condition,' 'disastrous state,' so continually repeated of the West Indies. It is simply that they are no longer places where great fortunes can be rapidly made; adventurers from England can no longer go out, and at the price of a ten years' sojourn among slaves come back with so many thousands; the home speculator no longer finds them a profitable investment of capital. The inhabitants, the real population of Jamaica, are not worse, they are far better, off than they were a century ago. And yet though we have full knowledge that it is the well-being of the mass of the people, and not the accumulation of capital in a few hands, that constitutes the wealth of a nation, we continue to speak and argue as though the sole object of government and legislation was to produce high figures in tables of exports. It has been over and over demonstrated by writers on political economy, that it is not exportation but importation that is the great interest of a country; the material well-being of the people is to be judged of, not by the number of quarters of wheat they raise, or Ireland would be one of the best fed countries existing, but by the quantity they consume. Notwithstanding this, nothing is more common in popular debate than the assumption that it is our prime object to find or to make an outlet for our manufactures. We ought to cultivate the goodwill of Brazil, because they consume three millions' worth of our goods; or, we can afford to quarrel with Brazil, but cannot with the United States, because the latter are our customers to so much greater an extent. One instance in which the shop-keeping spirit invaded our public policy may be mentioned. Under the old Sugar Duties Act,

which drew the distinction between free and slave-grown sugar, it was left to Privy Council to declare what countries should be reputed to be free-labour countries. And among these the United States were tacitly included! We did not dare to offend them by even the imputation of slavery to them, though they possess more slaves than all the other slave countries put together. But they are our best customers.

On the question of the claims of the colonies, as affecting the sugar duties, we have but one more observation to make. We have shown the fallacy of calling the small body of home merchants and estate owners 'the colonists,' and of identifying the rise and fall of their rate of profits with the colonial interests. But we will suppose for the moment, that these gentlemen deserve at the hands of this country all the consideration they claim, and that in legislating for those islands Parliament ought to have their interests primarily in view. Even in that case we maintain that they have no claim for compensation for loss in consequence of Emancipation. Adopting their mode of speaking of the 'decay' and 'ruin' of Jamaica, nothing is more certain, than that it was not Emancipation that 'ruined' that colony. If any one will be at the trouble to retrace the history of the West Indian colonies, he will find that they have successively run through the cycle of the same 'prosperity,' and the same 'decay,' arising from the same causes, long before any anti-slavery movement commenced. The one great secret of the success of a sugar-plantation, for the absence of which no legislative encouragement, not all the aid of skill, capital, or machinery can compensate, is a fresh and fertile soil. Each of the islands has had in its turn its period of greatness and opulence, from which it has gradually declined as the fertility of its soil was gradually exhausted. The smaller Antilles, Antigua, and Barbadoes, had their turn first, and at the beginning of the last century supplied almost all the then limited consumption of Europe. But from the first introduction of the cultivation of sugar into them, in the reign of Charles II., the free white population rapidly diminished, and their virgin lands were soon exhausted. Then Jamaica rose on their ruins, and by the middle of the century was become the largest sugar-producing country in the world. But the extent of soil adapted for this purpose is limited in proportion to the square superficies of the island, on account of the great extent of hilly country it contains. Already, in 1758, the symptoms of commercial decay were pointed out by Burke: 'The great 'stocks, and the running into a staple which required them, 'have, by degrees, devoured the island. It is the nature of vast
ts to create a kind of monopoly; and it is the nature of
ly to aim at great profits from a comparatively little

'produce. Indigo was once very greatly produced in Jamaica, 'and it enriched the island to such a degree, that in the parish 'of Vere, where this drug was cultivated, they are said to have 'had no less than 300 gentlemen's coaches, a number I do not 'imagine even the whole island exceeds at this day; and there 'is great reason to believe that there were many more persons 'of property in Jamaica formerly than there are now, though 'they had not those vast fortunes which dazzle us at present.' Jamaica was then eclipsed by the rapid growth of the French colony of St. Domingo, which from the desert to which the Spaniards had reduced it by the extirpation of the aboriginal Indians, became in the hands of the French the most opulent and prosperous of the sugar colonies. It was, however, rapidly going through the same cycle of destiny as its English predecessors in the same career, when its ill-gotten splendour was cut short by the revolution. The sudden fall of St. Domingo revived for a short time the fortunes of Jamaica, but this was only the effect of accident, and the fleeting genius of colonial prosperity speedily transferred itself to the fresh soils of Cuba and Brazil, the countries which, at the present day, eclipse all the sugar countries by the rapid and portentous strides which they make in their career of ill-gotten gains. If prophecy of future events is ever safe, it is in this instance, from the uniform experience of the other sugar plantations, that the fate of Cuba and Brazil will not be different; but in the case of the latter country, at least, who can set limits to the increase of a wealth which has a boundless extent of untouched soil to draw upon?

It is, then, to the exhaustion of its fresh soil, and the growth of Cuba and Porto Rico, that Jamaica owes this decline, not to Emancipation. Had it not been for the protective duties, the decay of its commercial greatness would have reached its present point even before the Act of Abolition. Fifty years ago Humboldt foresaw and foretold what has since come to pass, 'that 'the smaller Antilles, notwithstanding their favourable com-'mercial position, will not be able to maintain competition with 'continental colonies, if these last continue to apply themselves 'with the same ardour as at present to the cultivation of sugar, 'coffee, and cotton. In the physical as in the moral world, 'everything eventually falls into the order prescribed by nature; 'and if a few little spots of which the aboriginal inhabitants 'were exterminated have carried on up to this time a more 'active trade in their productions than the neighbouring conti-'nent, it is only because the inhabitants of Caraccas, New 'Granada, and Mexico have begun very late to profit by the 'immense advantages which Nature has given them.' These views were not indeed realized in favour of the particular coun-

tries specified by Humboldt, internal revolutions having interfered with their economical development, but the principle thus propounded has proved exactly true, though it is Cuba and Brazil, and not Mexico, that has exemplified it.

It is then quite untrue what is so often repeated by certain parties, that their death-blow has been dealt to the West Indies by successive Acts of the home legislature, Abolition, Emancipation, and now lastly the removal of their protective duties. That era of West Indian greatness to whose statistics the planters of our day look back with longing eye, so far from being the natural or normal condition of these colonies, was a forced and unhealthy growth, limited by the extent of fresh available soil, and on the failure of that resource vainly and variously attempted to be bolstered up by artificial restrictions on commerce. Jamaica must be content to succumb to that law of decadence, supreme over all human successes, but nowhere more conspicuous than in mercantile prosperity, in that which is so happily named 'fortune.' This, as it is always owing to the concurrence of favouring circumstances, in a much greater degree than to moral or intellectual gifts, is consequently more fluctuating and treacherous than that greatness which is founded on the sword. Look to the history of Europe, and trace the transfer of the monopoly of trade from the 13th century, when Genoa supplanted Pisa, and was in its turn eclipsed by Venice; how the Venetians gave way to the Dutch, and how England wrested the slippery prize from the tenacious hands of the latter. Or, as an instance on a smaller scale, we may observe how in our own country the road to wealth has shifted from buccaneering in the Gulf of Mexico to trading to the Levant, from the Levant back again to the South Sea; how the South Sea was succeeded by the plunder of India; when the Eastern Indies were nearly exhausted, came sugar-growing in the West Indies, and after that, during the war, the 'miracles of Manchester.' The West Indians might as well call on the British Parliament to stop the course of Time itself, as require them to give them back their short-lived season of unnatural prosperity. All the varieties of manure, all the ingenuities of machinery which Mr. Cobden can suggest, will not enable them to compete with Brazil and its countless millions of untilled and untrodden acres. But, fortunately, the substantial welfare of a country, and the happiness of its people, whether in the torrid or the temperate zone, does not depend on its being able to undersell its neighbours in the market of the world. The lurid halo of a vaporous opulence, led with the groans of the suffering slave, has flitted from ca to encircle Cuba. Very far are we from regretting its ure. There is now opening on the West Indies a prospect

of a real prosperity, of a far more solid and substantial sort than that which it has lost. Its progress in the course of true civilization, begun so hopefully in the 17th century, was only interrupted by the introduction of sugar cultivation, and the absorption of the small estates into the large speculations, as we have already described. That process must now be reversed. The false notion that prosperity depends on exports must be laid aside, and internal improvement made the object. Let the number of hogsheads of sugar and pounds of coffee exported dwindle every year; so much the better, if that is a symptom of the islands' getting rid of that incubus on their internal growth, the English proprietor or mortgagee. Instead of great exports producing large returns to some unknown and unseen capitalist at home, but tending only to dispeople the island and overtask the labourer, we may indulge the pleasing anticipation of the formation of a native population gradually gaining the habits and feelings of citizens, enjoying in return for moderate labour a sufficiency of the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. We could form no better wish in behalf of our West Indies than that they should become poor, at least that they should make a poor figure in the statistical tables, and that the contrast should no longer continue which is so well drawn in the following passage, between them and the French colonies of Martinique and Guadaloupe, islands which enjoy a high degree of domestic prosperity, for the very reason that they never attained the portentous opulence of St. Domingo.

'The houses in S. Pierre (Martinique) have more of a European air than in our English colonies; and I must notice, with praise, the existence of four booksellers' shops as large and well-furnished as any second-rate ones in Paris. The sight of books to sell in the West Indies is like water in the desert, for books are not yet included in plantation stores for our islands. The cause is this: the French colonists, whether Creoles or Europeans, consider the West Indies as their country; they cast no wistful looks towards France; they have not even a packet of their own; they marry, educate, and build, in and for the West Indies, and the West Indies alone. In our colonies it is quite different; except a few regular Creoles, to whom gratis rum and gratis coloured mothers for their children have become quite indispensable, every one regards the colony as a temporary lodging-place, where they must sojourn in sugar and molasses till their mortages will let them live elsewhere. They call England their home, though many of them have never been there; they talk of writing home, and going home, and pique themselves more on knowing the probable result of a contested election in England than on mending their roads, establishing a police, or purifying a prison. The French colonist deliberately expatriates himself, the English never. The consequence of this feeling is, that every one, that can do so, maintains some correspondence with England, and when any article is wanted, he sends to England for it. A different feeling in Martinique produces an opposite effect; in that island very little individual correspondence exists with France, and consequently there is that effectual

demand for books, wines, jewellery, haberdashery, &c., in the colony itself, which enables labour to be divided almost as far as in the mother country." —*Coleridge's Six Months in the West Indies.*

But deeply interesting as is the question of colonial policy, or the treatment of the European settlers in the West Indies by the mother country, it yields in importance, at least at present, to the great problem of the New World, which, as it tends more and more to merge into itself, owing to its prodigious increase of late years, all the other social questions concerning the north as well as south portions of that continent, may well be called the 'condition of America' question. Indeed, had the question of the sugar duties to be decided solely on colonial or mercantile grounds, there would be very little difficulty, without need of much commercial experience, in making up our minds as to the common-sense view of the matter. But that which embarrasses the decision in this case is, that this, like all other West Indian questions, is intimately mixed up with the slavery question. Legislation cannot touch the sugar-duties in any way without at the same time affecting the interests of the slave, and committing this country to some line of policy or other in respect of them. And thus the slow operation of destruction of the colonial monopoly, the gradual process which has been going on of removing the prohibitions in their favour, and overturning that whole fabric of colonial policy which, originating in the shortsighted self-interest of the mother country, had come at last to be only an expensive burden on her; this slow but inevitable progress of our legislation has at last, as it was long ago foreseen it would do, come across in its path that other line on which we had embarked ourselves, that of our anti-slavery policy. After the sacrifices, considerable after all deductions, and the efforts, certainly undeniable, which we had made for the overthrow of slavery, and the public manner in which we had pledged ourselves to uncompromising hostility towards it, by making treaties expressly with that object, and inserting stipulations against it in every commercial or maritime treaty we concluded with any foreign power, going almost the length of a rupture with France in maintenance of the right of search, and after owing not a little of that real admiration of English spirit and generosity which we obtain (notwithstanding all their jealousy) from the other nations, to the public position we had assumed in the world as the enemies of negro slavery,—it is

ed a hard dilemma in which to find ourselves. It seems
e must either abandon this lofty position, submit to our
acknowledge that we are beaten in the struggle, that
is far beyond our powers to extirpate, and go through
jeers of foreign nations on this humiliation of our pride,

or by continuing to exclude slave-grown sugar not merely admit one very extensive exception to our new commercial policy, but cut short altogether the grand experiment of free-trade, and render nugatory or disastrous all the previous steps we have taken in that direction. Thus it is evident that had the question of the sugar duties been to be brought to issue on mercantile and fiscal grounds alone, there could not have been a moment's hesitation as to the policy and justice of the equalization of the duties on all sugars. We must now, therefore, take a short review of the other and more important branch of the question, and of the whole situation which appears to us to justify the measure which has been adopted of the admission of slave-grown sugar.

First, then, a very wide and real difference will be remarked between institutions existing within, and institutions existing without, the limits of our own country. It is with the former alone that our legislature can have to deal directly. To oversee and regulate the former is the duty of the government; to attempt to oversee or regulate the latter, is either ridiculous folly, or impertinent interference. It is folly, where the nation with which we propose to interfere is strong, and can laugh at the attempt; it is an insult, where it is weak, and must submit to it. It is the office of the British legislature to make laws for British subjects, not for Portuguese. Now as to the trade in slaves, and the institution of slavery, this country has thought itself under a moral obligation wholly to suppress and abolish them, and it has done so at great cost, and by great national exertion. Since the 1st of August, 1834, there is not, nor is it possible for there to be, any slave, or slavery in any shape or form, under its mildest form, even that of compulsory labour, (condemned criminals alone excepted,) within any portion of the British dominions. Not only Great Britain, but all our settlements, colonies, and dependencies, are cleared of all remains of personal bondage or servitude.[1] To be engaged in the slave-trade for any British subject, whether directly, or by serving on board a slave-ship, is felony, and punishable by transportation. In a word, our internal legislation against slavery presents no tokens of weakness, compromise, or inconsistency, but is most open, straightforward, full, and complete. Personal servitude, without distinction of colour, country, birth, or race, is entirely

[1] We find from Mr. Babington, that in Great Britain itself villanage was in existence till a recent period; many of the labourers in the salt-works and collieries of Scotland continuing *glebæ ascripticii* till 1775, when Lord Melville, as Lord Advocate, brought in a bill to abolish this last relic of British slavery.—*Babington*, p. 163.

extirpated from the British dominions, and illegal for the British subject.

Here surely is the natural limit of our legislation. Having done thus much, we had not only done all that we ought to have done, but all we could do by direct legislation; and we confess that it appears to us, that when this country outstepped that natural limit, and finding herself at the conclusion of the continental war supreme at sea, and with considerable influence on land, endeavoured at the Congress of Vienna to apply the physical force and moral weight she found herself possessed of, to compel other nations to follow her example, to take the same steps in their colonies as she had done in hers, and to join her in a maritime crusade against slave-traders, that she took a step which was at once erroneous in principle and unfortunate in its results. It was wrong in principle, because it was an attempt to direct opinion by the application of external force, to compel another nation to adopt, out of deference to a superior force, views for which they were not prepared, and with which they did not agree. And it has been accordingly unsuccessful, having only served to arouse national pride, and thus to place the slave-trade under the protection of one of the most respectable of all sentiments, the sentiment of national independence. No independent nation will endure to be told by another nation, 'We are more virtuous than you, and in that capacity have sat in judgment on your institutions; we find that of slavery to be bad, and as a penalty for it we condemn you to the payment of a fine in our Custom-house.' Such language naturally excites the indignation of foreign nations. Let us put a parallel case to ourselves (an illustration used by Mr. Macaulay): 'I know that Ireland has been misgoverned, and I have done, and purpose to do, my best to redress her grievances. But when I take up a New York journal, and read there the rants of President Tyler's son, I feel so much disgusted by such insolent absurdity, that I am for a moment inclined to deny that Ireland has any reason whatever to complain.'—(*Speech in the House of Commons, Feb.* 26, 1844.) It is not intended to assert that our responsibility altogether ceased when we had restrained our own subjects from the trade, or that having enfranchised our own slaves we had nothing more to do, and might forget the millions who still remained in bondage in other countries. As a member of the family of nations, and more peculiarly as the great commercial metropolis of the world, England must lie under an obligation to combat, to often, to remove the evils of negro slavery as long as it shall where exist. But to attempt to do this by direct legislation, rning her revenue duties into a penal code for the purpose lcting the nations who still continue to maintain a trade in

slaves which she herself has abandoned after leading it for centuries, to extort stipulations by fear, or, wildest scheme of all, to annihilate the trade by an armed force,—these are modes of fulfilling that obligation which experience, we should think, has fully demonstrated to be utterly futile and impolitic. All direct interference only aggravates the evil, causes a just suspicion of our motives, and prevents the legitimate influence of our example. So far as this country can at present contribute to the amelioration of the condition of the foreign slave, and forward the (we fear very distant) period of his enfranchisement, it must be by the influence of her example, by the indirect operation of opinion, by the arm of reason, by contributing to the spread of the principle of freedom, by showing in practice (if it can be shown) that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, and thus enlisting the interests of the slave-owners on her side. It was by such means, and not by threats, or prohibitions, that France was induced to follow our example in her colonies. Let us not, in our public acts as a nation, imitate that painful virtue, not uncommonly met with in private life, where an individual, having perhaps in a moment of zeal committed himself to some act of self-denial, endeavours to alleviate his own uneasiness under the privation by forcing all those who are within his power to adopt his plan, and preaches up to all his own example, till the very name of the virtue in question becomes odious.

This simple principle of non-interference, which is, in fact, the basis of the whole code of international law as acted on in all other matters, ought to be, surely, the rule here also, and affords a plain and well-defined line of demarcation where our direct efforts for the destruction of slavery ought to cease. If in any of our measures, *e.g.* in the attempt to stop the slave-trade by the employment of a naval force, we have gone beyond this line, let us honestly avow our error and retrace our steps. This simple distinction, too, affords the proper answer to an argument that may be urged with some weight, to the effect that,—Though it is true we are not consistent—that we admit great quantities of other slave-grown produce, such as cotton and tobacco, yet, that the admission of sugar is something additional, is a new step; that the fact of our having already taken so many wrong steps does not render the next in the somewhere in one whit less reprehensible; we had better stop same direction the course ofevil than nowhere: that slave-grown cotton is admitted already, it is a pity it is so; but we are not debating about cotton, but about sugar; if we could undo what has been done about cotton we would, but at any rate we need not add to it the fresh mischief of letting in

sugar merely for the sake of being consistent—that the additional stimulus directly given to the slave-trade by the admission of slave-grown sugars is a much greater evil than inconsistency. There is certainly much weight in this reasoning. Consistency, though very desirable, is not always to be had, nor always to be made an object for its own sake, either in public or private conduct, in states or individuals. But if the distinction drawn above be kept in view, between legislating for the regulation of our own affairs, which it is our duty to do, and legislating for the purpose of striking an indirect blow, through our tariff, at some institution of our neighbours which we happen to disapprove of, it will be seen that this reasoning falls short of the principle on which we take our stand. We do not call upon you to admit foreign slave-grown sugar because you admit foreign slave-grown cotton, but because we should think it equally wrong for you to exclude cotton on the ground of its being grown by slaves. When you admitted cotton, though slave-grown, you did right, because you acted on the principle of non-interference with the internal affairs of neighbouring states: continue to do right—admit sugar on the same ground, and your consistency will be the guide and measure of your doing right. The very same necessity which is pleaded for the admission of cotton, is equally strong for the admission of sugar; we could do without cotton quite as easily as we could do without sugar. The real novelty, the real new measure in the case, is our overstepping the line which should confine us from meddling with our neighbours' concerns by the introduction of the distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar. All foreign articles, whether cotton, coffee, tobacco, indigo, or sugar, were originally excluded in favour of the colonial article, and not because of their being raised by slave labour. And it was the very same ministry (the late) which admitted foreign cotton at a reduced rate, without thinking of any distinction between slave and free labour, and yet arbitrarily drew that distinction in the case of sugar. Can we wonder that foreign nations should ascribe such inconsistency to hypocrisy, and charge us with interested motives, with secretly protecting our West Indian interest under pretence of zeal for the cause of the negro, because competition in the sugar-trade affects them, but competition in the cotton-trade does not affect them, because they do not grow it? To quote again from Mr. Macaulay, the whole of whose speech on this question will well repay perusal—'If any

> 'oral obligation to prohibit slave-grown produce really
> 'e supposition leads to consequences from which every
> would recoil, consequences which would throw the
> mercial and political system of the world into con-

'fusion. If such moral obligation be in force, then the whole 'of our financial legislation is one mass of injustice and inhu- 'manity. I am not disputing the paramount authority of moral 'obligation, or setting up pecuniary considerations against moral 'considerations. I know that it would be not only a wicked, 'but a short-sighted policy to aim at making a nation great and 'prosperous by violating the laws of justice. To those laws, 'enjoin what they may, I am prepared to submit. But I will 'not palter with them. I will not have two standards of right, 'one to be applied when I wish to protect a favourite interest at 'the public cost, and another to be applied when I wish to 'replenish the Exchequer, and to give a stimulus to trade. I 'will not have two weights or two measures. I will not blow 'hot and cold, play fast and loose, strain at a gnat and swallow 'a camel.' (*House of Commons, Feb.* 26, 1844.)

There are those who, conscious of the justice of this reasoning, admit that a wrong has been committed by the admission of the cotton of the United States, and would vindicate the national honour by the resignation of this benefit, and call on the nation to retrace its steps here at however great a further sacrifice of interest. Such was the argument of the Bishop of Oxford in the House of Lords. But supposing for an instant that such a chimera should be realized, that the legislature should be willing to ruin our whole cotton manufacture in vindication of its consistency, how very far should we still be from anything like a complete compliance with the supposed moral obligation to abstain from all products of slavery as from an accursed thing, and to do nothing to promote or forward it, however remotely or indirectly. To do this would demand not merely that we should entirely forego the use of coffee, tobacco, and cotton, destroy our manufactures, and pay an extravagant and exhausting tax on our sugar, but the whole system of trade, of exchange, must come to a standstill. For what is the case at present with this commerce? If we have any commercial intercourse whatever with slave-owning nations, even though we will not take their produce; nay, if we have intercourse, and exchange commodities with those nations only which have no slaves themselves, but who take the goods of those slave-owning nations, we so far become purchasers of the produce of slave-labour. We cannot, in fact, keep ourselves clear from participation in this guilt, if guilt it be, unless we were to give up commerce altogether, burn our shipping, fill up our harbours, and build Bishop Berkeley's wall of brass all round our country. For what becomes of the sugar of Cuba, for example, when it is excluded from the English market? Why it finds a market somewhere else. The merchant takes it to the Mediterranean, to St. Petersburgh; he searches

out a market anywhere, sells his cargo, and obtains in exchange goods which he brings straight to England, and obtains with them a supply of our manufactured goods. We will not take his sugar, but we take the price for which he sold it to another. The utmost that our exclusion of slave sugar from our markets (we never even professed to exclude it from our ports) effects, is to put the merchant, the dealer in Cuba sugars, to a good deal of extra trouble, and cause a great loss to the English consumer, and to the English merchant. It is just the same (to quote an illustration of Lord John Russell) as if an individual was to come to a shopkeeper and offer him some sugar which he had stolen from a warehouse, and the shopkeeper was to say to him, 'No, I will not buy this, you have stolen it; I will not 'purchase stolen goods: but I know a neighbour who has no 'such scruples, go and sell to him, and I will give you, in return, 'whatever may be the value of the article you have stolen; but 'I will not touch the article itself.' This is a plain statement of the amount of participation we must necessarily have in the profits of slave-labour, even supposing, (a supposition which it is quite impossible could ever be realized,) we could rigidly exclude all slave produce itself from our markets. But the inconsistencies in which we were practically involved, while the law stood as it was, were almost ludicrous. For example:—During the whole time that the distinction between free and slave-grown sugar was maintained, and while in and out of Parliament, the most urgent appeals were being made to the House and the nation that we should have nothing to do with the consumption of slave-grown sugar, it was notorious that we were refining the whole of the sugar of Cuba and Brazil that was being exported to the continent. It was shipped in the raw state for this country, landed in bond, refined by British skill and machinery, and then exported to Hamburgh and Genoa for the use of the German and Italian consumer. There was no end to these and similar inconsistencies, so long as that distinction was maintained.

'Cases of conscience' (it is well said) 'must not be unneces-
'sarily multiplied, or too subtly investigated. To say that
'every one who shares in the common benefits of civilization is
'answerable for his share of all the moral evil at the expense
'of which these benefits are produced, would be nearly equi-
'valent to a sentence of banishment from the world. But in
'this particular instance the distinction between direct and
'indirect participation in the gain arising from slavery and the
'slave-trade, does appear to me too minute to be substantial and
est. While we retained the system of slavery in our
it was most justly said that we could not lay the
it, whatever that may be, to the account of our

'planters, while we were enriching ourselves at home by importing their produce in exchange for our own goods. In what way is the American government, or the cotton planter of Louisiana, or the cabinet of Spain, or the tobacco-grower of Cuba, precluded from making the same reply to us, when we taunt them with the miseries which their institutions engender? We speak of the blood-cemented fabric of the prosperity of New Orleans or the Havana; let us look at home. What raised Liverpool and Manchester from provincial towns to gigantic cities? What maintains now their ever active industry, and their rapid accumulation of wealth? The exchange of their produce with that raised by the American slaves: and their present opulence is as really owing to the toil and suffering of the negro, as if his hands had excavated their docks and fabricated their steam-engines. Every trader who carries on commerce with those countries, from the great house which lends its name and funds to support the credit of the American bank, down to the Birmingham manufacturer, who makes a shipment of shackles to the African coast, is in his own way an upholder of slavery; and I do not see how any consumer, who drinks coffee or wears cotton, can escape from the same sweeping charge.'—(*Merivale: Lectures on Colonization*, vol. i. Lect. 11.)

And if the principle is wrong of attempting indirect interference by legislation with the internal affairs of other nations, much more is it a violation of the principle of non-interference to attempt to coerce them by an armed force to the measures we require them to adopt. The strong resist, as the United States have done, our requisition of the right of search; the weak elude by craft and dissimulation, as the Brazilians did the stipulations of the treaty lately expired, while it yet remained in force. It may be said, indeed, and with some truth, that slavery and the slave-trade stand on very different grounds in this respect. That even admitting the principle for which we contend, that one nation has no right to interfere with the domestic arrangements of another, and that the British legislature cannot inflict penalties on Spain, because Spain chooses to keep slaves, yet that the trade in African slaves, being of the nature of piracy, is strictly within the limits of international law, and a case which calls for the interference of any foreign power in the name of humanity, and therefore more especially of that power which claims to have, and till lately carried out the claim, a maritime supremacy. If, however, we could establish the legitimacy of our attempts to suppress the trade on the coast of Africa by means of an armed naval force, the experience of some years must now have convinced the most sanguine of the fruitlessness of such

endeavours. We have not only not succeeded in cutting short that trade, but it has increased under our hands both in extent and in intensity of its horrors.

1. In extent. It has been computed, by the Society for the Civilization of Africa, that the numbers exported from Africa at the date of the year 1840, were as two to one compared with 1807. From the very nature of the trade it is obvious that it is impossible to have accurate returns of the numbers; but the late Sir Fowell Buxton, in the last edition of his work on the slave trade, published in 1839, gives on sufficient evidence a total of 150,000 negroes as imported annually into the Western hemisphere. This number he has proved; but as it is, of course, the interest of all concerned in it to carry on the illicit traffic as secretly as possible, it is quite certain that a very large number reach the shores of America, which is never ascertained by the inquiries and researches of those who are declared enemies of the trade. Every thing that violence, artifice, popular countenance, and official connivance can do is done in the slave countries to conceal the extent of the traffic. 'In Cuba,' writes our Spanish Ambassador in 1837, 'a special privilege of entering the harbour after dark, denied to all other vessels, is granted to the slaver; and with all the servants of the government the misconduct of the persons concerned in the trade finds favour and protection, and they are thus encouraged and enabled to set the government of the mother country at defiance.' Notwithstanding the barbarizing effects of a life spent in the midst of gangs of slaves, and the habitual exercise of a tyrannical and irresponsible authority over life and limb of a fellow-creature; the Spanish planter has a secret consciousness that he is wrong, he cannot bear the prying eyes of Europeans, and though as determined as ever not to relinquish his gainful pursuit, yet strives to do what he does do in the dark. Thus the amount of 150,000 can only be taken as an approximate number, which is thus distributed between the two great slave-countries,—Cuba, 60,000, Brazil, 78,000. But it is well known that slaves are imported into Porto Rico. And with respect to the Spanish states of South-east America, Mr. Buxton furnishes the following evidence. From Buenos Ayres, Mr. Hood, the Consul, writes to Lord Palmerston in 1833, that 'the dormant spirit of slave trading has been awakened; 'the Aquila Primera, a schooner belonging to this place, and 'under this flag, was fitting to proceed to the coast of Congo for 'a cargo of slaves, and other fast-sailing vessels were in request [illegible] the same service. The Uraguese minister did not deny that [illegible] vernment were cognisant of the proceedings, and con- [illegible] hat they had given their concurrence to the proposal of

'importing 2000 *colonists* from the coast of Africa, which he 'considered a fair and legitimate trade. A company of merchants 'had, it was said, given him a considerable bribe to permit this 'importation. In 1835, no less than twenty vessels under the 'Portuguese flag landed slaves on the coast near Monte Video. 'In 1834 the Rio da Pinta, of 202 tons, under the flag of Monte 'Video, was seized with licence from the authorities to import '650 colonists, with 521 slaves on board, men, women and chil-'dren.' These facts relating to these Spanish countries, which have only been accidentally collected by Sir Fowell Buxton, can therefore only be regarded as specimens of what is of ordinary occurrence, and are themselves no data on which to found any calculation as to numbers, but they are remarkable as showing how the trade is gaining ground in countries in which it had been hitherto unknown; it is spreading to these new states, who are thus making the first use of their flag, which they owe chiefly to this country, to thwart our endeavours, and to engage themselves in a traffic which it is one of our main objects to put down.

Another newly opened demand for slaves is furnished by Texas, into which Sir F. Buxton was assured on good authority that 15,000 slaves were imported from Africa in 1837. To these may be added importations into the southern states of the union, which it is certain take place, (and now with greater ease as the American flag is safe from our search,) but of which it is impossible to get anything like an estimate. But with respect to Brazil, Sir F. Buxton's computation is far too low. Bandinell, in 1838, computed the annual importation at 94,000; but data furnished by Mr. Nelson, who writes in the present year, lead us to conclude that even this number is below the mark. He says that the Brazilian planters estimate the waste of slave life at ten per cent. per annum. Now the slave population of the Brazils is 3,000,000, which at this rate gives a mortality of 300,000 annually. But taking for granted that numerical precaution has carried the estimate of the waste of this the most costly part of agricultural speculation to the very highest extreme, and that it is also drawn from the class most exposed to the causes of mortality, and that the domestic slaves enjoy a longer average term of life, and, on these grounds, we ought perhaps to reduce the average mortality of all classes of slaves in Brazil to 7½ instead of 10 per cent. Even then the number of deaths will stand at 225,000 per annum. To replenish this enormous waste of life, the reproductive power of the slave population is wholly inadequate. The slave does not naturalize or thrive in Brazil, at least he is prevented from doing so by the cruel arrangements of the proprietors. For while the supply

from Africa is so abundant, and the price of a full-grown negro so low, the attempt to supply the demand by propagation is considered as expensive and absurd. The planter has but to go into the slave market, and there at a moderate price procure any number of slaves of either sex and every available age; it is not likely, therefore, that he will await the slow processes of nature, and undergo all the expense and risk attendant upon infancy and childhood, and the loss of the labour of a certain portion of the females, which such a process would require. The peculiar cruelty attendant on such a condition of things will be obvious at once. On all estates the disproportion of female to male slaves is very great; on not a few in the interior of the country, the number of females is regulated merely by the domestic service of the establishment, and there are some in which there is not a female to be found; such is the aversion of the proprietors of the soil to be encumbered with any hands which cannot perform the highest amount of labour, and which are not always of avail. Even in the city the female negro suffers a depreciation in value the moment she becomes a mother, and is often punished for the last and least exalted social intercourse her degraded position still places within her reach. These circumstances considered, Mr. Nelson's estimate of 125,000 as supplied by natural propagation from a body of 3,000,000 of slaves will be admitted to be rather beyond than below the mark. But even on that estimate the supply drawn from Africa will amount to 100,000 per annum.

The same conclusion may be drawn from a different set of data.

'The number of negroes imported into Rio alone, in the 'year 1820, when the traffic was legal, and when there could be 'no object in concealing or misrepresenting it, was 20,075. The 'amount of coffee exported from the same harbour for that year 'was 80,000 bags. In 1844, the slave trade being no longer 'lawful, the number of negroes surreptitiously introduced of 'course appears not, but the returns for that year state the 'export of coffee to have been 1,189,523 bags. The connexion 'which necessarily exists between produce and labour will enable 'the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the 'increase of slave traffic which has taken place during the inter- 'val. Another proof may be drawn from the number of vessels 'and the amount of capital employed in the trade between 'Rio and Africa. During the year 1843, forty vessels were leared from the Custom House of Rio for the different Por- guese settlements on the coast. They were freighted with ffee, sugar, tobacco, rice, rum, and 50,000 pounds worth of nglish manufactured goods.'—*Nelson*, pp. 38, 39.

From these data it will be seen that Sir T. F. Buxton's estimate of 150,000 negroes annually imported into the Western World is far too low. But the number which actually reach the shores of America is only a small remnant of the immense expenditure of human life which the trade, in its several steps, of capture, march to the coast, detention there, and finally the passage, occasions.

2. For the horrors of the middle-passage, dreadful as they always were, have been directly augmented by the measures we have adopted for the suppression of the trade. The risk of capture by our cruisers has operated in two ways on the slave-adventurer's ingenuity. By one he is prompted to equip vessels well-founded, and in which stowage is sacrificed to speed, a class of vessels known by the name of *American clippers*, so that should a cruiser bear in sight, the slaver has still a good chance of safety in flight. But the favourite plan of the Brazilian slave-adventurer is to purchase any old and worn-out craft he can come by, and providing her at the cheapest possible rate with stores, fit her out with a view to stowage alone. This plan goes on a calculation of chances; the profit is so great, that if but one out of three, according to Mr. Jackson, of the Commissioners' Court of Sierra Leone, or one out of five, according to Mr. Nelson, make a successful run, he still pockets a considerable profit. For the vigilance of our marine, though totally ineffectual for its object, has afforded the slave-trader a plausible excuse for at once cheapening his commodity on the coast of Africa, and raising its price in the market of Brazil. He gives less than he did before our squadrons were stationed there, and sells for more. As to the former, or the price given at the baracoon, it will vary very much according to circumstances. Sometimes, when the supply is large, or the vigilance of the English cruisers off a noted baracoon prevents all egress, and keeps the slave-ships rotting in the rivers, the value of the negro suffers a great depreciation, and they are often disposed of at any price to get rid of the expense of maintaining them. Should this continue long, and, while the stream of fresh victims keeps pouring on from the interior, no market be found for them, they are often chained two and two together, and sunk in rotten boats in the river; or small-pox, or dysentery, engendered by the close confinement of the baracoon, breaks out among them, and sweeps them away by hundreds; or, again, they are abandoned by their keepers, and left to perish by starvation. Of the aggravation (if possible) of the cruelties of the middle-passage by the system of close stowage, which is had recourse to to compensate for the increased risk of capture, Mr. Nelson's book affords sufficient evidence. He was a medical officer of

the 'Crescent,' a frigate which is dismantled and permanently moored in the harbour of Rio for the reception, medical treatment, and accommodation of such negroes as may be taken off the coast of Brazil. This frigate, during the time she has been so employed, viz., from April 1840 to 1845, had received on board the cargoes of eight full slavers, amounting in all to about 3,000 negroes. We shall not give any of the horrible details, which are sickening even to read of; we only point our readers' attention to the conclusion drawn, that the tendency of the efforts to suppress the trade by an armed naval force has been to induce the trader to crowd his hold and decks, and allow less space for his miserable victims, in order to compensate for the risk of capture. For some time it was the practice of the slavers, when chased by a British frigate, to throw the slaves overboard, as they could not be made prize of as slavers unless slaves were actually taken on board. While this was the case, it was not uncommon for the pursuing vessel to see hundreds of negroes precipitated into the sea before their eyes from the decks of the slaver, while her path through the water was dyed with the blood of the unhappy wretches by the sharks that followed in her wake. This expedient, however, was somewhat checked by the introduction of clauses into the treaties with the various nations, by which the fittings of a slave-ship and the nature of the cargo may be brought into any of the Slave Commissioners' Courts as evidence. But after what has been stated, we shall not be surprised when we find that the increase of mortality on the numbers brought to the coast for sale, and on the passage, has increased since 1807 (according to the same Report of the African Civilization Society) from 17 to 25 per cent.[1]

3. And if the cruelty to which the slave is subjected has been only aggravated by our interference, let us look for a moment at the case of those whom we employ to enforce that interference, and we shall find that what that service inflicts on the officers and seamen of our own navy is another and no trifling item to be added to the amount of evil produced by this ill-advised system. During a long series of years, during which the experiment of suppressing the trade by an armed force has been tried, we have been exposing our own sailors to the deadly influences of the pestilential shores of Africa. Thousands and thousands of these brave men have fallen victims. Again and

[1] A licence to trade to the coast of Africa, found in a slave-brig which had sailed from Monte Video in 1834, and had fallen into the hands of a British frigate, was accompanied by a curious document, purporting to be an application from the owners of the slaver for licence to import '650 colonists, and 250 more to cover the deaths on the voyage.'

again has the flag waved over silent and deserted decks. The story of the 'Eclair' is fresh in our memories. In that instance was brought home to our own doors what is of frequent occurrence on the African station. According to a return moved for by Mr. Hume, and presented to Parliament in August last, the average force employed in the past year, 1845, for the suppression of the slave-trade, was 56 ships, manned by 9,289 men, which had cost £706,454. Out of this number, there had been 259 deaths, and 271 invalided. The proportion borne by the deaths to the invalided speaks for itself. And for what has all this expenditure of valuable life, and this permanent ruin of health and constitution been incurred? Serious as is the sacrifice, yet had it answered in any measure the end proposed, had it proportionately diminished the waste of life in the African populations, or stanched the ever-flowing wound in the side of that ill-fated continent, it would be some consolation to the country, and the families, of the gallant men who are thus sacrificed. The plan, indeed, of suppressing the trade by means of our naval supremacy, must be admitted to be, at first view, very feasible, and it would be most unreasonable to censure those by whom it was originated. The feats which our navy had performed in the way of sweeping the seas, and blockading long lines of coast in the teeth of powerful foes, might well encourage the expectation that they would find little difficulty in annihilating a piratical traffic carried on by a band of ruffian adventurers. It was a scheme formed in a noble and generous spirit, founded on the most reasonable hopes of success, and carried on with vigilance, perseverance and intrepidity, in bearing up against an enemy far more formidable than any human arm,—a deadly climate. But it has failed, utterly and entirely failed; surely if experience proves anything, it has proved this. More negroes are every year brought to the coast; more perish on the middle-passage; more are imported into the slave countries than in the preceding year. We have for thirty years lined the coast of Africa with sailing vessels, and are now blockading the principal rivers with steamers; we have engaged the co-operation or consent of most of the maritime powers, and have reaped nothing from all our efforts but augmented suffering to the negro race, and a wholly unrecompensed expenditure of money and life to ourselves. Can there be any doubt that this system ought to be immediately abandoned?

But what, then, it may be said, must we do? If we thus acknowledge, as indeed it would be mere obstinacy not to acknowledge, that we have been beaten, that the natural course of events, or if we choose rather to say the cupidity of wicked men, has proved an overmatch for our naval strength,—are

we to resign ourselves helplessly to the consequences, and sit quietly by and see the growth of this tremendous evil, the monster wickedness of these latter days, without any attempt to remedy it? Nay, are we even to share in it, and profit by it, indirectly, indeed, but still really, by buying and using the produce of all this misery and crime?

The only answer that sober truth will permit us to make to this question, is one which can be but little consoling or satisfactory. Perhaps, indeed, there is hardly room here for inquiring what we ought to do, what line of conduct we should like to pursue as a nation, when it is so abundantly obvious what we must do, whether we like it or no. We see no help for it, but patiently to acquiesce in what we cannot remedy or even alleviate. We have heard but of three possible remedies for this social disease suggested. Two of them, suppression of the trade by armed force, and discouragement by disuse of slave produce, have been tried, with what success we have endeavoured to show. The third, the favourite scheme of Sir T. F. Buxton, is that of African civilization; the endeavour, by an increased and systematic intercourse of the European nations with the African tribes in their own homes, both by means of missionaries of religion, and the various intercourse of commerce, to soften their manners, to put an end to their now endless petty warfare, (the original source and supply of the slave-trade,) and so far to open their eyes to their own interests as to show them that a trade in other articles besides human flesh would be more for their advantage. This scheme, which is not without some plausibility, we have not now leisure to discuss. We will only make two remarks upon it: First, that when we call to mind what has been the invariable result of the intercourse between the civilized European and the semi-barbarian, or the unreclaimed savage, we should have much more to fear than to hope from such intercourse in the present instance, even were it possible that it should be established. But there is an obstacle which we regard as (at least so far as present experience serves to guide us) quite insuperable in the way of such an intercourse, even were it desirable. We need hardly say, we allude to the climate, an enemy which the European constitution has hitherto been found quite unable to contend with. What else is it, but this superhuman foe, which has hitherto kept at bay the energy of commerce, defied the spirit of covetousness, and baffled even the self-devotion of the jesuit-missionary? What else, while every corner of the globe, the remotest islands in the South Sea, the summits of the Andes, the recesses of the Poles, have been visited and revisited, described and surveyed, till they are as familiar to us as any English

county, has kept the interior of Africa as much an unknown region as it was to Herodotus or Ptolemy? Until we can overcome this primary obstacle, until we can find some antidote, which will enable us to inhale the pestilential air of those swampy forests with impunity, central Africa will continue as impenetrable to us for all purposes of admixture to any extent with its varied populations, as if it was a country in the moon; till we can live there, we cannot think of civilizing the inhabitants.

It is in great measure from a want of adequate knowledge of the magnitude of the evil, that such sanguine anticipations have been formed by many of its speedy remedy. By the side of the massive proportions of this monster evil, its enormous spread, and the prospects of a further diffusion, only limited by the ocean which bounds the continent of America, the force of a single nation, however wise, wealthy, or powerful, is but a puny arm. This negro slavery is not the offspring of yesterday, not the result of certain temporary causes, to pass away when they no longer exist; it is the slow and gradual growth of 400 years, the inevitable condition of the settlement of the European race in the New World. Beginning with the discovery of America by Europeans, it has grown with their growth there, and followed their steps. And as the filling and replenishing that vast region with the white race is as yet but in its first beginning and infancy, so this dark shadow which attends upon it, enormous as it now seems, is as yet but in its bud and germ. A blight and a curse has every step been that the white man has advanced into the forest; cruelty and bloodshed have marked his path. He found these countries in the possession of native races, in various stages of civilization. What has become of them? They were made to labour for him, and sunk beneath their labour, used up in his service. The aboriginal races were annihilated by slavery before the African coast was had recourse to. Whole nations were wiped from the face of the earth; millions of human beings were immolated by the white man before he laid his hands on a single African. Singular self-delusion! While we are reviewing with complacency our progress in cultivation and refinement, and proving that Christianity and civilization have banished the stain of slavery from Europe, under the auspices, and in the name of Christianity and civilization, we are spreading through regions of at least five times the extent of Europe, a slavery, compared with which that of the feudal ages, which we think it so much to be delivered from, was a light and easy service. What are the bloody deeds which we execrate at home, which we boast that the progress of humanity and enlightenment has secured us from a repetition

of—massacres of the Albigenses, Sicilian vespers, eves of St. Bartholomew, campaigns of the Duke of Alva,—what are they, all put together, to the deliberate, ordinary, matter-of-course, calculated-on, annual consumption of life in the sugar-grounds and cotton plantations of America?[1] These deeds we speak of, too, were either wrought from good sentiments misdirected, as from religious zeal, or were reprobated at the time by the moral sense of the whole Christian community. But the wholesale and systematic murders of the tropical slave-countries are perpetrated solely from the spirit of covetousness; they are sacrifices to the lust of gain, and are entirely approved of and sanctioned by the public opinion of those countries. It may be, indeed, as we have before hinted, that a faint echo of the public opinion of the Old World now and then disturbs the repose of the Spanish or American planter; he is made uneasy when he thinks the eye of a European is upon his lash, or his branding-iron. But this is an external and accidental discomposure of a moment. Accustomed to such an arrangement of society from their birth, they never think of discussing, as a practical question, the right and the wrong, the to be, or not to be, of slavery; it seems no more a hardship or a cruelty to them that a negro should be worked to death in the fields, than it does to us that a horse should be worked to death in a cab or an omnibus; and they regard any one who lectures or preaches the abolition of slavery much in the same light as we regard one who preaches the discontinuance of animal food and the disuse of the shambles. If he ever by any chance is roused to speculate on the subject, there are not wanting abundance of arguments which seem to him to establish that peculiar position which the negro happens to occupy towards himself as being an ordinance of nature, and in complete accordance with the immutable fitness of things; just as it seemed to the trapper in one of Cooper's novels, to be 'clear agin both reason and Scripture,' to forbid shooting an Indian when you could come within reach of him. The wisest Greek philosophy did not rise superior to the social condition of its own age and country; that the barbarian, *i.e.*, all the world besides, was born the thrall of the Hellenic race, was accepted by it as a fundamental axiom of politics. The same maxim, only inverting its terms, was current on the other side of the Ægean, God had made the whole world to be subjects of the Persians.

Brazilian, himself but the half-blood offspring of the the lowest of the low,' regards the black race as bountiful provision of Providence, to enable the

of life for a sugar-mill slave in Louisiana does not exceed seven *mbaugh*, vol. i. p. 120.

white man to dwell between the tropics, and finds negro-slavery ratified in Scripture by the curse pronounced on the children of Ham.

Nowhere does slavery wear so natural an appearance, or seem so thoroughly at home, as in the Brazils. Not even in ancient Rome was all labour and the arts more entirely renounced by the freeman. Slave-labour is there not merely employed in the fields, and in those tasks which the climate renders impossible to the white man, but is introduced into every department of manual industry. Hence every employment implying manual skill and ingenuity is held degrading. Accordingly, to Frenchmen is resigned the mystery of the scissars and the needle; to Portuguese adventurers the ignoble duty of retail shopkeeping; and to the English, Germans, and Americans, the care of supplying the country with foreign necessaries and luxuries. Or if the Brazilian does condescend to the least laborious of these undignified methods of earning a livelihood,—that of opening a shop,—this is the Oriental style in which he discharges its obligations:—

'I am amused at the apparent apathy of the Brazilian shopkeepers. If they are engaged, as now is not unfrequently the case, in talking politics, or reading a newspaper, or perhaps only enjoying a cool seat in the back of their shops, they will often say they have not the article inquired for, rather than rise and fetch it; and if the customer persists, and points it out in the shop, he is coolly desired to get it for himself, and lay down the money.'—*Graham's Brazil.*

Nothing can be more helpless, socially speaking, than the Brazilian. At home, he is at the mercy of his slave for all domestic comforts; abroad, his entire trust, whether for amusement or business, for necessaries or superfluities, is on foreigners. Slavery seems to have sapped his self-dependence, enervated his energies, and thrown him, a helpless creature, on the services of others. From slavery to the slave-trade the step is small and easy; and we shall not be surprised that one to whom it is quite natural to be served by slaves, should find it quite as natural to supply himself with a commodity so indispensable in the mode he finds established, viz., by the slave-trade. And a trade whose profits are so high, a speculation of such brilliant promise, is almost the only one which overcomes Brazilian indolence.

'When we glance at the vast difference between the trifling sum paid in the slave-market of Africa and that received in Brazil for a negro slave, we shall perceive at once what an irresistible temptation is held out to the cupidity of lawless and unprincipled men; and it will not require much acuteness to foresee what dangers will be braved, and what ingenuity will be exercised, to grasp so glittering a prize. An additional inducement, were any required, to engage ruffians in a speculation of this description, is furnished by the insignificance of the sum required to fit it out. Scarcely

a needy Portuguese adventurer from the old country but holds out to his dazzled imagination the hope that, in time, the land of his adoption will supply him with the means to try his fortune in the great Brazilian lottery of slave-trading, in which the prizes are in such goodly proportion to the blanks, that it is more the dread of not being able to purchase a ticket than any misgiving about its probable success, which awakens his anxiety. From the road-side "venda," or hedge-alehouse, whither the recent Portuguese immigrant is glad to betake himself to obtain the means of bare subsistence, he looks with a half-confident eye to the gaudy chacaras or villas of his hoary precursors, and promises himself to raise, from anticipated profits, such a one, some day or other, for himself. The slave-dealers are the nabobs of the Brazils, they form the dazzling class of the *parvenu millionaires*. Do you see that nondescript building, with its stuccoed front and green painted balconies, surmounted by vases and plaster images from the heathen mythology, and surrounded by a garden, in which elaborate fountains, stucco figures, and brick and mortar borders to the walks and flower-plots, leave scarcely any room for the flowers themselves? That is the chacara, or country residence, of a slave-dealer, a man who, twenty years ago, landed in the Brazils with scarcely a testoon in his pocket; who commenced his career by keeping a venda, but closed that to open a retail warehouse, which the ferret eye of British competition no sooner beheld than it fostered into noxious respectability by the obliging accommodation of unlimited credit. The man was shrewd; he saw his store filled with goods which did not belong to him; and, being of a speculative turn, he ventured a part of them in the slave-trade. But Fortune, less indulgent than the British creditor, frowned on his first effort. The vessel in which he had embarked his goods, or the slaves obtained in exchange for them, was captured on the coast by a British cruiser, and his dreams for the present of a rapid fortune ended, as dreams usually do, in nothing. Meanwhile, the bills drawn at no early date became due, or, to be more exact, his debtor account to the English dealer began to wax old, and payment was gently urged by the creditor. The ready shrug of the shoulders, and the characteristic *paciencia meu senhor*, were all he had at his disposal, at least all he intended to give. And here the uninitiated might conclude the matter was at an end. But no; neither the creditor nor the debtor were to be so baffled. The homely adage, "In for a penny, in for a pound," influenced the former, while the hope of retrieving his loss spurred on the latter to a second venture. And so it was arranged. More goods were furnished, another slaving trip was tried, and proved successful. The previous disappointment was now amply made up by the present profits; confidence was restored, avarice received a fresh impulse, the speculation was repeated again and again, and the speculator was finally enabled to perpetrate that absurdity in stone and mortar, and to live, as its owner, in a style of vulgar profusion.

'Such is an episode from a road-side conversation one may hear any day from an old resident in the Brazils, and such the prospect which stimulates the ambitious adventurer in that country to engage in a speculation, one successful hit in which is a fortune.'—*Nelson*, p. 64, &c.

So natural, so rooted in their institutions and manners, is slavery: it is much more like an impossibility that the Bra- ...ins should exist without slaves than that we should exist ' the coffee or tobacco which is raised by those slaves.

se who still ask, is there, then, nothing that we can do he abolition of this great evil? we answer, much; but

it must be done in the right place. The advice of the Greek historian to his countrymen, when they cast their mutual failings in one another's teeth, was, that they should go home each with the burden of his own misdoings. Let what we have to do be done at home. While the Dorsetshire labourer is supporting a family upon tenpence a day; while the Irish peasant is naked and starving; while the children in the manufacturing districts are growing up diseased, ignorant, and heathen, there is always plenty to be done. We do not speak of these domestic sores in a spirit of taunt, but as pointing the direction to which our efforts should be applied. But we cannot expect that the Brazilian should be equally forbearing when we taunt him with his negro-slavery; when we go out of our way to tell him that his trade in slaves is quite wrong, that he ought not to encourage the trade, or even to have slaves at all, can we wonder that he asks us, If we ever heard of a slave dying of hunger in Brazil? and whether we can say the same of England? What should we think if the Emperor of Russia were to tell this country that her treatment of Ireland was very wrong, that till she made the Irish peasant as comfortable and as well off as he ought to be, no English goods should be admitted into Russia? What did we think when, three years ago, M. Ledru Rollin was on his incendiary mission in Ireland, and when the French press was raising so loud a clamour against the tyranny of England over her Irish slaves? Admit, as we may, to the full, the existence of the evil complained of, we justly thought it an unwarrantable interference. But what should we have said had this language and this attack, instead of being that of an individual, or carried on in anonymous newspapers, been taken up by the Government, had been propounded by M. Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies, and embodied in some Act of the Legislature, and a public punishment been inflicted by prohibiting Manchester or Birmingham goods in the French ports?

In conclusion, if our interference has been wrong in principle, and productive of no advantage to the party sought to be benefited; and if it would, therefore, be better to occupy ourselves with reform and amendment at home, it may be useful to consider that, though negro slavery, as it exists, is perhaps the heaviest and the most widely-extended burden now pressing on mankind, yet it is not alone in the world; it is an evil, differing in degree, not in kind, from many others in our social system which we are compelled to tolerate. As divorce was permitted for a time to the Jews on account of the hardness of their hearts, so in every age there are human ills arising from uncontrollable circumstances, which are far beyond the power of any legislation to reach or cure. There is, of course, *one* cure. As all human

evil arises from human depravity, so the only searching remedy for human depravity will, as far as it is enabled to operate, cure the particular evils which spring from that common root. But how did Christianity operate against the slavery of the ancient world? Not by denouncing it as an institution. Christ's Kingdom is not of this world, and sets up neither despotism nor republic, interferes not with master or slave. But it introduced into the world a principle which was incompatible with the essence of slavery, and which, as it gradually gained ground, man by man, left of slavery nothing but the name. For the Christian slave of a Christian master is, it is evident, a servant, and not a slave, except in name.

'Many institutions,' says Neander, (as quoted by Mr. Babington, p. 7,) 'might exist, which would never have been formed in a state of society under the influence of Christianity, but which might, under the guidance of a Christian spirit, be so modified, that they no longer contained anything at variance with its principles. As Christianity was not in the habit of producing any violent change in external things, but reformed and amended these by beginning from within, for the avoidance of a greater evil, and in order not to step out of its own peculiar sphere of spiritual efficacy, it might very well allow them to continue, at least for a time, in such a way that a new spirit might be imparted to the old form, which did not suit the spirit of Christianity, and, at last, when men were prepared for the change by the influence of Christianity, the form itself might drop, and all become new.'

ART. II.—*The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism, upon Testimonies of Councils and Fathers of the first Six Centuries.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., Rector of Launton, Oxon. London: Burns. 1846.

THIS is a book of great value. It contains a full, learned, candid, and most honest appeal to 'authorities which could not be deceived, and cannot be adulterated,' the Councils and Fathers of the first six centuries of the Church, on the great question which has recently begun to agitate once more the minds of earnest and faithful Churchmen in England,—the question whether subjection to the claim of monarchical and infallible supremacy in the see of Rome is a necessary condition of being within the pale of Christ's Church. And the result is of the most satisfactory kind. It is proved, and, as it would seem, beyond the possibility of denial, that the Church of the first six centuries never recognised, nor knew of, and therefore, of course, never submitted to that wonderful claim, which, rising out of small beginnings, and gradually developed into a perfect theory, has at last risen to such height that, according to the theory now most current in the Romish communion, it is said that 'Christianity rests entirely upon the Sovereign Pontiff;' 'the 'Sovereign Pontiff is the necessary, only, and exclusive founda-'tion of Christianity. To him belong the promises, with him 'disappears unity, that is, the Church.'

Of the spirit and temper in which Mr. Allies has entered upon this most important appeal to the six first centuries, we can judge from the following passages:—

'The writer will not conceal that he took up this inquiry for the purpose of satisfying his own mind. Had he found the Councils and Fathers of the first six centuries bearing witness to the Roman Supremacy, as at present claimed, instead of *against* it, he should have felt bound to obey them. As a Priest of the Catholic Church in England, he desires to hold, and to the best of his ability will teach, all doctrine which the undivided Church always held....This is, in one word, his justification of his mother from the sin of schism. If true, it is sufficient; if untrue, he knows of no other.'—*Pref.* p. iv.

'Those who have followed with anxious sympathy that great restorative movement which, for twelve years, has agitated her bosom .... and further. those, not few nor inconsiderable, we believe, who, by God's gr the teaching of *one man* in particular a debt they can never recovery, perchance, of themselves from some form of error taught them to discern, or the building them up in a faith, portions he first discovered to them,—these will feel, with than we can express, the urgency of the occasion how, indeed, could the question whether the

in schism, or be, as from the laver of their regeneration they have been taught to believe, a member of that one sacred Body in which Christ incarnate dwells,—how could this question be so forced upon their minds, as by the fact that her Champion, whom they had hitherto felt to be invincible, who had seemed her heaven-sent defender, with the talisman of victory in his hands, of whom they were even tempted to think

"Si Pergama dextrâ
Defendi possent, etiam hâc defensa fuissent,"

that he who, fighting her battles, never met his equal, unsubdued by any foe from without, has surrendered to his own doubts and fears; self-conquered, has laid down her arms, and has gone over to the camp opposed.'—P. 8.

'That power, for which the heroic and saintly Hildebrand died in exile, if exile there could be to him who received the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession; for which our own S. Anselm, forced against his will to the Primacy, stood unquailing in the path of the Red King, most furious, if not the worst, of that savage race, whose demon wrath seemed to justify the fable of their origin; for which S. Bernard, the last of the Fathers in age, but equal to the first in glory, wrote and laboured, and wore himself out with vigils, and wrought miracles; for which our own S. Thomas shed that noble blood which sanctifies yet our primatial Church, an earnest of restoration and freedom to come; that power for which S. Francis, the spouse of holy poverty, so long neglected since her First Husband ascended up on high, and S. Dominic,

"L'amoroso drudo
Della fede Cristiana, il santo atleta
Benigno a suoi, ed a nemici crudo;"

and one greater yet, the warrior saint, Ignatius, raised their myriads, of every age and of both sexes, armed in that triple mail of poverty, chastity, and obedience, "of whom the world was not worthy;" that power, to which have borne witness so many saintly Bishops, poor in the midst of poverty (?) and humble in the exercise of more than royal power,—so many scholars, marvellously learned,—so many, prodigal of labour and blood, who are now counted among the noble army of martyrs,—so many holy women, who have hidden themselves under the robe of the first of all Saints, and followed the Virgin of virgins in their degree; that power is, indeed, the most wondrous creation which history can record, and one to which I am not ashamed to confess that I should bow with unmingled reverence, had not truth a yet stronger claim upon me, and did not the voice of the early Church, its Fathers, Councils, and Martyrs, sound distinctly in my ears another language.'—P. 191.

These passages are long; but it is important to show that the state of mind and feeling in which the writer has entered upon his task is not, to say the least of it, one of prepossession against the Roman Catholic Church, its argument, its history, or its ›cent accessions from our own ranks. They, therefore, establish ıe right of the writer to the fullest, clearest, and fairest hearing. o overpowering bias of mind and inclination has swayed his dgment. If he has decided, positively and strongly, against ıe Romish side of the argument, he has done so because of the ırresistible weight of the Truth, unsupported by any bent or

tendency of mind in himself to take for granted, *à priori*, the correctness of the Anglican hypothesis. We do not now remark upon these passages further than to observe, in passing, that the same *impetuosity of admission* which characterises the *sentiment* of the last two of them, forms, as we think, the only considerable drawback to the value of the *argument* also of this excellent volume.

The writer, speaking like one whose heart would fain have taken rank with him and those whom he so eloquently eulogises, seems to feel so secure in the weight of his serious argument, as to fear no danger from admissions and allowances which appear to us sometimes to exceed the sober truth. He seems to make amends to himself for being convinced, by his glowing panegyrics and large casual concessions to the very persons whom he is annihilating by his argument. But of this hereafter.

In order, then, to obtain a just view of the principles and practice of the primitive Church in respect of the questions before him, Mr. Allies begins by selecting the period of the Council of Nicæa, as 'the first at which the Universal Church, emerging from the fires of persecution, is found acting as one body.' 'Up to that date, engaged in a fierce and unrelenting 'conflict with the Paganism and despotism of the empire, she 'could hardly exhibit to the world her complete outward organi-'zation.' It is not, indeed, meant that the *principles* of that structure and organization were then discovered for the first time, nor that they were unknown to the earlier Fathers; but they were, comparatively with later times, more scantily alluded to, as they were less perfectly acted out, in the then circumstances of the Church; so that the time of the Nicene Council is the first from which we can trace retrospectively the mind of the earlier ages in this respect.

What, then, is the view with which the decrees of the 318 Fathers of the great Nicene Council present us?

The first and most striking is, the full apostolical power of Bishops. A fresh and unbroken tradition, so universal and unquestionable that no other voice was heard besides, testified that the Bishops throughout the whole world were the successors of the Apostles, invested with the plenitude of that royal priesthood, which the Son of God had set up on the earth in His own Person, and from that Person had communicated to His chosen disciples, and so were possessed of whatever authority was necessary to govern the Church. With this Divine equality of Bishops was combined a system of ecclesiastical gradation amongst them, whereby those who in all abstract and divinely descended powers were possessed of the entire apostolic authority, were practically, and for unity's sake, arranged in orderly subordination one

another—Bishops under Metropolitans, Metropolitans under Patriarchs; and of the great Patriarchs of the early Church, those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, the first was acknowledged to hold the first rank, and to be, in that sense, the primate of the whole Church. The general principle of this patriarchal authority (we do not venture to discuss the much agitated question whether the precise powers herein specified are metropolitical or patriarchal) is thus confirmed by the 6th and 7th canons of Nicæa. 'Let the ancient customs, those in Egypt, Libya, and 'Pentapolis, hold; so that the Bishop of Alexandria should have 'authority over all these: since this is customary also for the 'Bishop in Rome. In like manner at Antioch also, and in the 'other provinces, let the priorities be reserved to the Churches. 'And, generally, it is plainly declared that if any person should 'become a Bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the 'great council decrees that such a person ought not to be a 'bishop.' 'Since custom and ancient tradition have pre-'vailed that the Bishop in Ælia should be honoured, let him 'have honour accordingly, the proper dignity being reserved to 'the metropolis.'

These passages testify to the principle as an existing one, and confirm it by a most solemn decree, of the patriarchal system, of which the Bishop of Rome was freely conceded to be the head. Of the nature of this headship, and Mr. Allies's views respecting it, we shall have occasion to speak presently. He shows, however, by abundant testimony, that whatever it was, it did not interfere with the divine right of Bishops to govern in their own dioceses. Each of these derived his authority by transmission from the Apostles, as the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter. They were not his *delegates*, but his *brethren;* nor were any titles of dignity or authority given to the Bishop of Rome, which were not shared equally by all Bishops throughout the world.

The same essential equality of Bishops is additionally proved by the laws in force respecting their consecration and jurisdiction. In the matter of consecration, every Bishop (except in the case of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, where Bishops were consecrated by the Patriarch) after being elected by the Clergy and people, and the assembled provincial Bishops, was consecrated by the metropolitan. The Bishops of the great sees, especially Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, announced their accession to each other, together with a profession of the orthodox faith. As to jurisdiction, not only had no one Bishop, whether Patriarch or Metropolitan, direct jurisdiction in the diocese of another; but the idea of any jurisdiction emanating from Rome to the great Bishops of the East, was never even imagined.

Mr. Allies illustrates, with great force, this constitution of the Church in the ante-Nicene times, from the conduct of S. Cyprian of Carthage, in four most important cases. The first is the case of Felicissimus, respecting whom he addressed a letter to Pope Cornelius. Therein he uses indeed strong expressions respecting the 'see of Peter, the principal Church whence the 'unity of the priesthood took its rise,' and 'the Romans, whose 'faith had been praised by the preaching (Apostolo prædicante, 'rather, by the commendation) of the Apostle, to whom faithlessness can have no access.' But the matter of that letter is a strong protest against the idea of the Bishop of Rome entertaining an appeal in a case already decided by himself and the African Bishops. 'For since it has been determined by all of 'us, and is both equitable and just that the cause of every one 'be heard there where the crime has been committed, and to 'every shepherd a portion of the flock is allotted, which each one 'rules and governs as he is to give an account of his doings to 'the Lord, it is certainly behoving that those over whom we 'preside should not run about, nor break (*collidere*, set at 'variance) the close harmony of Bishops with their deceitful and 'fallacious rashness, but should plead their cause where they 'may find both accusers and witnesses of their crime; unless 'to a few desperate and abandoned men, the authority of the 'Bishops seated in Africa seem less, who have already judged 'concerning them.'

In a note upon this passage Mr. Allies, referring to a most signal misrepresentation by De Maistre, of the testimony of S. Cyprian in this matter, says, 'After this, who will trust De 'Maistre's facts without testing them? The truth is, he had 'taken the quotation at second-hand, and never looked to see 'to whom it was applied. It suited the Pope so admirably, that 'it must have been meant by him. But I recommend no one 'to change their faith upon the authority of quotations which 'they do not test.' A pithy recommendation! and one, so strange are the tempers, and so unaccountable and impetuous the movements, of men in these days, not a little needed.

The second transaction of S. Cyprian with the see of Rome, took place in the case of Marcian, Bishop of Arles. He wrote to Pope Stephen, requesting him to depose Marcian, who had joined himself to the heretic Novatian. The letter is the 68th in Bishop Fell's edition of S. Cyprian, and, as Mr. Allies truly says, 'is just such a letter as an Eastern Primate would have written to the Patriarch of Alexandria, or of Antioch, to request his interference at a dangerous juncture.' He might have spoken more strongly. The letters of S. Basil to S. Athanasius, contain much more remarkable expressions of

the same kind; expressions so remarkable and strong, that they would certainly have been adduced as containing a positive proof of the Roman supremacy, had they been addressed to the Roman instead of the Alexandrian Patriarch. 'As the greater 'part of the pain (arising from the schism of Antioch) reaches 'thy perfection, so we think that the greater part of the care of 'the Churches should belong to thy wisdom.' 'Who is more 'powerful than thy wisdom to effect these things? who is more 'keen to discern the right? who more practical in doing what 'is necessary? who more sympathetic in the troubles of the 'brethren? who more venerated in all the West than thy most 'reverend hoariness?' 'The good order of the Church of 'Antioch plainly depends on thy piety; so that thou must 'manage some, tranquillize others, and restore strength to the 'Church through harmony.' (Ep. 66.) Of Meletius, S. Basil says that he is 'unblameable in faith, incomparable in life, and 'chief of all the body, so to say, of the Church, (*τῷ πάντος, ὡς 'εἰπεῖν, σώματος τῆς* 'Εκκλησίας *αὐτὸν προεστάναι,*) the rest being 'subdivisions of parts.' (Ep. 67.) Again, to Athanasius: 'To 'most others it is sufficient that each should look to his own 'department; but to thee, this is not enough; but on thee lies 'as great care of all the Churches, as of the particular one 'entrusted to thee by our common Master—whence, we desiring 'to contribute somewhat to the (general) zeal of this matter, 'have thought that we should give the best beginning to these 'things, if we should betake ourselves to thy perfection, as to 'the apex of the whole (*εἰ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν τῶν ὅλων, τὴν σὴν 'ἀναδράμοιμεν τελειότητα*) and use thee as our adviser and guide 'of action.' (Ep. 69.) 'The more the sicknesses of the Churches 'increase, the more we all turn to thy perfection, convinced 'that thy supremacy (*τὴν σὴν προστασίαν*) is the sole remaining 'consolation of our dangers.' (Ep. 80.) 'But when we turn 'our eyes again on thy reverence, and consider that our Lord 'hath received thee to be the physician of the diseases of the 'Church, we resume our courage.' (Ep. 82.)

The third instance in which the doctrine of S. Cyprian, respecting the constitution of the Church, was made clearly known, is the great question of Rebaptization. The circumstances of this case are generally so well known to all who have in the least degree examined the validity of the Romish claim of supremacy, or the English of independence, that it is not necessary to narrate them. Let it suffice to say that S. Cyprian's language in his Epistles to Pope Stephen and Pompeius, and his speech at the Council of Carthage, is so full and clear, that it may be confidently and broadly alleged that the theory of Papal supremacy can only be supported honestly by

either rejecting the authority of S. Cyprian altogether, or supposing it to be a development of later ages, entirely unknown to his times. But when it is remembered that S. Augustine, the greatest name of the Western Church, did, 140 years after, examine this controversy minutely; and, though deciding against S. Cyprian on the point at issue, take no exception whatever against his language and actions respecting the See of Rome, the development theory is seen to labour under an original defect so great, that unless it had been maintained by the singular learning, controversial ability, and (alas! for the addition) controversial *management* of Mr. Newman, it would assuredly have been too outrageous and revolting to attract the smallest regard.

The fourth case is that of Basilides, who, 'deposed in Spain,' says Mr. Newman, 'betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of S. Stephen.' No doubt. But S. Cyprian, being appealed to by the churches of Leon, Asturia, and Merida, did, at the head of the African Bishops, declare the restoration by Pope Stephen to be void, and *reversed it.*

Having thus illustrated the constitution of the early Church in these respects from the records of the ante-Nicene times, Mr. Allies proceeds to trace the same subject through the ensuing three centuries.

Shortly after the Nicene Council, two councils were held (at Antioch in 341, at Sardica in 347,) in which the matter of appeals was considered, and canons made to regulate them. But the different decision made in the East and West is one of the first symptoms of the beginning of that Western presumption—that δυτικὴ ὄφρυς, of which S. Basil complains, and of the consequent beginning of an estrangement which ultimately cut Christendom in half. The East decreed, that in cases of dispute between Bishops, appeals should be made to provincial councils, and from them to larger councils; but that if Bishops, priests, or deacons carried their complaints before the Emperor, they could never be reestablished in their dignity. At Sardica, on the contrary (canon iii.), 'Hosius, the Bishop, said—If any Bishop have 'been condemned in any cause, and think that he have not a 'bad, but a good case, that the trial may be renewed. If it 'please your love, let us honour the memory of the Apostle 'Peter. And that letters should be written by the judges to 'Julius, Bishop of Rome; so that, if there be need, the trial 'may be renewed by Bishops, neighbours of his province, and he 'may appoint judges. But if it cannot be established that the 'case is such an one as to require rehearing, the first sentence is 'not to be annulled, but to be in force.' By the fourth canon, on the suggestion of Gaudentius, no fresh appointment was to

take place to a see, pending an appeal to Rome; and by the fifth, on the suggestion of the same Hosius, it was permitted to the Bishop of Rome to send a legate, with his own authority, to take part in the trial.

'Such,' says Mr. Allies, 'is the modest commencement of that 'power of hearing episcopal causes on appeal, which has been the 'instrument of obtaining the wonderful authority concentrated 'by a long series of ages in the see of Rome.' We cannot now pursue the progress of this power from this 'modest commencement,' highly interesting and most important though it is. Let it however be observed, that even in this its beginning (1.) it is not regarded as inherent in the see of Rome, (2.) nor as primitive, (3.) but as arising from the gift of a small council, (of about eighty Western Bishops, the Eastern prelates having withdrawn from it;) (4.) and that it was neither given with the consent of the East, nor ever sanctioned by it. Thus from the first to the last—from the very dawn of that close-drawn monarchical unity of the West to its consummation, has the East stood off, and witnessed against it! a visible exterior unity, of a kind which the primitive Church knew not, has been chained upon the West, but its price has been the cutting of Christendom in two!

But the canons of Sardica, important and significant as they were, did not attract the immediate notice, nor produce the immediate effects, which might have been expected, as will be seen by the following most instructive narrative, which will bring our sketch towards the middle of the fourth century.

'In the latter years of S. Augustin's life, the important question of appeals from African Bishops to Rome was settled. Apiarius, a priest, had been excommunicated by his Bishop, and appealed to the Pope. The Bishops of Africa would not agree to the Pope's claim, that the causes of clergy condemned by their own Bishop should be brought before the neighbouring Bishops; nor that Bishops should appeal to Rome. The Pope alleged the canons of Nicæa (not, be it observed, an inherent power in his See to judge Bishops); the Bishops of Africa said they could not find those canons in the copies which they had. They agreed, however, to be thus treated, provisionally, for a short time, till they were better informed of the decrees of Nicæa. It turned out that, by the canons of Nicæa, the Pope meant those of Sardica, to which the African Bishops refused obedience. The end of this was that Pope S. Cœlestine restored Apiarius to communion, and sent him back to Africa with Faustinus, his legate. At his arrival the Bishops of Africa assembled a council, in which Aurelius of Carthage, and Valentine, primate of Numidia, presided. Thirteen more are named, but the name of S. Augustine does not appear among them. The council having examined the affair of Apiarius, found him charged with so many crimes that it was impossible for Faustinus to defend him, though he acted the part rather of an advocate than of a judge, and violated all right in the opposition he maintained against the whole council, under the pretence of supporting the privileges of the Church of Rome; for he wanted Apiarius to be received to the communion of the Bishops of Africa, because the Pope had restored him to it, believing that he had appealed, though he could not prove even the

fact of his appeal. After a debate of three days, Apiarius at last, stung with remorse, and moved by God, confessed on a sudden all the crimes of which he had been accused, which were so infamous and incredible as to draw groans from the whole council, after which he was for ever deprived of all ecclesiastical administration.

'The Bishops wrote a synodial letter to Pope Cœlestine, in which they conjure him for the future not to receive to his communion those who have been excommunicated by them, since this was a point ruled by the Nicene Council. For, they added, if this be forbidden with respect to the minor clergy and laymen, how much more did the Council intend its observance in respect to Bishops? Those, therefore, who are interdicted from communion in their own provinces, ought not to be restored by your Holiness too hastily, and in opposition to the rules; and you ought to reject the priests and other clergy who are so rash as to have recourse to you. For no ordinance of our Fathers has deprived the Church of Africa of this authority, and the decrees of the Nicene Council have subjected the Bishops themselves to their respective Metropolitans. They have ordained, with great wisdom and justice, that all matters should be terminated in the places where they arise; and did not think that the grace of the Holy Ghost would be wanting in any province to bestow on its Bishops the knowledge and strength necessary for their decisions; especially since whosoever thinks himself wronged may appeal to the Council of his province, or even to a General Council, unless it be imagined that God can inspire a single individual with justice, and refuse it to an innumerable multitude of assembled Bishops. And how shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea, since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary witnesses, whether from the weakness of sex, or of advanced age, or any other impediment? For that your Holiness should send any one on your part we can find ordained by no Council. With regard to what you have sent us by our brother Faustinus, as being contained in the Nicene Council, we find nothing of the kind in the more authentic copies of that Council which we have received from our brother the Bishop of Alexandria, and the venerable Atticus of Constantinople, and which we formerly sent to Boniface, your predecessor, of happy memory. For the rest, whoever desires you to delegate any of your Clergy to execute your orders, we beseech you not to comply, lest it seem that we are introducing the pride of secular dominion into the Church of Christ, which ought to exhibit to all men an example of simplicity and humility. For as to our brother Faustinus, since the wretched Apiarius is cut off from the Church, we depend confidently on your goodness, that without violating brotherly charity, Africa shall be no longer forced to endure him. Such is the letter of the Council of Africa to Pope St. Cœlestine.'—P. 63.

Well may Mr. Allies exclaim, 'I confess it was not without 'astonishment that I first read this passage of history; so exactly 'had the African Bishops in 426, when the greatest Father of 'the Church was one of them, anticipated and pleaded the cause 'of the English Church in 1534.'

In the same Pontificate of Pope Cœlestine, and only a few years after this African Council, the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus was assembled, the narrative of which Mr. Allies has extracted at length from Bossuet. In this Council Pope Cœlestine, by his legates, took the most forward part, as from the dignity and orthodoxy of his see was to be expected. The whole

proceedings of the Council, if they confirm, as no doubt they do, the fact of the precedency of the Patriarchate of Rome, do also abundantly establish the fact of the subjection of the Patriarch of Rome himself to a general council; that is, to the united voice of the Church, of which he is the first Minister indeed, but not the Sovereign. Add to which, that the eighth canon, vindicating the Episcopal and Patriarchal system against an innovating claim of the Bishop of Antioch, bears the strongest testimony against the similar, but much larger, modern claims of the Bishop of Rome. 'The same rule,'—this is the conclusion of the canon,—'shall be observed in all the other dioceses, and in 'the provinces everywhere, so that none of the most religious 'Bishops shall invade any other province which has not heretofore 'from the beginning been under the hands of himself or his pre-'decessors. But if any one has so invaded a province, and 'brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that 'the canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the 'pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the ap-'pearance of a sacred office, nor we lose by little the freedom 'which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has 'given us by His own blood. The Holy and Œcumenical 'Synod has therefore decreed that the rights which have here-'tofore and from the beginning belonged to each province, shall 'be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the 'custom which has prevailed of old, each Metropolitan having 'permission to take a copy of the things now transacted for his 'own security. But if any one shall introduce any regulation 'contrary to what has been now defined, the whole Holy and 'Œcumenical Synod has decreed that it shall be of no effect.'

The Holy and Œcumenical Synod, it seems, had no notion of *developments*.

A further stage, however, of the growth of the Roman claims was reached by the next Pope but one, S. Leo the Great, who succeeded to the see of Rome on the death of Pope Sixtus, in 440. The language held by Pope Leo in his Sermons is a considerable advance upon any that had been heard in previous times, and furnishes a strong contrast with that of S. Augustine, from the whole of whose voluminous writings Mr. Allies demands that a single passage be shown bearing evidence to the Papal as contradistinguished from the Patriarchal system.

Pope Leo's expressions, however, begin to be significant. With him, 'out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside 'over the calling of all the Gentiles, *and over all the Apostles*, and 'the collected Fathers of the Church; so that though there be 'among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, 'yet Peter rules all by personal commission (*propriè*), whom

'Christ also rules by sovereign power.' 'The stability which 'through Christ is given to Peter, through Peter is conveyed 'to the Apostles.'

Nor were his acts less striking. He restored to communion Celidonius, Bishop of Besançon, reversing the sentence of S. Hilary of Arles; and, in spite of the most earnest resistance of S. Hilary, whose language and arguments were precisely similar to those of the African Church in the matter of Apiarius, he, by the aid and support of the Emperor Valentinian, carried his point. In commenting upon this act, Mr. Allies observes, that the government of the Church, which S. Leo thus claimed, was, in the first place, new; secondly, that it was not generally submitted to, even in the West; thirdly, that it owed its establishment to the secular power; and fourthly, that it was never acknowledged at all in the East, and therefore was never Catholic.

But it is in connexion with the history of Eutyches, and the Council of Chalcedon, that the ecclesiastical position of Pope Leo comes out most strikingly. Mr. Allies quotes (as in the former case of the Ephesine Council) a long passage from Bossuet, containing the narrative of this Council.

The heretic Eutyches, Abbot, and Archimandrite of Constantinople, had been condemned by his own Bishop, Flavian of Constantinople. Appeal having been made to all the Patriarchs, and especially to Pope Leo, he ordered the whole proceedings to be laid before him, and in a very celebrated letter to Flavian, stated the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation, confirmed the sentence of Flavian, and condemned Eutyches, unless he should repent. The Emperor Theodosius, against the advice of Leo and Flavian, resolved to call a Council to consider the matter; and to this Council Leo did not hesitate to submit the whole subject, and his conduct in it. This Council was the famous 'Latrocinium' of Ephesus, which, under the influence of Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, condemned and deposed Flavian. These proceedings having rendered a General Council necessary, Pope Leo prevailed upon the Emperor Marcian, who had succeeded to the throne in the interval, to summon the Council of Chalcedon—the greatest assemblage of Christian prelates which had ever been convened in the Church.

In this Council the authority and influence of Pope Leo were entirely paramount. The Bishops, Paschasinus and Lucentius, his legates, presided. The whole initiative, and direction of proceedings, rested with them. 'And the legates, after recount-'ing the crimes of Dioscorus, t[illegible]ceed—"Wherefore, 'holy Leo, by us, and this p[illegible]ogether with the 'most blessed Apostle P[illegible]d ground of the 'Church, and the f[illegible]hath declared

'him cut off from all sacerdotal power."' In like manner a disposition was manifested by many Bishops to adopt Pope Leo's letter, without investigation, and they often cried out, 'We 'believe as Leo. Peter hath spoken by Leo. We have all sub-'scribed the letter. What has been set forth is sufficient for the 'faith: no other exposition may be made.' But with all this influence exercised, and respect felt for the earnest and orthodox Leo, the Council of Chalcedon does, nevertheless, bear the clearest and strongest witness against the modern claims of Rome. Pope Leo's letter was examined, debated on, and approved. Though it had been issued as a final settlement of the question, yet it was by himself submitted to the assembled Bishops, and pronounced upon by their final and authoritative judgment.

Meanwhile, as if providentially, the loftier tone of the Bishop of Rome, and his more commanding position in Christendom, in the time of S. Leo, being as it were the second step in the history of the Roman usurpation, is accompanied by a further and greater testimony to the independency of the Eastern Church, and the integrity of the patriarchal system. The very same Council of Chalcedon proceeded to confirm, by their 28th canon, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and to confer upon it the second place of dignity among the Patriarchates of Christendom. Not, indeed, newly; for, by the 3d canon of Constantinople, it had been decreed, in the year 381, that 'the 'Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour 'after the Bishop of Rome, because that Constantinople is New 'Rome.' This honour was now, by the 28th canon of Chalcedon, confirmed and established. 'For,' says the canon, 'the Fathers 'properly gave the primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, 'because that was the imperial city; and the 150 most religious 'Bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal 'privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging, with 'reason, that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty 'and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder 'royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical 'matters, being the second after her.' Against the passing of this canon the papal legates struggled with all their power. They succeeded in reopening the debate, after the matter had once been decided. They endeavoured to show that the Bishops had been surprised, and compelled to subscribe the canon. They continued their opposition, although this allegation w
by all the Bishops together, and by the principal c
vately, and showed that they had an express order
to do so. They quoted the 6th canon of Nicæa
exploded) heading, 'The Roman Church '

primacy,' but were silenced by the production of the true canon, and the third of Constantinople. At last Lucentius, the legate, finding all further opposition vain, said, 'The apostolic see ought 'not to be degraded in our presence. We therefore desire, that 'yesterday's proceedings, which violate the canons, may be 'rescinded; otherwise, let our opposition be inserted in the acts, 'that we may know what we are to report to the Pope, and 'that he may declare his opinion of this contempt of his see, 'and subversion of the canons.'

A most signal and memorable fact! Establishing as it does, beyond the reach of controversy, because on the authority of the most numerous of the Œcumenical Councils, the following truths:—that the primacy of Rome was established 'by the Fathers'—that it was established because Rome was the imperial city—that the authority of the Church in a plenary Council could establish a like authority on like grounds, even to the extent of raising a metropolitan see above Patriarchates; and that all this might be done without the concurrence and against the protest of the Bishop of Rome. To this it is to be added, that the ninth canon of the same Council gives to the Bishop of Constantinople 'a far greater power of hearing appeals, than 'was granted to the Bishop of Rome a hundred years before at 'the Council of Sardica. Now, let us,' continues Mr. Allies, 'be fair and even-handed. If the great influence and authority 'exercised at the Council of Chalcedon by S. Leo, is to be 'acknowledged as witnessing the Roman primacy, let us also 'grant, that unless the acts and canons of the first four Œcume-'nical Councils are to be swept away as waste paper before the 'omnipotence of papal prerogative, then the ancient decrees of 'Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, offer an insur-'mountable barrier to the present claims of Rome.'—P. 144.

Mr. Allies then traces more hastily the history of the next hundred and thirty years: selecting, as bearing upon his subject, the case of Pope Agapetus, who, A. D. 536, deposed Anthimus, Bishop of Constantinople, an Eutychian, but whose acts are confirmed by a Council held by Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem; and of Pope Vigilius in the matter of 'the three Chapters.' That Pope, who had published a 'Judicatum' against these documents, withdrew it a few years after. Subsequently he put forth a 'Constitutum,' containing a modified condemnation of two of them, and a vindication of the third. The Council of Constantinople condemned the chapters, and anathematized all who did not anathematize them. At length the Pope resigned [illegible] advice of the Council, confessed that he had been [illegible] in dividing from his brethren, and annulled

all that had been done by himself or others in defence of the three Chapters.

Mr. Allies then proceeds to the history of Pope Gregory the Great. That Pope held, not less high than his predecessors, the authority of his see, and claimed, in many instances, the right of superintending and setting in order the affairs of Christendom; as may be illustrated by the following extract from one of his letters:—'As to what he says, that he (a Bishop) is 'subject to the apostolical See, I know not what Bishop is not 'subject to it, if any fault be found in Bishops. But when no 'fault requires it, all are equal according to the estimation of 'humility.' Thus Pope Gregory may be taken as exemplifying to a certain degree the gradual development, and onward progress and consolidation of Roman power in the West. But his evidence is still more remarkable, as testifying how far short it yet fell of the wonderful claims of later ages. His language is most extraordinarily full and strong, in protest against those who would either claim to themselves, or offer to him, the title of œcumenical or universal Bishop or Patriarch. No doubt one principal ground of his warmth was the danger lest the Patriarch of Constantinople should, from the advantage of his situation, by degrees usurp the first place in Christendom; but whether his opposition was in any degree interested or no, he does not base it upon the inalienable claims of Rome to the œcumenical Patriarchate, but on the primitive and sacred basis of the equality of Bishops. 'If a single Patriarch is called universal, the 'name of Patriarch is taken from the rest.' 'If this is to be 'allowed freely, the honour of all the Patriarchs is denied.' 'If one is universal, it remains that you are not Bishops.' 'I 'confidently affirm, that whoever calls himself, or desires to be 'called, universal priest, in his pride goes before antichrist.'

'Surely Peter, the first of the Apostles, a member of the holy 'universal Church, Paul, Andrew, John, what else are they but 'the heads of particular communities? and yet all are members 'under one Head. And to comprehend all in one brief expres- 'sion, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the 'saints under grace, all these making up the body of the Lord 'are disposed among members of the Church, and no one ever 'wished to be called universal. Let then your Holiness acknow- 'ledge how great is your pride, who seek to be called by that 'name, by which no one has presumed to be called who 'holy.' These are a few of very many passages of P to the same effect, in which he uses every variety o to signify his horror and alarm at the prospect would ensue in the Church if any Bishop sh

of universal. 'And when perchance he who is termed universal 'perishes in error, presently no Bishop is found to have remained 'in the state of truth.' 'And not to speak of the injury done 'to your honour, if one Bishop be called universal, the whole 'Church tumbles to pieces if that one, being universal, falls.' Very just and striking is the following note of Mr. Allies on the last of these passages:—

'I cannot but consider S. Gregory's words to contain one of the most remarkable prophecies to be found in history; for this assuming the title and exercising the power of universal Pope, has actually led, not only to the concentration of all executive power in the Roman See, but to the conviction, among its warmest partisans, that the whole existence of the Church depends on the single See of Rome.'—P. 163.

With Pope Gregory the Great, Mr. Allies concludes his argument; and if appeal is to be made at all to the primitive Church, and its constitution and decrees, as till the present age it was supposed that appeal should only be made on such subjects, the first six centuries must needs suffice. There is no occasion to go farther, to find, within a few years of the death of Pope Gregory, the very title against which he declaimed so forcibly, adopted by his successor, and the gradual growth of monarchical power in his see, attended by the gradual estrangement of the whole East, until (most portentous and wonderful result!) monarchy was established without a Council, and seventy millions excommunicated without a Decree! Rome, by gradual consolidation of one man's power, vindicated a palpable, compulsory, carnal unity, at the expense of cutting Christendom in twain, and makes and eternizes the division which it is her peculiar claim to have rendered impossible!

It will have been observed that Mr. Allies, arguing with so much force and learning against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in the sense in which it is at present claimed, does not by any means deny, but on the contrary maintains and vindicates in every portion of his book, the primacy of that see. Indeed, it is in respect of some of his casual admissions respecting the primacy of Rome, that we feel the only considerable drawback to our otherwise unreserved admiration of this volume. Nor is he always quite consistent with himself. He abundantly, in many passages, recognises in Rome the sort of primacy which we should ourselves be disposed to grant; yet occasionally he drops expressions which carry a different sound; which, if we understand them right, are not without some danger, lest a primacy of Rome, such as they seem to indicate, might be, by no very distant process of logic, converted into the very supremacy against which he argues, and so essential and inalienable a primate, issue in a sovereign, and

even an infallible Pope. We are far from meaning that Mr. Allies holds any such primacy; we are convinced indeed from many passages of his book that he does not; but when he is making concessions he is apt to be a little profuse, a little over-bountiful; his heart seems to open in concessions; and so he hardly stints his words as much as prudence and truth seem to us to require.

The divine equality of Bishops, whereby every Bishop, 'whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhe-'gium, or Alexandria, or Tanæ, is of the same rank and of the 'same priesthood,' appears to be the first and essential truth of Church authority. This is the great truth which S. Augustine so abundantly testifies, the maintenance of which characterizes the life and history of S. Cyprian. This is divine, original, essential. Through this flows down in streams from the Apostles the grace of sacraments imparted to them by their Lord. Through this the Church of Christ, unlike therein to the Jewish Church, is established in the top of the mountains and exalted above the hills, having no single centre where more special favour or power of God resides. Through this, every small, poor, humble diocese is competent, if all the rest were swallowed up by physical or moral ruin, to refill the world. Each Bishop is Bishop of the entire Church; holds the full Apostolic powers; each diocese symbolizes those 'two or three' duly 'gathered into the name of Christ,' in the midst of whom He is, with His precious gifts, of prayers that shall be answered, and absolving powers. The twelve equal Apostles planted, the thousand Bishops have succeeded. Some sees may have had a longer succession; some a more famous origin; some may have been oftener visited, or addressed in letters by Apostles; but whatever be the titles to reverence and traditional love which they may respectively possess, in all essential and divine prerogatives they are alike; the oldest and the newest, the see of Rome, the see of Eugubium, the see of Constantinople, the see of Canterbury, the see of New Zealand.

It is also true, that from the earliest times of the Church there has been gradation of rank and subordination of ecclesiastical authority among these equal Bishops. Testified by the Nicene Council as existing in the first times, the patriarchal system is a true, venerable, and sacred portion of the constitution of the Church of God. Nor can any student of antiquity question that the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, held chief rank in this system from the earliest times, or that among them Rome had the first place.

But freely and most readily acknowledging this, let us not put these two truths on quite the same ground. The equality

of Bishops in their great apostolical powers is, as we said, divine, essential, and unalterable. The particular system of subordination amongst Bishops to which ancient Church history testifies is ecclesiastical, non-essential, and alterable. The right of a Metropolitan over his Bishops is different in kind from that of a Bishop over his flock. Alexandria has not the same sort of authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, as the Bishop of Alexandria over his own people. An Œcumenical Council might alter, and has altered the one; who would venture to imagine that it could touch or affect the other?

We therefore felt some want of clearness and decision of expression in the following passage:—'The combination of the 'Patriarch's, and still more of the universal Primate's power with 'that of the Bishop, is a nice point. If this be pushed too far, it 'issues in a monarchy; if the other alone be allowed, it converts 'the one kingdom of Jesus Christ into an unlimited number of 'petty republics. On the one hand, there is danger pregnant 'to the High Priesthood of the Church; on the other hand, to 'the Sacrament of Unity. The one-sided development of S. 'Leo's teaching has produced the Papacy, in which the Bishops 'who represent the Apostles are no longer the brethren, co-'ordinate in authority, but the delegates of S. Peter's suc-'cessor; but the one-sided development of S. Cyprian's teach-'ing has rent into pieces the seamless robe of Christ.' We hope we are not ungracious in our criticism, but we feel not only that two truths of dissimilar kind and very unequal importance are apparently put on the same ground; but also that the (almost legitimate) development of S. Leo's view of his Primacy (witness his conduct to S. Hilary of Arles, and in respect of the 28th canon of Chalcedon, above referred to) did, historically, annihilate the divine institution of equal Apostolical Bishops, whilst we are not aware that S. Cyprian's teaching either has been, or with any show of legitimate reasoning can be, developed into destroying the ecclesiastical superiority of Metropolitans and Patriarchs.

It appears to us to be indispensable to the compatibility of these two truths, that they should be fully acknowledged to be thus different in nature and authority, so that if any unfortunate circumstances should bring them into collision, there should be no question as to which of the two must yield to the other.

It seems to be equally indispensable, that the patriarchal system, by which we mean the ancient subordination of equal, divinely constituted Bishops to Metropolitans, and of Metropolitans to Patriarchs, should be fully acknowledged to be ecclesiastical, *i.e.* not essential, nor, in that sense, divine *throughout*. We cannot suppose that the second, thir

fourth Patriarchates are capable of alteration and adjustment by the authority of General Councils, and that the first Patriarchate is exempt from the same. It cannot be that this system should be localized in a centre, and free to incur variations in the remainder of its extent; that it should revolve on Rome as on a pivot, whilst every other portion of it should be liable to change in different ages. Rome never had, in the primitive ages, any such jurisdiction over the other Patriarchates, as each of the Patriarchates had over its subordinate Metropolitan and other sees. The first place cannot be any otherwise assured to Rome, than as the second, third, fourth, and fifth places are assured to the other Patriarchates. Its authority is of a different grade, not of a different kind from theirs.

S. Peter himself was two things; the founder of a certain number of local churches, each of which derives from him (as other churches from the other Apostles) the full, equal, divine episcopate; and the representative of the twelve in receiving those Apostolical powers, out of which flow, not only the divine rights of all Bishops, but among them the power to institute, arrange, and authorize the Patriarchal system. Let it be granted that the Bishop of Rome is more specially than the Bishop of Antioch, or the Bishops of other Churches which S. Peter may have founded, the successor of that Apostle, by local succession. Let it also be granted, that being so, and being also the Bishop of the imperial city, and possibly for other reasons besides, his see was made the first see of the Patriarchal system. But let it not be granted, *unless it can be proved*, that the Patriarchal system issues from the Bishop of Rome, as it did from S. Peter; that he is S. Peter's successor in points in which it is confessed that S. Peter was not addressed *personally*, much less *locally*—that no Patriarchal system can be, hypothetically, complete, unless the Bishop of that precise see, for his predecessor's sake, be its necessary and essential head.

If, however, the Patriarchal primacy of Rome be, on the contrary, regarded as a divinely and essentially settled constitution, we find it difficult to conceive that the equality of Bishops is defensible. If the Bishop of Rome be Primate of Christendom by a title and authority different *in kind* from that whereby the Bishops of Canterbury and York are Archbishops in their provinces, then we cannot understand how it can be denied that he is Episcopus Episcoporum, Universal Pope and Patriarch, and all those other things, the names of which appeared so dangerous and odious in the eyes of Gregory the Great.

When, then, Mr. Allies says that the see 'of Rome had the 'undoubted primacy, not derived from the gift of Councils, or 'the rank of the imperial city, but from immemorial tradition

'as the see of S. Peter;' that 'the precedence and prerogative 'of Rome was certainly, *notwithstanding the famous twenty-* '*eighth canon of Chalcedon*, not either claimed or granted, merely 'because Rome was the imperial city; it was explicitly claimed by 'the Bishop of Rome himself, and as freely conceded by others to 'him, as in a special sense successor to St. Peter,' we own to a slight uneasiness. For, in the first place, it seems to us rather bold to say what he says, in the words which we have printed in italics, respecting the Council of Chalcedon. That Council had said that the primacy of Rome was owing to its being the imperial city (*καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα.*) Mr. Allies seems to deny the fact. He does so, we suppose, on the ground of such passages as those of S. Irenæus, in which he speaks of the 'potior principalitas' of Rome, and of S. Cyprian, in his letter to Pope Cornelius, in the matter of Felicissimus. But would not the truer mode of recognising the weight of these and similar passages be, not to seem to deny the authority of the Canon of Chalcedon, but to acknowledge that besides the fact of Rome being the imperial city, it had also great title to love and reverence, and had in part received the *πρεσβεῖα* from the fathers, on the ground of its being the see of S. Peter? If by using the word '*merely*,' he means to signify that the canon is true as far as it goes, and does not intend to deny the ecclesiastical origin of the primacy of Rome, what occasion was there to appear to contradict the six hundred Fathers of Chalcedon, to seem to deny both their fact and their inference, for the sake of another fact which is perfectly reconcileable with their allegations?—and in the second place, if the Fathers of Chalcedon are right, the Patriarchal system is, throughout, from its highest Patriarchate to its lowest Archbishopric, an ecclesiastical creation; whereas if they are wrong, the primacy of Rome would seem to be inalienable and necessary, while all the rest of the same system rests on quite a different basis: and, if we mistake not, considerable consequences would follow.—Perhaps Mr. Allies *means*, however, no otherwise than we do. We hope and believe he does; for otherwise he would not have written as he has in his 193d page, 'The 'see of Constantinople still remains where the Council of Chal- 'cedon placed it, where the Emperor Justinian recognised it to 'be, the second see of the world; and it has ever since refused 'to admit that Rome was *first*, in any sense in which itself was 'not *second*. This may serve to set in a clear light the vast 'difference between the legitimate power of the first see, and 'the claim to give jurisdiction to all Bishops.' With these expressions we cordially concur, and if they are to be taken as

representing Mr. Allies's views on the point we speak of, then is there not a shadow of difference between ourselves and him. Indeed, expressions like these would make us almost fear that we *have* been mistaken in assigning the meaning we have to other passages, but that the spirit of those other passages appears to us to be continued and carried quite to a dangerous length, in such a saying as the following: 'His test, (S. Augustine's) 'seems decisive against the Donatists, and against all those 'who in after-times have restricted the Church to one province, 'or have declared the Roman Church to be so corrupt that 'it is not a part of the true Church. *For if it be not, then 'the promises of Christ have failed.*' P. 66. We are not of the number of those who declare Rome to be so corrupt as to have ceased to be a part of the true Church, but we are alarmed to hear it said that the fulfilment of the promises of Christ depends on the soundness of Rome. We cannot conceive that any local see possesses such privileges. We cannot conceive what limit of logical inference can be drawn if such a principle be admitted, or how it should be denied, after such concession, that they with whom the see of Rome is, are in the right on every possible subject of argument among Christians; that no Bishops are duly Bishops unless they own the superior episcopate of the indefectible Bishop of Rome; and even, since, by hypothesis, the Bishop of Rome might be found differing from all the rest of the Christian world, that the gifts of infallibility and sovereignty reside ultimately in him alone. No doubt Mr. Allies does not mean all this; nor are we so unjust nor so foolish as to attribute to him such meaning, at the very time when we are thanking him, and congratulating the Church on account of his able argument against that very supremacy.

But in reading his volume with no ordinary care, and with very great general satisfaction, we confess to have felt uneasiness from time to time; lest, whilst he was disproving the supremacy claimed for Rome, he might be conceding a sort of primacy which might, argumentatively, lead to exactly the same end. Meanwhile, if it be thought that we have been hard upon him in these later criticisms, we are almost disposed to admit the fact. There are, as we have once or twice acknowledged, many passages in the book which, we hope, declare Mr. Allies's real and deliberate sentiments, and which we believe to be really inconsistent (when thoroughly examined) with those on which we have ventured to animadvert. We think it only due to him to quote one or two of them. 'It is evident that if the see of 'Peter, so often referred to by S. Cyprian, means the local see 'of Rome, it also means the see of every Bishop who holds that 'office, whereof Peter is the great type, example, and source.'—

P. 31. 'S. Augustine expressly denies that they' (*i. e.* the passages 'Thou art Peter,' &c.; 'Feed My sheep,' &c.) are said to S. Peter as an individual.'—P. 178. 'But in the whole 'book (S. Augustine, De Unitate) there is not one word about 'the Roman see, or the necessity of communion with it, save as 'it forms part of the one universal Church.'—P. 66. 'Not one 'allusion is there in all these' (S. Augustine's Sermons of the Day of the Apostles Peter and Paul,) 'to the Roman Pontiff; 'not a word as to his being the heir of a power not committed 'to the other Apostles.'—P. 68.

We therefore acknowledge that we may have seemed to attribute to Mr. Allies opinions and sentiments which he does not hold. We hope that the extreme delicacy of the subject, the very dangerous spirit of the times, and the great value and importance which we attribute to his argument, will vindicate us if we have done so. The plain truth is, that he appears to us to be, as we before observed, *impetuous in concession;* and that he has not elaborated, so fully as we think the subject requires, his view of the Roman *primacy.*

But his book is destined to live. It is the completest argument against the supremacy of Rome, as derived from the examination of the first six centuries, which we possess. If we have misunderstood his expressions in particular passages, it is at least a proof that they are capable of being misunderstood, and without unfriendliness of intention. We shall have gained our point if he should be induced to modify a few, probably casual, expressions in his second edition; and if, in days of no ordinary difficulty and danger, we should have called the attention of our readers to a point which may sometimes be a little overlooked.

ART. III.—*The Iliad of Homer. Translated by* T. S. BRANDRETH, Esq. In 2 vols. London: Pickering. 1846.

WHETHER any other than an editor of Homer can be trusted for a translation of either of his great poems, is a question which, perhaps, existing translations have not tended to settle. Every version in our language has been affected by some causes widely differing from a careful and conscientious study of the Homeric thought and expression; and thus the circumstances of individual translators have aggravated the inherent difficulties which seem to forbid our seeing Homer clothed in an English style, (as well as in English words,) yet retaining at once his native purity and his individualizing distinctness of imagery. It would be hard to imagine any future period of the world's existence, or any variety of the civilized mind, which should oppose equal obstacles to a translation of Shakspere. Supposing a knowledge of the English language equal to that which we now possess of Greek, and a degree of refinement not less than that of the Elizabethan age, we should conceive that an author, or a series of authors, might work up for themselves, out of the resources of their own language, a body of expression sufficient for their purpose. Their task would be simply to look abroad over the realms of human knowledge, to expand, dilate, and elevate their mental powers. But with Homer the case stands differently. A new religion, and a more defined system of morality, have made the watch-tower from which he looked forth a mere feature of our daily prospect. Hence, on the one hand, we are apt to transform the ancient fashions of thought, and on the other to limit them. In the former case principles are made to take their stand in a later and higher moral system; in the latter, mere feelings or presentiments assume the clear outline and distinct application which mark a principle. Add to these considerations the greater abstractness of modern language, and the difficulty and unwillingness with which we feel ourselves recalled to a strict observance of the visual images which our words contain,—and it will appear that the translator of Homer has at once to advance and to recede, to clothe and to unclothe himself, to be at once a child and a man, 'not such as men now are.' And if all this is happily accomplished in the case of an author, he requires readers of a similar frame of mind to his own; for the things which he has to give them, are things new and old,' and his teaching is to be of the 'equal balance and just measure,' as well as of loving 'our neighbour

as ourselves.' His fancy should be ranging and vivid—his principles central and animating.

The problem would be more easily solved if we could point to any age of our own literature, or to any author combining the power of Homer with his simplicity. Something like his language might, perhaps, be found in our early ballads; and there is among us nothing of much later origin which retains the simplicity of the heroic epithets, and the double expression of the same thing by positives and negatives; as for instance—

Ἕκτορ ἐπεί με κάτ' αἶσαν ἐνείκεσας, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν.

But adopt this style, and where would be the consistence and plan of his characters? As well might the mournful 'Ballad of King Leir' be reckoned a match for 'Lear,' with 'its soul-'searching flashes, its ear-cleaving thunderclaps, its meteoric 'splendours: with the contagion and the fearful sympathies of 'nature, the fates, the furies, the frenzied elements, dancing in 'and out, now breaking through and scattering—now hand in 'hand with—the fierce or fantastic group of human passions, 'crimes and anguishes, reeling on the unsteady ground, in a 'wild harmony to the shock and the swell of an earthquake.'[1]

The opposite course to this straightforward adoption of an obsolete style is that by which a translator is most truly said to be the mediator between distant ages and various minds of men. This is when his genuine and daily felt realities are indeed the touchstones and interpreters of antique truths as well. He can make all requisite allowances for the time and space which separate him from his original; and then the residuum of his familiar thoughts will be the thoughts required; just as the best politician of our own day will, unless unusually ill-instructed, be an eye-witness, as it were, of the last struggles of Athenian freedom.[2] But the times of which Homer was writing were even to him long past; so that the difficulty of realizing them must be two-fold, at least, to ourselves. We have to abstract so many differences as to leave but a small residuum of common facts.

We may consider Chapman, in his translation of the Iliad, as taking a middle course between these two extremes. If one or two peculiarities of the man could be removed, his work would probably go as near to Homer—be as much Homer to *us*—as we are ever likely to attain. He has not attempted 'to sub-'stantiate the distinct and graceful profiles or outlines of the 'Homeric epic into the flesh and blood of the romantic drama;' nor, as a general rule, to throw in any new feelings or situations.

[1] Coleridge's Lit. Remains, vol. ii. p. 131.
[2] Arnold's Lect. on Modern History.

But one plain advantage he has as a poetical translator, over any one who, like Mr. Brandreth, compels himself to adhere line by line, and word by word, to the text. This is, that many passages have, when rendered literally into English, an epigrammatic conciseness, which is unlike the onward flow of the original. For the cause of this we should be naturally inclined to look to the end of each line; since there, if any where, must be the break. We think it is to be accounted for by the predominance of verbs at the end of the blank verse. For first, the verb is in sense the most decisive word in a sentence; as we may see from its so constantly holding the first place in any phrase of Livy, or the other writers who attend much to the ordering of each word. And, secondly, the English perfect tense of Saxon formation is apt to contain many consonants, the effect of which in causing delay is well known.

The line of fourteen syllables, on the other hand, allows of much the same distribution of the parts of speech as in Greek; and this is adapted by Chapman. But apart from all merely metrical considerations, it does seem that if the Iliad is to become an English poem, the thoughts should sometimes be unfolded a little in the translation. As an instance of what we mean, our readers might compare, with Chapman's interpretation of the same passage,[1] Mr. Brandreth's admirably literal rendering of iii. 152.

> '..... At the tower the Trojan leaders sat.
> When Helen coming to the tower they saw,
> Soft to each other winged words they spoke;
> 'Justly the Trojans and well-greaved Greeks
> For one so fair long time have sorrows borne.
> In face she an immortal Goddess seems;
> But still, though such, let her in ships return,
> Nor to our own and children's loss remain.
> 'So said they: and king Priam Helen call'd;
> Draw near, dear child, and at my side sit down,
> Thy former husband, kin, and friends to see,
> I blame not thee; the gods alone I blame,
> Who 'gainst me the Greeks' tearful war have rous'd.'

[1] We quote the passage as an instinctive reclamation of Chapman's poetic spirit against the well-known objections of Herodotus:—

> 'Those wise and almost withered men found this heat in their years
> That they were forced, though whispering, to say, what man can blame
> The Greeks and Trojans to endure, for so admired a dame.
> So many miseries, and so long? In her sweet countenance shine
> Looks like the goddesses; and yet, though never so divine,
> Before we boast unjustly still of her enforced prize,
> And justly suffer for her sake with all our progenies,
> Labour and ruin, let her go; the profit of our land
> Must pass the beauty. Thus, though these could bear so fit a hand
> On their affections, yet, when all their gravest powers were used,
> They could not chuse but welcome her, and rather they accused
> The gods than beauty—for thus spake' . . . .—P. 84. Knight's edit.

Chapman, again, adds weight to his metre, and infuses into it an epic flow by two principal means. He seldom introduces a stop after the eighth syllable, and his periods are habitually continued beyond the end of a line. There is, therefore, no possibility of breaking his verses up into the metre familiarly known as 'eight and six'; and the continuance of the sentence beyond the end of the line, brings the rhyme much less prominently into view than in our ballads,—thus obviating, we think, the unpleasantness of continual rhymes in a long poem, of which Mr. Brandreth, in his preface, complains. With these restrictions, the rolling sound of the metre is not ill suited to the Homeric flow. And let us say, in passing, that the adoption of blank verse is a grievous blow to the *bardish* character of the original. 'A poem should be,' says Mr. Carlyle, 'as if it could not but be sung.' And in Mr. Cary's translation of Dante,[1] excellent and literal though it be, we much desiderate the linked succession of the original terza rima. Mr. Brandreth proposes an edition of the Odyssey, and of the Hymns. Therefore, we may divine that a translation will follow upon these; and if so, we submit to his consideration, whether a slight sacrifice of originality in translating may not render available for difficult passages the rhymes already found by Chapman or others. We beg for them as a compensation for the dactylic structure of the Greek.

Blank verse however being adopted, we must reconcile ourselves to it on the plea of greater accuracy. And on this head, we are bound to offer our best thanks for an edition which, like Voss's German translation, will be a real help to the student in making out the text. This said, we shall be justified in a few remarks as to the accuracy of the text.

The short heroic metre of ten syllables in English is so poor a match for the versatile flexibility of the Greek hexameter, that a translation which, like the present, follows line by line on the track of the original, cannot avoid doing violence to many of the Homeric epithets. Now a change in these has a serious effect on the character of the poem. Of course, any translator of Homer may, like Mr. Brandreth, claim the liberty of changing one epithet for another, as the verse may require; if only some other fixed Homeric epithet of the same word be substituted. But the license must be confined to the strictly otiose adjectives; or else a double evil may arise. First, the completeness or the appropriate character of the image may be injured. This is an evil to which every lover of Homer will at once be sensible; and we have few such instances in Mr. Brandreth's work.

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[1] Hero Worship. Dante.

But, secondly, it may easily be seen how much of the difficulty of Homeric *interpretation* arises from the ever-varying degrees of force in adjectives; ranging as they do from the no-meaning of antique simplicity to the highest and most constitutive influences upon the imagery. How often are we called upon to determine the various shades of meaning by which an epithet becomes equally appropriate to the most dissimilar objects. Any indistinctness, then, or vagueness in the use of such words, is a scholastic as well as a poetic evil. Perhaps we may venture to add, that where the meaning of an adjective is difficult and controverted, there is need of more than usual pains to bring it out.

We will now proceed to quote a few passages, in which the meaning of these and other words still partially recedes from view. In any other but an exceedingly literal translation such remarks would plainly be out of place. First, certain omissions shall be noticed which may be considered disadvantageous to the sense.

In Il. xx. 183, we have in the challenge of Achilles to Æneas:

> 'but if thou me shouldst slay,
> Yet Priam will not give thee this reward,
> For he has sons, and he himself is *strong*.'

The original being ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων. We have lost, then, the characteristic double expression; and, moreover, in a word of very rare occurrence, the only guidance to the root is to be obtained from a passage (xxiii. 603) in which the word applies not to an old man age-stricken, but to a young man, Antilochus, who is commended for not being *perverse* in mind.

In v. 880, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγίνεο παῖδ' ἀίδηλον is translated:—

> 'For all the rest who on Olympus dwell,
> Obey thee, and we each thy words revere;
> Thou ne'er dost her by word or deed refrain,
> But aye excitest since thou her hast gotten.'

The same word recurs in xxi. 220, and is there rendered 'unpitied.' These two passages throw an uncertainty over the same word as rightly rendered in ii. 455:—

> 'As *wasting* fire a boundless wood consumes
> On mountain tops.'

In iv. 129 we have the beautiful lines:—

> 'But, Menelaus, thee the blessed Gods
> Forgot not; for Jove's battle-leading child
> Before thee stood, and turned the shaft aside,
> And from thy skin so warded, as a fly
> A mother chases from her sleeping child.'

Βέλος ἐχεπευκές, an epithet somewhat harsh of derivation, on the supposition that it means 'bitter,' as elsewhere

rendered, (i. 51,) and not so clearly a standing epithet of an arrow as to warrant its omission. The kindred word πευκάλιμος is once rendered 'watchful,' as an epithet of the mind of Zeus, which Juno proposes to deceive; and is in other places untranslated.

In the catalogue of the ships (ii. 581) we have the remarkable word κητώεσσα applied as an epithet to Lacedæmon, with κοιλὸς joined to it. When this is merely translated 'the hollow Lacedæmon,' we lose sight of the rifted and broken forms of the mountains, which were generally ascribed to the fearful prevalence of earthquakes in early times.[1] And the difficulty increases when, at viii. 222, we find 'the ship of wise Ulysses,' instead of

ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακήτεϊ νηῒ μελαίνῃ:

while the dolphin of xxi. 22, to which the epithet is applied, is only a 'mighty dolphin.'

We are not reviewing Mr. Brandreth's edition of the Iliad; but in reading over the translation, with occasional collation of his text, we have sometimes fallen upon emendations which seemed unwarranted. For instance, in the Fifth Book, Mars is led from the battle, and placed by Pallas, ἐπ' ἠϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ. Some of the ancient commentators derived this word from ἴον. Accordingly we have it translated, 'Scamander's *flowery* bank.' And on looking to Mr. Brandreth's text, (published five years ago,) it exhibits ἐπὶ ἰόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ, with the digamma before the ι of the second word, to preserve the metre. In like manner we get no hint of Buttmann's ingenious conjecture to account for the word ἄιητον, or of any conjectural meaning of the word at all. We will quote at length the translation of xviii. 410, *seq.*—

'He said, and the huge monster limping left
The anvil, and his twisted legs bestirred.
He took the bellows from the fire, and placed
His working tools within a silver chest;
And with a sponge he wiped his face, and hands,
And powerful neck, and all his hairy breast,
And took his vest and staff, and limping went;
And golden maids attended on the King,
Like beauteous damsels in the flower of youth;
And in their breasts are wisdom, and fair speech,
And strength; and from the Gods they works have learned.
They then the King attended; and he sat
By noble Thetis on a golden throne,
And took her hand, and her by name address'd.'

But in the edition the word ἀιητὸν is pronounced to be 'nihili,' and ἄῤῥητον (or rather ἄρρητον) substituted. The collateral word ἄητον is left in some obscurity, for in the foot-note to the text, θάρσος ἄητον ἔχουσα is explained by 'audaciam

[1] Müller, Dor. i. 4. § 3.

inflatam habens' — ab ἄημι 'spiro.'—the translation being as follows:—

> 'Why dost thou shameless drive the Gods to arms?
> With *untold* boldness is thy breast inspired,'

as if from ἀ and ἠ μὶ, 'dico'—for here the text shows no emendation.

One or two passages must be mentioned, in which the rendering seems clearly an oversight—and then a few more of debateable correctness. After this we may be dismissed to the more grateful task of illustrating the poetic character of these volumes. At xix. 314 we have the lines—

> 'But Atreus' sons and wise Ulysses, stayed,
> And Phœnix, Nestor, and Idomeneus,
> And soothed his grief; but he no joy could know,
> Before the bloody front of war he met,
> And oft, remembering, he resumed, and said.'

The original of the last line is—

μνησάμενος δ' ἀδινῶς ἀνενείκατο, φώνησέν τε:

which can hardly be different in sense from the well-known passage in Herodotus (i. c. 86), which speaks of Crœsus as ἀνενεικάμενον καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα, 'heaving sighs and groans'—the preceding words ὡς δὲ ἄρα μὶν προστῆναι τοῦτο, putting out of the question the idea of remembering for ἀνενεικάμενον. With this interpretation, too, the word ἀδινῶς agrees completely; whereas it is hardly Homeric to give a meaning so completely secondary as 'often.'

Achilles, in answer to the pleadings of Lycaon, makes an unpitying answer—

> 'But thou too die; why, friend, dost thou lament?
> Patroclus died, and much he thee excelled.
> Seest thou not me, so beauteous and so great,
> Of royal sire and heavenly mother born?
> Yet e'en to me strong fate and death will come,
> At morn, at mid-day, or at ev'ning eve,
> When some one shall with wrong let loose my soul,
> Striking with spear or arrow from the string;

but the order of the words, as well as the sense, is against this elegant expression. Ἠὼς, ἢ δείλη, ἢ μέσον ἦμαρ—that is, when the sun is on the rise, on the descent, or at its height. Δείλη is so clearly the hot, sunny part of the day, that tho[se] their enemies δείλης ὀψίας even, can get the battl[e] night—while δείλης πρωΐας actually means th[e] forenoon.

There surely is high authority for belie[ving] the genitive of a positive pronoun c[an]

Damm, Wolf, Buttman, Heyne, and Kühner, seem agreed in deducing it constantly from the adjective ἔϋς, as a common Homeric epithet.—See the translation of i. 393, &c.

Νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸς, in one of the passages of the Second Book, is translated, the 'milky night,' in the other by the 'shades.' Ἔανον is rightly distinguished from the digammated substantive ἐἔανον—but is translated in one place by the 'beauteous mantle,' and at a similar passage (viii. 384)—

> 'Pallas, child of Ægis-bearing Jove,
> Threw down her subtile mantle on the floor,
> Which she herself with varied art had worked;'

Διάκτορος, the epithet of Mercury (ii. 103), is untranslated:—τήλοθεν ἐξ Ἀπίης γαίας becomes, 'far from the Apian land;' ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ, 'wearied with his stall.'

A few more such passages might have been sought out laboriously, but our readers will be better pleased with some specimens of poetical translation, and to these we will now address ourselves. And as the beauties of this version are the beauties of Homer, we shall do well to select passages which will illustrate the plan and march of the poem.

The progressive splendour of the similes in the Iliad has been often remarked. The former of those in the following lines illustrates the short-lived glory of Hector. Pope has embodied it in some lines of exceeding beauty:—

> 'While they stript off the arms, the trembling Greeks
> Rush'd 'gainst the yawning trench, and sharpen'd stakes,
> Confused, and pass'd within the wall by force.
> But Hector with loud shouts the Trojans cheer'd;
> Rush on the ships, and leave the bloody spoils;
> Whome'er retiring from the ships I see,
> I will to death consign; nor him, when dead,
> His mourning friends shall place upon the pyre;
> But dogs shall him before our city drag.
> So saying, with the whip he lash'd his steeds,
> And cheer'd the Trojans through the ranks; and they
> All cheer'd, and with him urged their rapid steeds
> With wondrous shout; and king Apollo went
> Before, and with his feet the deep trench smooth'd,
> And cast the banks amidst, and made a path,
> Level and wide, as far as a young man
> Can cast a spear, when he his strength essays.
> There they in phalanx pour'd; and Phœbus led,
> Shaking the Ægis, and o'erthrew the wall
> With ease; as when a child upon the shore
> [illegible]ort builds up gay castles of the sand,
> [illegible]n destroys them with his hands and feet;
> [illegible]d Apollo, didst destroy
> [illegible]r, and themselves confuse.
> [illegible]ength they check'd their flight,

And cheer'd each other, and to all the Gods
Their hands they lifted, and each loudly pray'd;
And chief Gerenian Nestor, stay of Greeks,
Pray'd, stretching up his hands to starry heaven;
Jove Sire, if any in wheat-bearing Greece,
While he of ox or sheep the fat thighs burnt,
Pray'd to return, and thou his vow didst hear,
Remember this, and ward off evil fate,
And let not thus the Trojans tame the Greeks.
Thus said he praying; and Jove thunder'd loud,
Hearing the prayers of Neleus' aged son.
And more the Trojans, when they heard Jove's mind,
Rush'd on the Argives, and remember'd war.
As when a great wave of the wide-path'd deep
Breaks o'er the bulwarks of a ship, impell'd
By the wind's force, which chiefly swells the waves;
So shouting pass'd the Trojans o'er the wall,
And driving in their horses, at the sterns
Fought, closely pushing for their cars with spears;
And climbing on their lofty ships, the Greeks
Fought with long poles, which lay upon the decks,
Prepared to guard them, pointed with sharp brass.'

B. xv. 343—389.

The image of Patroclus weeping before Ulysses, and the comparison of the child coming to its mother, realizes most beautifully the earnestness and affection of the well-beloved friend; and at the same time brings out the calm superiority of Achilles (xvi. 1—19):—

'While they contended for the well-bench'd ship,
Patroclus by divine Achilles stood,
Shedding warm tears, like some black-water'd fount,
Which down a lofty rock dark water pours.
Him swift Achilles with compassion saw,
And speaking, winged words to him address'd;
Why dost thou weep, Patroclus, like a child,
Who, running with her mother, her entreats,
And pulls her robe, and though in haste detains,
And weeping looks, until she takes her up;
So thou, Patroclus, shedd'st a tender tear.
To me or mine dost thou some message bear?
Or hast thou aught from Phthia heard alone?
They say, Menœtius, Actor's son, still lives,
And Peleus 'midst the Myrmidons still reigns,
For whose decease we both should sorrow feel.
Or dost thou for the Argives mourn, who die
Beside the hollow ships for their offence?
Speak, and conceal not, that we both may know.'

Achilles refusing food is strengthened by Pallas, at the bidding of Jupiter (xix. 344):—

'My Child, thou wholly this brave man hast left;
Hast thou Achilles from remembrance cast?
He now before his ships with lofty horns
Sits mourning for his comrade, while the rest
Of food partake; but he untasting weeps.

But go, and nectar and ambrosia sweet,
Pour in his breast, lest hunger him o'ertake.
So saying, he Minerva willing roused;
And like a long-wing'd shrill-voiced kite, she leap'd
From heaven through æther; but the Argives arm'd
Throughout the host; and she to Peleus' son
Nectar and sweet ambrosia in his breast
Dropp'd, lest sad hunger should his knees invade.
She then to the almighty Father's house
Return'd; and they from out the swift ships pour'd.
As when the snows of Jove fall thick around,
Cold 'neath the sharp blast of the clear-born North;
So thick the helms, rejoicing in the light,
From out the ships were borne, and bossy shields,
And strong cuirasses, and firm ashen spears.
The blaze reach'd heaven; and all around, earth laugh'd
With gleaming brass; and 'neath, the beat of feet
Arose; and in the midst Achilles arm'd.
His gnashing teeth resounded; and his eyes
Shone, like the blaze of fire, and endless grief
Enter'd his heart; and he with angry mind
Put on the God's gifts, which skill'd Vulcan made.
And first the greaves about his legs he placed,
Fair, to his ancles bound with silver clasps;
And then he placed the corslet round his breast,
And o'er his shoulders hung the brazen sword
With silver studs; and next the strong large shield
He took, whence light, as from a Moon, shone forth.
As when o'er sea the blaze of burning fire
Appears to sailors on a mountain top
From some lone sheepcot; but against their will
The shrill winds drive them o'er the fishy sea;
So from Achilles' beauteous varied shield
The blaze reach'd heaven; and he the weighty helm
Placed on his head, and like a star it shone,
Horse-tail'd; and o'er it the fair golden hairs
Shook, which king Vulcan round the crest had placed.
Himself then in his arms Achilles proved,
If well his noble limbs within them ran;
And they, like wings, the people's shepherd raised.'

In all the passages where the horses of Achilles appear, they seem emblems of the spirit of poesy: cast on evil times, and unwillingly completing by degrees their own misery. Observe that Juno confers on them speech alone,—understanding they possessed before. Some of our readers will remember the 'Pegasus im Joche.'

'But the swift horses of Æacides
Apart from battle wept, since first they heard
Their driver had 'neath slaught'ring Hector fall'n.
Much them Automedon, Diores' son,
Struck with sharp whip, and urged them to advance,
And both with gentle and harsh words address'd;
But neither to the ships by Hellespont

Would they return, nor 'midst the Greeks advance;
But as a pillar stays unmov'd, which stands
On a departed man or woman's tomb;
So in the fair car they unmoved remain'd,
And bent their heads to earth; and scalding tears
Flow'd from their eyes;—such driver they desired—
And in the dust their flowing hair was stain'd,
Descending from the saddle by the yoke.
But Saturn's Son with pity them beheld,
And shook his head, and his own mind address'd;
Why, hapless, did we you to Peleus give,
A mortal, when ye know not death or age,
That ye with wretched men might sorrows bear?
For there is nought more full of woes than man
Of all, that breathe and creep upon the earth.
But yet I will not Hector, Priam's son,
Permit to guide you and the varied car.
Is't not enough, he holds the arms, and boasts?
I now will vigour in your knees excite,
That ye may save Automedon from war
Back to the ships.—B. xvii. 426—453.

'Automedon the shining whip
Seized in his hand, and to the horses rush'd;
And by his side in arms Achilles stood,
Bright as the amber Son of the Supreme;
And dreadful he his father's horses cheer'd;
Xanthus and Balius, of Podargè sprung,
Consider how your master ye may save
Back to the ships, when we from war desist,
Nor leave me, like Patroclus, there o'erthrown.
Him rapid Xanthus from the yoke address'd,
And bow'd his head; and all his graceful mane
Pour'd from the saddle by the yoke to earth;
And Juno, white-arm'd Goddess, gave him speech;
We surely, dread Achilles, thee will save;
But still thy death approaches; nor are we
To blame, but a great God, and powerful Fate.
Not by our slowness or neglect the foe
The arms from off Patroclus' shoulders took;
But him the God, whom fair Latona bore,
Slew 'midst the foremost, and gave Hector fame.
We even with the West-Wind's blast could run,
Of all the lightest call'd; but thou art doom'd
Thyself beneath a God and man to fall.
Thus said he; and the Furies stopp'd his voice.
And swift Achilles him, much moved, address'd;
Xanthus, why dost thou death to me foretell?
I know myself, that I am doom'd to die
Far from my sire and mother; yet I ne'er
Will cease, ere I the Trojans drive from war.
He said, and shouting 'midst the foremost drove.'
B. xix. 395—424.

'Atrides, and ye other warlike Greeks,
These prizes wait the contest of swift steeds.
If we to honour any other strove,

I then the first prize to my tent should bear;
For well ye know, how my swift steeds excel;
They are immortal, and them Neptune gave
To Peleus, and my sire again to me.
But I and my swift horses will remain;
Such gentle ruler's guidance they have lost,
Who oft their skins with limpid water wash'd,
And oft pour'd scented oil upon their hair.
They stand, and him with ceaseless grief lament;
And their fair manes upon the ground are fix'd.'—B. xxiii. 273—284.

The chariot race in book xxiii., and the success of Antilochus, according to his father's counsel, is well nigh a minor epic in itself. It is too long to transcribe; though we would gladly have taken Nestor's warnings as a specimen of Homeric topography. The flight of Hector must come in its place.

'Thus he revolved; and near Achilles came,
Like crested Enyalius, Lord of war,
And o'er his shoulder the dread Pelian ash
Shook; and the dazzling brass around him shone,
Like burning fire, or like the rising Sun.
And Hector, when he saw him, fear'd, nor dared
Remain, but left the gates, and trembling fled.
Pelides, trusting to his swift feet, rush'd;
As mountain kite, the lightest of all birds,
Sweeps down with ease upon a cushat-dove:
She underneath escapes; and he pursues
Swift, with shrill cry, desirous her to seize;
So straight he eager flew; and Hector fled
Beneath the wall, and swiftly moved his knees.
And they along the cart-way 'neath the wall
Past the wild fig-tree and the watch-tower rush'd,
And reach'd the beauteous fountains, where two springs
Of eddying Xanthus from the earth burst forth;
One flows with boiling water, and around
A smoke arises, as of burning fire;
The other flows in summer, cold as snow,
Or ice from water, or like driving hail;
And there beside them ample troughs are placed
Of beauteous marble, where the Trojans' wives
And graceful daughters wash'd their shining robes,
Erstwhile in peace before the Argives came.
Past these, one flying, one pursuing, ran:
Swift he who fled, but swifter who pursued;
For not a victim, or an ox-hide shield,
They sought, for which men oft with feet contend,
But for horse-taming Hector's soul they ran.'—B. xx. 131–[illegible]

The dirge or Myriologue of Hector, in the twenty-[illegible] will be a fit conclusion to our extracts.

'To them Andromachè the grief began,
Holding with hands manslaying H[illegible]
Husband, thou young hast died[illegible]
At home a widow, with an infan[illegible]
Whom we unhappy bore; he n[illegible]

Will manhood reach; for first this city prone
Will perish; for its guardian thou art dead.
Who didst their wives and helpless babes protect.
And they will soon in hollow ships be borne,
And I amidst them; and thou with me, child,
Shalt either follow, where unseemly works
Thou for a cruel master shalt perform,
Or else some Greek shall cast thee from a tower,
Enraged, whose brother noble Hector slew,
Or sire, or son; since many of the Greeks
By Hector's hands the boundless earth have bit:
For not in battle gentle was thy sire;
Hence him the people through the city mourn.
Thou, Hector, to thy parents untold grief
Hast caused; but chiefly woes to me are left.
Thou didst not from thy couch stretch forth in death
To me thy hand, nor any word enjoin,
Which night and day I might with tears recall.
So said she; and the women join'd their groans.
Then Hecuba the frequent grief began;
Hector, of all my children best beloved,
Thou wast, whilst living, to the Gods most dear;
Hence e'en in death they care for thee have shown.
For swift Achilles all my other sons,
Whome'er he took, beyond the barren sea
To Samus, Imbrus, or far Lemnus, sent.
But when he thee with brass of life bereft,
He dragg'd thee oft around his comrade's tomb,
Whom thou hadst slain, but could not him restore.
And dewy now and beauteous in the house
Thou liest, like one, whom Phœbus, Silver-Bow,
Approaching with his gentle shafts has slain.
So said she weeping, and great grief aroused.
And thirdly Helen led to them the grief;
Hector, of all my brothers best beloved;
Fair Alexander is indeed my spouse,
Who brought me here; I would, I first had died.
For now the twentieth year to me is come,
Since thence I came, and my dear country left;
Yet ne'er from thee I chiding speech have heard;
And if me any in the house reproach'd,
Brothers, or sisters, or robed brothers' wives,
Or mother,—for thy sire was ever kind—
Thou didst persuade him, and restrain with words,
And soothing kindness, and thy gentle speech;
So both for thee, and for myself, I mourn.
For no one now to me in ample Troy
Is kind or friendly, and all me detest.'—B. xxiv. 723—775.

ART. IV.—1. *On the Means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's.* *By* WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. Vicar of Leeds. London: Murray. 1846.

2. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Hook, in reply to his Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Subject of National Education.* *By the* Rev. R. C. CLIFTON, M.A. Canon of Manchester. London: Longman & Co.; T. B. Sharpe. Manchester: Sowler. 1846.

3. *Remarks on Dr. Hook's Letter to the Bishop of St. David's, and on a State Provision for the Education of the People.* *By* J. B. CLARKE, M.A. Rector of Bagborough, Prebendary of Wells, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools. London: Hatchards. 1846.

4. *Education: shewing what is done; what is not done; what we can do; what we must do; to Educate the People.* *By* W. T. HALY, Esq. of the Middle Temple, Secretary to the Southwark Fund for Schools. London: Ridgway. 1846.

5. *The Education of the Poor in England and Europe.* *By* JOSEPH KAY, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Travelling Bachelor of the University. London: Hatchards. 1846.

6. *German University Education; or, the Professors and Students of Germany. To which is added, a brief Account of the Public Schools of Prussia, with Observations on the Influence of Philosophy on the Studies of the German Universities.* *By* WALTER C. PERRY, Phil. D. of the University of Gottingen. Second Edition. London: Longman & Co. 1846.

EDUCATION is one of the cries of the age. It is not only a cause, but a cry. Whatever is the subject of one of the principal offices of the Church, or of one of the primary duties of the State—and education, in different aspects, may be said to be both—is certainly, without going further, the object also of very legitimate anxiety and very legitimate zeal. How [illegible] cation is now, both in England and throughout the gre[illegible] of the continent of Europe, a matter of something diffe[illegible] plain straightforward zeal. There is a popular mania, [illegible] able enthusiasm about it – with its usual atte[illegible]nts, a [illegible] set of doctrines, and a very fashionab[illegible] contradiction,—in one word, a cry. [illegible] demand for the better fulfilment of t[illegible]

duty of rightly educating the people, there is a loud popular clamour—a cry which would gorge itself with a counterfeit, but reject the reality, and which is indulged simply because it is the fashion. Just as there has been a cry for free-trade; or as there was a cry for the abolition of rotten boroughs; or a cry for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities; so now there is a 'cry' for the universal education of the children of the poor. And as, wherever there is a 'cry,' it is said there is a cause, bad or good, and perhaps oftenest the latter; and in each of the cases just mentioned there seems to have been at the bottom something real; some abuse that might have been moderately and wisely corrected; some principle that might have been safely adapted and tempered to the exigencies of the time; or some obligation that might have been justly discharged; without provoking a clamour which threatened to strike down some of the most valued and fundamental institutions of the country; so, in what may now be called the education question, there is most undoubtedly a real want, a real principle, a real duty; but at the same time, beyond and distinct from all these, a 'cry.'

State-education, for instance, has long been one of the watch-words of a political party, not remarkable either for very high views of the office of the temporal government, or for very profound sentiments respecting the true object and nature of education itself. By this party education has not so much been urged as a duty, as the diffusion of useful knowledge has been preached as a luxury. We have heard little of the discipline of the birch; but a great deal of the pleasures of the book. Lord Brougham and Gower-street have crusaded the abstract pursuit of knowledge for knowledge' sake. Knowledge is pleasure: knowledge is power: knowledge is virtue: knowledge is godliness. These are the steps by which the extreme section of the liberal educationists have advanced in their promises and expectations. Education is put forward as a spell or a charm. Only get a statistical return that one in four, or (a consummation hardly to be hoped for) one in three of any given population, are actually at school; no matter what their parts, or what their industry, or what the instruction given them, so only that it be the infusion of things unknown before; and you demonstrate at once, according to modern politicians, that that people is in the enjoyment of every virtue and every happiness. Spelling and writing, or even the professed or attempted inculcation of spelling and writing, are considered as sure specifics, without more, against drunkenness and crime. Grand juries yearly present the general ignorance as a satisfactory explanation of a heavy calendar, and lecture Parliament upon the consequent necessity of diffusing 'useful knowledge,' as complacently as if they believed that murde

and robbery were solely the results of an ignorant incapacity to distinguish right from wrong; that instructing with facts were all one with teaching a duty; and being taught a duty, all one with doing it. The luxury of wisdom; the simple pleasure of knowing; the 'emancipation' of the untaught from the 'thraldom of the educated classes;' the vindication of the 'rights of the intellect;' or, to use the words of one whose honoured name we should be sorry to mention in connexion with the sentiment which they, perhaps unconsciously, tend to support — the 'explosion of that ungodly selfishness,' 'by which the upper classes of society are induced to suppose that mental pleasures are a luxury reserved for their exclusive enjoyment,'—these seem to be the objects put forth, in the popular view of the matter, as the great and fundamental motives, the chief grounds, and the paramount reasons why we should 'educate the people.' But this is only the coaxing side of the argument: the bullying one is hardly less cogent. A dry and horrible clatter of statistics is driven about our ears; a shadowy and desultory legion of figures is conjured up before and around us; schools are counted with more or less exactness, and scholars are marked in or marked out, according to the very varying accuracy, and diligence, and information of the several counters; and then we are required, first to take all the figures for gospel; next, to admit the calculations, which, on principles hardly more satisfactory to our bewildered minds than the primary numerals themselves, are deduced therefrom; and last of all, to fall down, in wonder and astonishment, that with such an awful answer to the rule of three sum as is then produced to us, the whole Empire has not been long since swallowed up and revolutionized by the horrible numbers and depravity of its great unschooled. Timothy Jones and John Raw, with their half-dozen brothers, all very harmless little boys, and generally good at their lessons and at Church, have somehow missed attending their dame school regularly, or their attendance has unluckily not been recorded or returned; the parish presents, in consequence, an awful defalcation in the educational returns; instead of one in four, as the figures ought to be, perhaps, only one in nine of the whole population of the luckless place are found to be at school; this goes in to the whole estimate for the county, and this again into that for the kingdom; and we are consequently called upon to infer that the whole population of England is in this or that cut-and-dried predicament, which the man of figures may wish to impose upon us. We are wholly helpless. We can say nothing against such arguments as these. Only one in eleven, we are told, or more frightful still, one in twelve or fifteen of the population

of the country is going to school. 'Very well,' we say, 'build more schools, and send the rest.' 'Oh, no,' rejoins our statistical friend, 'that is by no means what the figures prove; they prove that the population cannot be taught by the Church at all; they prove that societies can do nothing; they prove that you must change and subvert the whole of your present system, and have Parliamentary schools upon the improved and approved principle of the age—that of regeneration by mere simple knowledge.'

Such is the form in which a few of the most salient features of what we would denominate the 'education cry,' appear to present themselves to a casual observer. We have selected only a few; our readers can doubtless fill up the picture, each for himself, according to his several and varying experience. And with respect to the merits of that cry, as we on our part happen to entertain quite as strong, perhaps even as enthusiastic and as visionary views of the duties, the importance, and the efficacy of education—that is to say, of maintaining publicly and generally, by means of schools, a real thorough discipline of the minds and hearts of the young, a complete 'educational' *training* in short,—as Lord Brougham and his liberal friends can possibly do of the necessity of adequately storing and informing 'the national intellect;' we are of course quite willing to concede that 'education' *has* a power and an office, which, though not altogether of the kind or degree so fondly dreamed of by those who lead the popular cry, is yet, certainly, a more critical, and, perhaps, a greater and more sacred one. Education is not an infallible spell, or a charm; but it is a means and an instrument, great for good as for evil. Spelling and writing cannot shut out temptation, but they may, as they also may not, enable a man to possess that which may be temptation's antidote. Knowledge is not virtue; but ignorance stands greatly in the way if you wish to eradicate vice. Knowledge is not godliness; but it is the channel through which godliness best may come. Knowledge, of itself, cannot purify or exalt the mind; but it may be the instrument both of purification and elevation. It can teach a duty, though it cannot enforce it. Pleasure may be its result, though it cannot be its legitimate object. In one word,—though we cannot hope to see the regeneration of the people, temporal or spiritual, effected by the simple diffusion of what is called general information, or by the increased skill of the people in the ordinary arts of life,—though we conceive contentment and happiness to be as really independent of the cultivation of the intellect as they are of wealth or rank, or any other worldly gift,—and though we cannot therefore yield an unqualified submission to the assumption, that the ratio of the educated to the uneducated is, of itself, a true and infallible test of the

prosperity of the people,—or to the argument, that the small amount of that ratio is a sure sign of danger, and a certain harbinger of revolution or rebellion; yet we, in common we believe with all the more sober part of the community, would wish, in contradistinction from these popular modes of speech, to join in not simply admitting, but earnestly and zealously contending, that the general education of the people, in the sense in which the term is usually understood, is not only the best, but perhaps the only means, *if rightly used*, of raising them to the fulfilment of their highest and holiest destinies, and that, consequently, it is a work of charity in all, independently of any question of the obligation incumbent on the ecclesiastical or temporal authorities, to promote, by every possible means, the cause of real education, or in the well-known words of the Church, to endeavour 'that true religion and sound learning may everywhere and for ever flourish and abound.'

We do not, then, decry education. We are no obstructives. On the contrary, we yield to none in zeal for its advancement. But we say, let it be *real* education; and let us expect from it what it *can* do, not what it cannot. And in order to this, it is clear that we must take account of the undeniable fact, that we are acting in the very flood and vortex of this popular cry, which not only sets in a different direction from the one which we would ourselves pursue, but also positively opposes and misleads us. In the popular slang of the day, education means a wholly different thing from what it does to us. The objects which it seeks are different; it hopes for different results; it is actuated by different motives; it sees different perils; it would obviate a different kind of evil. If we would really educate, we must beware of being deceived by education. We must beware of its cant,—for wherever there is a popular movement, so surely there is a cant and a fanaticism. And we must, above all, weigh well its arguments, for they are framed for different conclusions, and are adapted to different principles from those which we recognise as our own. In one word, in treating of public and State education, we must not forget either that it is a subject about which there is a popular cry, or what that cry is.

But if it be in general necessary to remember and guard against the current delusions about education, it certainly appears to us especially necessary, when entering upon an examination of the now well-known pamphlet of Dr. Hook on the State Education of the Poor, to recall to ourselves and our readers, first, the indubitable fact, that there is slang abroad; and secondly, what that slang is; because it seems to us, not only that Dr. Hook has omitted to recognise and allow for these facts; but that it is as much from this cause as from any other, that we

may account for his present difference, or apparent difference, in this matter,—we do not say with ourselves, but—with what we believe to be now, setting aside popular clamour, the received views on the subject, both in the Church, and in the most sober and enlightened quarters out of it. Dr. Hook seems to us, we say it with all deference, to have thrown himself into the stream, and struck out without allowing for the current. His argument really seems to rest on an unquestioning and wholesale adoption of the figures, facts, and inferences, may we not add, in some instances, of the principles also? of the fashionable school of the day—the Useful Knowledge school. We shall endeavour further on to make this clearer, and to specify more particularly the points in Dr. Hook's argument to which we refer; at present we would only wish to point out what we conceive to be a main and necessary feature of difference between Dr. Hook and ourselves. Dr. Hook seems to concede postulates, to adopt data, and to admit without question the legitimacy of trains of reasoning which belong to an alien and hostile school. He seems to have no jealousy of the 'educational cry;' almost to ignore its existence. It may be, of course, we hope it will be, that the ultimate difference which thus naturally arises between Dr. Hook and those who cannot throw themselves at once into the school in question, may turn out, after all, to be less in reality and in practice, than in appearance and in theory; but this at least seems to us to be, we regret to say, undeniable, that as Dr. Hook sets out with wholly different premises and assumptions from those which we could accept; so it is inevitable, that there should be *some* difference in our conclusions.

What, then, *is* this popular school of education? and what is that which is opposed to it? and what is the precise question at issue between them? What is the state of the question at the juncture in which Dr. Hook has intervened? Before inquiring into the nature of Dr. Hook's 'plan,' or the circumstances which led to the origination of a plan at all, let us examine with a little more particularity the precise nature of the differences between the conflicting advocates of education, and the progress which, at the date of Dr. Hook's publication, had been made in adjusting or disposing of them. The occasion of Dr. Hook's interposition will then more clearly be seen; and both the principle and the details of it can then more fitly be compared with, and estimated by, what we conceive to be the present established opinions on the subject.

And here, before going further, we must be allowed to record the expression of our sincerest regret at finding ourselves though in many and very essential points,—indeed, we trust, in the single great end and object of all,—still ranged sid

with Dr. Hook, yet, on the whole, and in nearly all the questions involved in the plan of education now advanced by him, compelled, more or less, to take an opposite position. It is with the greatest diffidence that, on such a subject as the present, we venture to controvert or doubt the conclusions of one of so great practical experience, and of such thorough-going truthfulness and honesty of principle and purpose as Dr. Hook. It is with the greatest pain that, on such a subject as the present, we are compelled to find in the writer of the Letter to the Bishop of St. David's rather an adversary than a friend. It was not our wish to do so. It was with every disposition to agree with the advice, and to second the exertions of the writer, that we first perused the 'Letter' which has caused so much sensation, and it is with every disposition still to lend ourselves where we can to a hearty cooperation with him, that we now address ourselves to the task of examining his project. Wherever we differ, we shall differ with reluctance; and we must hope, once for all, that whatever expressions may be dropped by us, in any apparent spirit of disparagement, or mistrust, or condemnation, may not be construed as really implying any sort of doubt, even in the most remote degree, of the unshaken truth and sound principle of Dr. Hook, or of his warm attachment to the Church and the cause of Church Education.

Had we known nothing of Dr. Hook but what appears in this Letter, we yet could not doubt for a moment that he was still with us in heart as much as ever he was; and as we are not left to such grounds of confidence only:—as with one so real, so hearty, and so faithful as Dr. Hook in the great work which he has shaped out for himself at Leeds, and so able in the conception and execution of that work, we would fain, if possible, still believe ourselves to be, in every thing, fellow-labourers and fellow-soldiers; so if, in the heat and pressure of the conflict, we have unhappily found ourselves anywhere parted, or carried in a different direction, we shall still hope that the opposition may be only in appearance and in name. Our consolation it will be, and, at the same time, our regret, that we can safely say that *our* course, at least, is not the one liable to any charge, if any such there be, of change or inconsistency—our consolation, because we can so remember that the division has not originated with us; our regret, because [illegible] sorry to think that, even in its faintest and m[illegible]m, the shadow of the imputation should rest [illegible] Dr. Hook, of having, on his part, 'now [illegible] And if it should be so—if it really were [illegible] it necessary to abandon us—we sho[illegible] the chief blame to ourselves, [illegible] and supineness in carrying

on and increasing the educational work of the Church had been the real cause of our seeming, but only seeming, abandonment, by so earnest and energetic a man as the Vicar of Leeds; we should feel inclined to suspect, that if we had been more active, more true in deed to our professions in word, more prompt and earnest in supplying the education which we advocate, more indicative of, at least, a will, if not a power, to meet and grapple with the great exigencies, with which Dr. Hook, more than any other man, is so thoroughly conversant; we might not, perhaps, now have had to regret either our loss in this apparent difference, or his adoption of projects and arguments at first sight so alien from those which we have been accustomed to consider as his own:—

'Tuque tuis armis, nos te potiremur, Achille.'

But to return. The circumstances under which Dr. Hook has come forward, and the influence under which he appears to have almost unconsciously acted, in deference to the current educationism, so to speak, of the day, seem to render it necessary, as a key to the proper estimate of his project and argument, to take a short review of the progress and present position of the education question in England.

It is not necessary to go back very far; and it is rather by way of stating the question, than of travelling into history, that we would briefly recall a few particulars of the educational controversy of the last ten years.

We will not, then, weary our readers by beginning at the beginning. We will take the year 1839 as our starting point, and we can easily survey from thence the previous as well as the subsequent state of public opinion respecting national education.

The year 1839, as most of us remember, is distinguished in the annals of education, as being the year in which Lord Melbourne's ministry attempted, the first time any thing of the kind had been tried in England, to introduce a *direct State education;* or, in other words, to lay the foundation of a plan, which, when complete, may be described as a system of schools, of which the masters are salaried by the State, are responsible to the Ministers of State and to no other authority, are appointed by the Ministers of State, and removable at their pleasure; and, finally act under the instructions of the Ministers of State in the kind and measure of the tuition imparted by them. The ministerial project of the year 1839 did not go at once the whole length of this definition. It amounted, indeed, practically, to very little; and before its final settlement it had been pared down to less even than that little. Still it asserted the principle of the direct agency of the Ministers of State in the education of the people, and it was for that broad reason that it was, with, we

believe, the very fullest concurrence of public feeling and opinion, virtually rejected by Parliament.

Now it seems to us to be very instructive, or rather to be essential to the formation of a right judgment on the course to be now pursued with respect to national education in general, and to the project of Dr. Hook in particular, to call to mind the nature of this project of 1839, and the grounds on which it was rejected. We are, of course, quite aware,—it would be, indeed, particularly absurd at the present day, of all others, to pretend not to be so,—that it is no legitimate argument to reason from the opinions of 1839 to those of 1846. We wish to make no appeal to consistency; we use no *ad hominem* arguments. We do not insist that because in 1839 the country, on what then seemed to them undeniable grounds, rejected the bare notion of State schoolmasters, under a Minister of Public Instruction, it is bound to make the same rejection now, or to think the same arguments irrefragable now, which it thought irrefragable then. But for this much we do contend—that the arguments which prevailed in 1839 have, abstractedly, the same weight now as they had then; that they are to be considered and weighed with as much attention now, as then; and that, if the course against which they prevailed in 1839, or any other like course, is to prevail against them in 1846, they ought first to be answered and disposed of. Now, it may of course be said, we believe it *is* said, that the project we are now to consider, and in general the educational projects of 1846, differ from those of 1839, and avoid the objections which proved fatal to the latter, by reason of the modified form in which they are proposed. And here we conceive lies one main question at issue between ourselves and those opposed to us. We deny that this is simply true. We maintain that those objections are *not* avoided, however we may admit that there is a difference between the projects. What, then, *is* that difference? Does the new scheme, or does it not, avoid the objections in question? To answer these inquiries has been one main reason with us for referring to the history of the year 1839.

Before the year 1839, the educational [illegible] never exceeded 20,000*l.*, was customarily pla[illegible] Lords of the Treasury, and by them divi[illegible] to such schools, whether in connexi[illegible] opposition to it, as seemed to [illegible] of 1839 provided for the [illegible] Council, who should form [illegible] Board, instead of to the T[illegible] should for the future be [illegible] grant should be increased [illegible]

this money should be applied by the new Board according to a scheme laid down in a minute of Council agreed to early in that year, and placed on the table of both Houses of Parliament. This minute of Council formed the basis of much of the debates that ensued. It vindicated to the Committee a very large discretion in, and control over, the application of the money; it constituted the Committee, in short, not a board of distribution, but of education; and, in particular, it provided for the establishment of a Normal School for the education of state-schoolmasters, in which the care of the religious instruction of the pupils was to be entrusted to a chaplain in holy orders, *unless a sufficient (specified) number of dissenting pupils, or pupils, sons of dissenting parents, should be found to call for the further appointment of a minister or ministers of the like persuasion, to superintend the religious instruction of such dissidents.*

Now this was not a very violent proposition; but it involved, in principle, the sanction of an education placed directly in the hands of a Minister, or body of Ministers, of State: and it indicated, further, in the composition of its normal school, the *animus* of the State Education which it purposed to introduce, and the view which that education was to take of the religious feature of the question. Now it could not be objected to it, of course, that it neglected religion altogether: nor *was* it objected to it that it did not concede the care of religious instruction exclusively to the Church; but it was felt, or supposed, that it treated Religion, of whatever kind, as an alien and hostile influence,—or rather, as many and different alien and hostile influfluences,—alien from and hostile to the State itself, and alien from and hostile to each other,—between which the State was, with such impartiality or indifference as it could command, to hold the balance; and the whole of which it would be inclined to depress, and if possible ignore accordingly. The schoolmaster was to be the State; yet that schoolmaster was to be—what the State could not well avoid being—disabled from taking up any religious system whatever as the soul and spirit of his teaching, or even from making any such system any part or parcel of his primary care; he was perforce to leave religion to come in as a *πάρεργον*, a bye-work, to be taught by those whom it might concern.

On these two grounds then,—namely, 1st, because the project implied the principle of *direct* education by a Minister of State, (acting of course through his subordinates); and, 2dly, because it seemed to negative the possibility of Religion assuming its proper office and position in the education which it proposed,—it was opposed in Parliament and throughout the country. The opposition, it is well known, was successful. We do not of

course mean to affirm, nor is it at all to our present purpose to affirm or to deny, that party feeling had nothing to do with the success of that opposition; or that mistrust of the Melbourne ministry did not contribute a good deal to the overthrow of the contemplated measure; our business at present is rather with the *reasons* on which the opposition was based, their validity and their limits.

And when we speak of the success of the opposition, that success, it must be observed, amounted only to this:—that the design of erecting gradually or otherwise a system of direct State Education was withdrawn, and with it of course the proposed normal school; but the new Board or Committee was *not* given up; it was made, as it still continues, ministerial only, instead of actively educational; having for its chief offices, the distribution of the government grants between the existing educational societies—the organs of the different religious communions; and secondly, the appointment of inspectors, and reception and publication of their reports—the inspectors of the Church Schools being subject to the *veto* of the Archbishop.

The two grounds, however, of the defeat, or rather of the modification of the project, were, as we have said, its supposed tendency to erect a direct State Education, and its mode of dealing with Religion.

Let us look a little further into these reasons. And first; as to the office of the State in education. We could quote passages without number, if it were necessary, from the speeches of the leading debaters on both sides, in the discussions of 1839, to show that the assumption, by a body of Ministers of State, of any *direct* office of education in the country, was one of the main features of the new scheme upon which the opposition to it was rested; which was attacked by its opponents, and defended by its advocates; upon which, in short, issue was joined, and by the result of the struggle against which, the general fate of the measure was in a great degree decided. It will suffice to take the case of the mover of the amendment on the Government proposition, Lord Stanley,—and the member of the Government, Lord Morpeth, who was put up to answer him. Lord Stanley, in the outset of his speech, and as one of the first and chief grounds of his rising to move an amendment, objected 'to any 'proposition for giving a *direct* control over the religious or 'moral education of the people of this country to any Board or 'Committee, or to any body, call it by what name they would, 'so composed and constituted as to be *decidedly and exclusively* '*political* in its character. If the proposal had been merely to 'transfer an *executive and ministerial* office and authority from 'the Treasury to a Committee of Council, he (Lord Stanley)

'should not have objected; but there *were to be powers conferred* '*on the Board*,'—powers which Lord Stanley went on to characterise as 'vague, uncertain, and irresponsible,' and unfit to be delegated to a body accessible to party and political motives.

Lord Morpeth, on the other hand, conceived that the same issue was raised; but had, of course, a different opinion as to the mode in which it ought to be decided. 'The question is,' he said, 'whether Ministers should have *any* share, however small, 'in superintending the general education of the people.' And he contended that the affirmative of this proposition ought to be asserted. Here, then, is a distinct issue raised,—a question, the mooting of which in 1839 proved fatal to the educational project of the day, and the affirmative side of which was almost totally abandoned, in the subsequent arrangement which took place on the subject. What are the real merits of this issue? Why was it decided in the way it was? What does that decision amount to in relation to the present educational projects? Do they clash with it, or avoid it; and if they clash, which is right?

Let us proceed to answer these inquiries. We think it will be found that there is a very considerable contradiction between the decision of 1839, and the present educationists. The dry question, then, which we take to be settled by the debates of 1839, and on which we conceive that the country is agreed,—we will not perhaps carry further than this; the question, namely, whether, *if other and better means can be found*, the State ought to take education into its own hands, at the risk of superseding the different religious channels of education now at work, and without the power of substituting any one definite or satisfactory religious education of its own. In the negative answer of this question, all, we conceive, are agreed. It was clearly so answered in 1839 by the whole people of Britain; and we conceive it would be so answered by them still.

The present advocates of a modified State Education say, if we understand them aright, that 'other and better means are *not* now to be found,'—and they urge that the matter be taken into the hands of the State, in a form which shall not altogether supersede the existing channels of religious education, and which shall not therefore be obnoxious to the arguments used in 1839, the arguments by which the simple proposal to introduce a State Education was then defeated.

We propose hereafter to join issue on the question whether the existing educational appliances and powers are or are not so deficient and unpromising as to necessitate a direct State teaching;—we proceed now to inquire whether the direct reasons urged in 1839, or advanced since, against giving the education of the people to the State authorities, in other words, to the

Ministry for the time being, be or be not sufficient to carry us a little further than a vague and undiscriminating objection to some extreme form of 'State Education,' or whether they are or are not also good against the present modifications of it.

And here it may be observed that in the discussion of this point we have taken no notice of the religious objection, which we reserved at the outset for separate consideration.

The chief argument, then, that has been urged against the assumption by Government of the direct office of teacher (we mean, of course, against its being a *teacher* even of secular knowledge) is this—that such an education must needs be first dependent, then political. It is necessarily an instrument of power,—it places the people's minds in the hands of a Minister of Public Instruction, to form them as he will, and inculcate upon them what he pleases. And secondly, and by consequence, its tone is essentially a political one. The head of it is a politician, perhaps a political partizan; its subordinates more or less become so too. This or that political success is an aim and object to them;—their promotion in life may depend upon it;—it may be the advancement of their patron, or his overthrow;—they do what they can to promote, or retard it;—their scholars catch the enthusiasm; and the whole system is tinged with a political leaven, has political motives, is biassed by political reasons, moves in a political world. Now this we take to be an unmixed evil. Setting aside the possible use of such an educational system, when compulsorily imposed, as an engine for the absolute subjugation of the minds of the people, it should seem to be essentially wrong in its ruling motives, its whole tone and character.

True it is, most certainly, that it is the office and duty of the civil government,—in the highest view of political science,—to see that the people are educated in the best possible manner, and to provide such education accordingly; but this is quite consistent with the maxim, that such a system of education should be free and independent; and by no means implies the necessity of placing every schoolmaster and school in the kingdom in the plastic hands of a central Minister of Instruction.

Education in England,—that education, we mean, which in England has been, and with some drawbacks still is, really well done,—the public education of the middle and upper classes, is emphatically independent and free. Neither minister nor minister's man, clerk, secretary, nor official, has a word to say in the matter. Downing-street may be corrupt or turbulent: but Eton, and Oxford, and Westminster, and Cambridge, and Harrow, and Winchester, and Charterhouse,—and to these we may now add Durham, and Rugby, and Shrewsbury,

and many a 'free Grammar School' throughout the kingdom,—these all remain tranquil and unchanged. They, or some of them, may have a jobbery or a fanaticism of their own; but at least, it is not that worst kind of jobbery, a servile prostitution to Court influence, or that worst kind of fanaticism, a fanaticism taken at second-hand from Minister or mob. The faction fight at Westminster is a matter which concerns the English Universities no more than it does any other body of gentlemen in the kingdom. The *teaching* of the Universities, whatever it may be, is beyond the reach of the Minister, directly or indirectly. He can have no tools there; he can stop no lectures—dictate no tutoring. A protest is far more likely to be the course adopted in reply to the overtures of a corrupt or evil-principled Government, than an acquiescence in, or an adoption, of its principles. Observe, we are not assuming that the educating body in England is always right, and a Government always wrong; but we insist upon this, that they are independent one of the other, and that this independence is one great cause of the stability, the permanence, and the excellence of the education we are speaking of, and that it has, more than once, proved the cause of something even more than this, the preservation, namely, of our constitutional liberties, and the maintenance or restoration of truth even in the Government and Legislature itself. It acts upon the Government instead of the Government upon it. True it is, that by reason of this independence the education in question is less obnoxious to the changes observable in the current and progress of opinion, and that it is, as people commonly say, often behind the age. But it is real and sure. Whatever *real* improvement is made, is sure to find its exponent in our Public Schools and Universities, as soon as ever it establishes perfectly its character and pretensions; and once there, it remains. But be it that the inflexibility of these great institutions is a drawback to them, this we confidently maintain, that that drawback is more than compensated by its necessary cause and origin, viz. the independence and freedom of the education in question from the corrupt and ephemeral influences of the fashionable cant, or the jobbery, or the intimidation of the day.

'That is the wall, my Lord Duke, that James II. knocked his head against,' was the answer of Mr. Croker to the Duke of Wellington, when, on driving into Oxford in 1834 to take his se as Chancellor of that University, the Duke inquired, pointing the long grey parapets and pinnacles of Magdalen College, w building it was that flanked him on the right. Magdalen C lege was incorruptible by King or Minister in 1688; the U versity of which it was a part, was equally inaccessib

ministerial influences in 1834. Mr. Croker's answer meant more than met the ear. The tide of radical 'Church Reform' was rolled back from the foot of the walls of Oxford from that time forth; and the demonstration of that week was the beginning of sounder and better times. Throughout our history, indeed, so far as modern feelings and struggles reach back, the independence of our educational institutions has ever acted beneficially for the wellbeing both of these institutions themselves, and of the country at large; and has been more than once, to the cause of right and truth, a strength in prosperity, and a defence in adversity. When Puritanism reigned at Whitehall, Oxford protested; Puritanism, *not* being able to impose itself upon the country by mastering the organs of education (it tried to do so, but failed), fell, to reign no more. When Romanism was the Court religion, Oxford was still unchanged. When Locke and William III. came into fashion, Oxford was still inaccessible; her teaching was one and the same. When the first Hanoverian monarchs, with their Walpoles and their Townsends, ushered in the era of the deism of Hume, and the latitudinarianism of Warburton and Hoadley, Oxford brought forth her Butler and her Wilson; her teaching was still unchanged.

We have an education, in short, as far as it goes, with a character of its own: not a character reflected from the uppermost enthusiasm, or imposed by the uppermost courtier, or the most successful orator, or most accomplished sophist, of the time. The character of that education is probably not perfect. It might be improved. Be it so. It is open to be improved; there is the material for it. It is itself, not something else: and being itself, it can take improvement, and having taken, retain it. A borrowed identity admits of no improvement of its own—it has no character at all.

But if this argument hold good with respect to the education of the upper and middle classes:—why should it not hold generally? or, rather, is it not much more applicable in the case of the poor,—who are so much less able to vindicate their own independence?

It will be observed that we are now strictly confining ourselves to the question of education being or not being subject to the control, and guided by the direct agency, of the State ministers: and we argue, that if this question stood alone, and taking it in the abstract, the advantage of the former, and the disadvantage of the latter, course, is clearly established. We are not saying that an otherwise efficient education-system may not be by accident a State-system; or, *vice versâ*, an inefficient system independent; but we contend that so far as it is a State-system it is bad.

But if any of our readers should be unconvinced by consider-

ing only the case of our own independent educational institutions, we would ask him to look at the other side of the picture, and see the effects of a 'Ministerial' system of education, as they are now developed in France and Germany.

We will first take the case of France; and in order that there may be no suspicion about our statement, we will borrow it as much as possible from the very warm but weak admirer of the French national education, whose book stands fifth on the list at the head of our article.

'After the revolution of 1830,' says Mr. Joseph Kay, 'this question (that of the education of the people) received the serious attention of the Government; and in 1833 M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, introduced *a great and comprehensive scheme* of national education, which received the assent of the Chambers, and was immediately put into operation.'

It may be as well to notice here, by the way, the circumstance, altogether ignored by Mr. Kay, that this 'great and comprehensive scheme,' thus ushered in as a natural sequence of the three glorious days, was in fact no child of theirs at all, but, on the contrary, a development or amplification of the university constitution as founded or remodelled by Napoleon; and not only perpetually resisted by a large party in France, but specially provided against by an article of the charter of 1830, which stipulated for liberty of teaching, '*la liberté d'enseignement*,' in exemption from the despotic yoke of the Imperial Academy.

But to proceed. Education in France, as established, or confirmed, in 1833, is divided into primary or elementary, and secondary, or higher education; and there is a corresponding division of the national schools or academies. But, as Mr. Kay confines himself chiefly to the regulations concerning the primary schools, it may be well to premise that this system of primary schools is a department, or rather an extension and ramification, of the chief central university, the *Université Royale de France*; the following short description of which, extracted from Dr. Christopher Wordsworth's Diary in France, will form an appropriate supplement to Mr. Kay's sketch of the primary system, and will assist in making it intelligible:—

'The University,' says Dr. Wordsworth, p. 28, 'is a creation of Napoleon,[1] 1806—1810; and it may be described as existing every where and yet no where, for it has no one special *locale* like our Universities, and yet *it exercises a domineering influence over the whole of France*, which is divided, in all matters connected with education, into twenty-seven *Academies*, that of Paris being the principal, on which the others depend. The University

[1] 'Il sera formé (said the Emperor) sous le nom *d'Université* un corps chargé *exclusivement* de l'enseignement et de l'éducation publics dans toute la France.'

has the sole power of conferring degrees, and exercises the right of inspection and control over almost all the schools of France, with the exception of those specially destined for Ecclesiastics, and called *seminaries*, which, however, have *no power* of conferring degrees even in *theology*. The University is *entirely under the control of the Government*, that is, of the Minister of Public Instruction, now M. Villemain, peer of France,' (now, Oct. 1846, M. de Salvandy,) 'and *Grand Maître de l'Université*, who appoints all the professors, and delivers all the diplomas for degrees. Such being its constitution, the result is, that of its five faculties, theology, law, medicine, sciences, and letters, that of theology has almost ceased to exist. The professors of theology being nominated by the minister (approved, however, by the archbishop), and the clergy having no confidence in the instruction given by the university, few ecclesiastics resort to it for theological study; and no theological degrees are now, therefore, conferred in France.'

'I have said that the University has no special *locale*; but it has a kind of domicile at the *Sorbonne*, where examinations are held for degrees, and which is, as it were, the centre or *chef lieu* of the University. The *Ecoles de Droit* and *de Médecine* are distinct buildings, but belong to the University; and amphitheatres for lectures, &c. are contained in them.

'Here, to-day, at the Sorbonne, we found in one of the upper rooms a considerable number of persons seated on benches, listening to the examination of a youth of about nineteen, for the degree of Bachelor of Letters (*Bachelier ès Lettres*). In front of the audience was a long table, covered with green cloth, with a great number of small volumes upon it, at which were sitting four Examiners, with their faces towards the audience; and on the other side of it the examinee, with his back to them, and his face to the Examiners. The Examiners wore no gowns, nor other academic badge, nor did the examinee; he was seated as well as they. The examination was *vivâ voce*.

'One of the Examiners was M. St. Marc-Girardin, professor of French poetry at the University, and *member of the Chamber of Deputies*, and of the French Academy; another was M. Victor le Clerc, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, and Member of the Institute.'

And after describing a visit to one of the superior schools at Paris, the 'Institution Mourice,' Dr. Wordsworth thus continues:—

'This is one of the 120 schools at Paris for the upper classes, which are authorized by the University of France, and are under its control; *no such school can be formed without its sanction, given by the Minister of Public Instruction; and these minor schools are required to send their pupils above ten years of age to attend the classes of the great State Colleges or government schools of Paris, at the same time with, and in addition to, the studies which they pursue in these private establishments.* Each master of a private school pays also to the University a certain sum (45 francs), as capitation-tax on each of his pupils.'—P. 49.

...es ecclésiastiques ont toute confiance dans l'enseignement théologique des ... vu que cet enseignement ne peut être confié qu'à des membres du clergé ... ar l'évêque du diocèse. La véritable raison de la décadence des facultés ... c'est que les évêques préfèrent faire instruire les aspirants au sacerdoce ... séminaires que de les envoyer suivre des cours au-dehors. Les ... remplacent les facultés de théologie, mais ne peuvent pas donner ... nts. Les facultés de théologie n'ont été reconstituées que ... re de diocèses.

In subordinate connexion, then, with this University, and its twenty-seven academies of secondary instruction, comes the system of Primary Schools; concerning which we extract the following particulars from Mr. Kay:

Every department in France, 'is obliged, either alone, or in 'conjunction with other neighbouring departments, to support 'one Normal School for the education of its schoolmasters. The 'expense of this establishment is borne by the department, *while 'the direction of the education given in it is vested in the Minister of 'Public Instruction.*' . . . . 'The directors of these Normal 'Schools, and of the primary classes which are annexed to them, '*are nominated by the Minister of Public Instruction*, in the pre-'sentation of the *préfet* of the department, and of the rector 'of the academy. *These directors are paid wholly, or partially, 'from the public funds* set apart for the public instruction.'

'No candidate can be admitted into a Normal School unless he comply with the following conditions:—

'1. He must be at least sixteen years old.

'2. He must produce certificates—of character, health, and vaccination.

'3. He must pass an examination before *a departmental committee*, charged with the examination of those desirous of obtaining *brevets de capacité*, enabling them to officiate as schoolmasters, of his being able to read and write correctly, of a knowledge of the rudiments of French grammar and arithmetic, *and of a satisfactory acquaintance with the principles of the religion he professes.*' * * * * *

'The Normal Schools admit members of all religions. *All dogmatical instruction is avoided in the general lessons; and the pupil-teachers receive this instruction, at times set apart for it, from Clergy of their own Church.* Until a pupil-teacher has obtained a certificate of his proficiency in the doctrines of his own religion, from a minister of his own Church, he cannot officiate as master in any school whatever.

'No person can officiate as schoolmaster until he is eighteen years old, and until he has presented *to the mayor of the commune* in which he wishes to conduct a school—1. A brevet de capacité (obtained from the departmental committee before mentioned)—2. A certificate of moral character, *obtained from the mayor of the commune*, or communes, in which he has lived the last three years.'

The departmental committees above mentioned, and entrusted with the charge of examining and licensing schoolmasters, *are 'named by the Minister of Public Instruction.*'

'The examinations must be public, and *the period at which 'they take place must be fixed by the minister.*'

Each such committee 'is formed of *at least* seven members,' but 'is not limited to seven.' 'Besides six laymen, who ought 'to form part of it, (*three of whom are nominated from the body of 'public instruction*), there ought to be joined to it a minister of 'each of the three religions recognised by the State, (viz. the 'Roman Catholic, Protestant, and the Jewish,) which are to be found in the department.'

'The departments are divided into communes, and each 'commune is OBLIGED by law, (the capitals are Mr. Kay's) 'either alone, or in conjunction with one or more neighbouring 'communes, to support at least one elementary Primary 'School.'

Chief towns, and communes, of a population above 6,000, 'are each required to support also one superior Primary 'School.'

'*No books are allowed to be used in these schools but such as are 'authorized by the Government,* but the masters are allowed to 'follow the method of instruction which they themselves think 'preferable.'

'*Every master of a Primary School is required to furnish the 'local committee with an account of the state and progress of instruc- 'tion in his school during the past month.* Each school is subjected 'to an examination twice a year, in the presence of the local 'committee, and of four members of the committee of the 'arrondissement.'

'The committee of the arrondissement consists of the mayor 'of the chief town of the arrondissement, the juge de paix, the 'curé, a minister from each of the recognised sects of the 'arrondissement, a professor, a primary schoolmaster, three 'members of the council of the arrondissement, and of the 'members of the council-general of the department who live 'within the arrondissement.'

'The committee of the commune consists of the mayor of 'the commune, the president, the curé, and one of the most in- 'fluential inhabitants.

'But, besides this local inspection, which seems so well to 'stimulate and encourage the efforts of the masters in the 'different communes, *and to inform the Minister of Public In- 'struction of the true wants of the different localities, there is another 'great system of general inspection, directed by the Minister of 'Public Instruction.*'

This system is then described by Mr. Kay; and is, briefly, as follows:—A government inspector is appointed for every department, with sub-inspectors when requisite. The inspectors are paid by the state, and examine the schools, and report to the Minister of PublicInstruction. They also correspond constantly with the local authorities.

If we add to this, the facts that the number of the masters in each school, and the amount of their several salaries, are fixed by the Minister, and not by the local authorities, we have presented to our readers the principal outlines of the French system of Primary State Education—a system which it will be seen is one essentially, and to every substantial purpose, in the hands

of the Minister of State. The pay is in his power; the appointments are in his power; the examinations are in his power; the examinants are in his power; the books are in his power, that are to be used in the schools;—and, finally, through the medium of inspection, he can ensure that his mandates and wishes are in all respects complied with.

Well, what is the result of all this?

Ever since the establishment of the system, one great result has been a struggle, a complete agitation raised against it, (*une lutte déplorable*, was the admission of its 'founder,' M. Guizot himself, only six months since,) between 'young France' on the one hand, and the upholders of the old constitution of society on the other; and the issue of that struggle has been a modification of the constitution of the central school—the Council of the University.

We are not now speaking of the merits of this controversy. It is enough for us to point to the fact. We point to the fact that, in a country like France, a country *used to centralization* as compared with England, the existence of a direct State education has been felt so seriously to interfere with the first and most sacred of domestic rights—the right of a parent to decide upon the kind and manner of education which he will give to his child,—that it has been found impossible to maintain it in its unmitigated shape.

'There was an excess of despotism,' were the words of M. Guizot, in his eloquent defence of the modification of the constitution of the University, Jan. 30, 1846, 'there was an excess of despotism 'in the system upon which the University was conceived and 'founded. . . . . The rights of families are anterior to those of the 'State. . . . . The State has *not* the right to impose its teaching 'arbitrarily and exclusively on all families, without their consent 'and contrary to their wish. But the régime of the University did '*not* admit these primary and available rights of families. It did '*not* admit the rights of religious belief. It did *not* admit the 'right which every religious communion has to hand down its 'faith unchanged from generation to generation, transmitted to 'the son as it has been received by the father.'

Such is the admission of the 'founder,' according to Mr. Kay, of this 'great and comprehensive' scheme. It is despotic; and it interferes with the rights of families. It produces a deplorable dissension: this is its first result.

But the question is not so much about the despotic or other incidental qualities of this State education—qualities resulting from its being compulsory, which, it may be said, is an accident —as about those results which spring necessarily from its being a *State* education, an education by a State minister. We have

anticipated that such an education must needs be *political* as well as dependent. We have seen that in the present case there is plenty of dependence upon the minister. Is there also this *political* character in its pupils, its schools, its principles

A few more extracts from Dr. Wordsworth may, perhaps, answer this question in the best and most satisfactory way. They will show what we mean by a *political* animus, as distinct from, and substituted for, a religious one. They will show what we mean by an education with no character of its own, but borrowing its whole form and brightness from the ever-varying sophistry, or cant, or infidelity of the day.

'*Tuesday, Aug.* 13.—By the kindness of two friends we obtained tickets of admission to the *grand concours* of the Colleges of Paris and Versailles at the Sorbonne, for to-day.

'The design of the *concours* is as follows: the Colleges or great schools of Paris and Versailles, containing altogether, at present, above 6000 students, are brought into *competition* with one another annually, by means of the University, of which they are constituent parts. In the *departments* there are other Academies, as they are called, twenty-seven in number, each consisting of groups of Colleges, and these Academies are clustered together into the *University of France*, and thus there is one system of National Education, which is commensurate with the whole extent of France. The *chef lieu*, or centre of this great system, is the Sorbonne, a large building of the bad Italian style of the age of Cardinal Richelieu, who laid the first stone, and occupying the place of the old venerable fabrics of that name, which dated from the thirteenth century, but which have now disappeared.

'The *result* of the competition of the Parisian colleges is announced at the *concours* with great ceremony and display. The proceedings of the day took place in a large saloon at the Sorbonne, in which the seats are arranged for the students after the manner of an ancient theatre, *i. e.* with concentric benches rising up in an inclined plane one above another, thus forming *cunei* with *viæ* converging downwards to what would be called the orchestra in a Greek theatre. Above these seats to the right and left at each end of the room are *tribunes*, as they are termed, or galleries, (two on each side,) which were filled with spectators. The *stage*, as it would be termed, of this theatre was occupied in the centre by a chair of state, which was to be filled by M. Villemain, the Minister of Instruction, grand Master of the University, Peer of France, &c., with crimson velvet and gilt benches on each side, to be occupied by members of the Council of Instruction and other dignitaries. *Immediately behind M. Villemain's chair was a portrait of King Louis-Philippe, flanked by tri-coloured flags*, beyond which, one on each side, in niches, are statues of Fénélon and Bossuet, obsolete remnants of the *ancien régime*.

'After the admission of the company, about eleven o'clock A.M., the students poured in in crowds, and took their places in the centre or body of the hall. At the same time came in the members of the *Ecole Normale*, i. e. of the school for training masters; then marched in the Professors, in black gowns, bands, and long orange-coloured silk badges, or *laticlaves*, over the left shoulder: together with them came the doctors in the faculties of law and medicine, in scarlet cloth gowns, and other professors in crimson satin and orange silk gowns—a brilliant show. These took their places where the senators would have sat in a Roman theatre, *i. e.* the lowest in front

nearest the stage. The front rows of the galleries were occupied by distinguished personages, *among whom were some members of the Institute in dress coats covered with bright green embroidery and with swords. A military band occupied one corner near the north gallery, where we sat.*

'After the students had taken their places, and one or two pieces of music had been played, *a great uproar arose, the young prize-men and their comrades demanding the revolutionary air of la Marseillaise*, which after a short delay was played by the band, and received by the students with great applause; *it was soon called for again, and again played with equal éclat.*

'At twelve o'clock precisely appeared M. Villemain, (dressed in a plain court dress, embroidered collared coat, white waistcoat, and sword, no gloves,) preceded by two gold maces, who took their station behind his chair; the assembly stood up, and M. Villemain desired them to be seated. Some gentlemen, splendidly robed in violet velvet and ermine with white gloves, followed him and took their seats on the side benches; after which, on each side, *the stage was guarded by a company of soldiers*, who stood all the time. M. Cousin, dressed as member of the Institute, sat at the end of the left bench. The proceedings were opened by a Latin address read by one of the professors, Mons. Demogeot, of the college of St. Louis. The *English* pronunciation of Latin is not very good, to be sure; but Cicero himself could not have been eloquent in French. M. Villemain next arose and drew out of his pocket a paper, from which he proceeded to read his address in a very good and audible voice, and in a very dignified manner. The speech had excited great curiosity on account of the then condition of affairs connected with National Education, and was listened to with profound attention. It commenced with the usual salutation, "Jeunes Elèves," and reminded them that on no previous occasion was so much interest attached to the proceedings and the career of the rising generation of France as at the present day; that they had, therefore, much to rejoice in, and much to hope for. He spoke of the dignity of the University whose character was in their hands; he referred to its foundation *by the hand of the great hero of France* (Napoleon), by that same hand as had reared again her fallen altars, had signed the concordat of 1801, and had brought *(attira)* the sovereign Pontiff to Paris (not a word about his sending him to Fontainbleau and to Savona). He enlarged upon the advantages which they enjoyed, as having not only all the learning and genius of antiquity open to them, but also possessing it elevated by Christianity, illustrated by the science of modern times, and purified by the morality of its rational and intelligent philosophy; and he exhorted them, by religious and moral conduct, by loyalty and patriotism, by discharging the duties which they owed to their colleges, to their families, and to society at large, to maintain the character of the University, to vindicate it from the aspersions of its enemies, to be the apology of their masters *(l'apologie de leurs maîtres)*, and the joy and pride of their families. He *reminded them that their time for mixing in the politics of the world would soon arrive, but that it was not yet come; when it did arrive, they would then show that they were true sons of the University of France, and would follow the glorious examples of their former comrades, the young sons of their king, who were advancing its glory in the colony of Constantine, and on the perilous coasts of Morocco.*[1]

'After this address, which was received with much applause, the distribution of the prizes ensued; the names of the more eminent successful candidates being proclaimed by M. Cousin, M. Poinsot, and M. St. Marc Girar-

[1] [A few months after this brilliant exhibition, the public mind was suddenly shocked by the melancholy news that M. Villemain had been bereft of reason; he was succeeded as Minister of Public Instruction by M. Salvandy, who now holds that office.]

din, members of the Council of Instruction; the rest by the *inspecteur des études*, M. Bourdon; M. Cousin announcing the philosophy prize, M. Poinsot that for mathematics, M. St. M. Girardin for rhetoric. The prizemen, as their names were called over, descended from their places and approached M. Villemain, who placed a green wreath of ivy on their heads and kissed them on the temples. The prizes consisted of sets of handsomely bound books, the music playing at the announcement of each prize.

'The distribution at the *Institution Mourice* above described, was, it will be seen, a miniature of this great academic anniversary, but there were some points of difference. At the former there were many of the clergy, and the prizes were distributed by them: at the *concours neither the Archbishop nor any one of the eighty Bishops of France were present*, and only very few of the clergy scattered here and there among the spectators. Again, in the former, there were prizes for religious knowledge; *here, at the University, there was no notice of any thing of the kind in the long list of honours which were conferred.*' —Pp. 57—63.

Here, then, we have the State University of France in her full holiday attire, displaying herself to advantage,—holding out her prizes, dressing up what she deems the true incentives to exertion,—laying down what she conceives to be the highest praise, and what the highest blame. And what is that highest human praise? To advance the glory of France,—to be, in one word, a good member of *la jeune France*. France is the beginning of the show, and France is the end of it. The tricolor is its emblem, and its arch-priest the Minister of State with his portfolio. Is this, then, the end or aim of human learning? What do we find, here, of 'promoting the glory of God, and present and future welfare of mankind?' Simply nothing. What do we find here of the dignity, the reality, the very identity, of learning itself, in itself and by itself? Nothing. All is France. The whole system is subservient to the prevailing idea, the popular idol of the day. With us, perhaps, Englandism is not just now so outrageous as France-worship is with our neighbours; and, therefore, an education subjected to, and dependent upon, the vicissitudes and tides of the social system,—an education under the popular minister of the day,—would not, perhaps, take precisely the same form with us as with them; but it would as surely embody the leading popular notion, the uppermost delusion of the time, as French State education now embodies French State lunacy.

But there are worse features behind. It is a little out of order, perhaps, to trespass here on the point of the religious or irreligious character of this or that education, as an argument in its favour or against it, and we may possibly, in so doing, anticipate a little what we shall have to say further on. But in this place we would merely, in pointing to the horrible atheism and sickening wickedness that pollutes the educational fountain in France, observe, *not*, of course, that *every* State education must needs be like it, but that while infidelity, as in

France, or latitudinarianism, or fanaticism, or any other *ism*, is uppermost in society at large, so surely will that same form of evil, whatever it may be, appear in a system of education which has no root or dependence on itself, but is entirely a reflective emanation of the government of the day,—a creature of that which, both in England and France, is now more or less the creature of the people.

Let the following extracts from Dr. Wordsworth's book, and particularly the notes by which they are supported, show the 'religious' character of French State education:—

'Since the time of this visit to the college of Louis le Grand, I have made inquiries in various quarters concerning the *moral character* of these Parisian schools, and I regret to say that *in no case* has the report been a favourable one. I cannot but feel some hesitation in making the statement which I have done with respect to the morality of these great establishments, the Colleges of Paris, as what affects them not only concerns their own most important social and moral interests and duties, but also affects the University (of which they are constituent parts) and the Government, and indeed the nation at large. But in giving utterance to this judgment I am not only recording the result of private inquiries, but am echoing, and that very faintly, the language of the official report of *nine Chaplains of these Colleges themselves*, to their ecclesiastical superior, in the year 1830, the terms of which are so serious and fearful, that it may well be considered a matter of surprise that these Colleges should now be overflowing with the vast number of students who resort to them, indeed that they should be the accredited places of education for the youth of this great country. This fact, which one can hardly call other than a symptom of parental infatuation, can, I apprehend, be only explained from the circumstance that education in one of the Colleges is the *avenue* through which a young man *must necessarily* pass (unless he is brought up entirely under the roof of parent or guardian,) to enter upon a career of professional life. The Report of these *Aumôniers* will be found in the "Histoire de l'Instruction publique de M. H. de Riancey, tom. ii. p. 378;"[1] to which may be added the testimony of a

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[1] 'The following are extracts from this Report:

'"My Lord,

'"The Chaplains of the nine Royal Colleges have the honour to transmit to you the Report which your Lordship has desired them to furnish of the moral and religious condition of the above Colleges.

'"It is, my Lord, in our collective capacity that we submit this Report to your Lordship, in compliance with your Lordship's request. Beside, we have a community of duty and of anxiety, and the opinions which we have now to express do not refer to *one* College more than another, nor are they of mere local or special concern. We have, then, my Lord, the honour to lay before you a picture, faintly drawn, of the deplorable state of religion in the above Colleges. We are filled with sentiments of despondency and horror which no words can express, when we reflect on the almost utter futility of our office, although we have spared neither pains nor study to render it effective.

'"*The youths who are committed to our charge are scarcely admitted into the Colleges before the good principles which they may have imbibed in their childhood begin to evaporate; if any of them remain faithful to their first impressions, they seek to conceal them, and when they have reached the age of fourteen or fifteen years, our efforts become wholly abortive; we lose our religious influence over them so completely, that in each College, among the united classes of mathematics,*

liberal deputy and a member of the council of instruction itself, M. St. Marc Girardin: 'We do not make citizens any more than saints in our colleges: what do we make then? We instruct, we do not elevate: we cultivate and develop the mind, but not the heart.' After writing the above, I received to-day (Aug. 21,) a most unreserved confirmation of this unhappy character of these schools of Paris from an ecclesiastic whom I met at the house of one of the professors of the University.'[1]—Pp. 74—76.

And again:—

'Among other marks of Antichristianism in France, *none perhaps are publicly more apparent than those which are presented by a view of National*

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philosophy, and rhetoric, out of ninety or one hundred students there are scarcely seven or eight who are communicants at Easter.

'"*Nor is it indifference or the force of passion which leads them to a general forgetfulness of God; it is positive infidelity.* In fact, how can we expect that they should be believers in God when they see such contempt for religion, and when they listen every day of their lives to lectures of so contradictory a character, and when they find Christianity no where but at chapel, and there too an empty Christianity of bare form and technical routine?

'"They arrive, then, at fifteen years of age without any rule for their thoughts, and without any rein for their actions, except an exterior discipline which they abhor, and masters whom they treat as mercenaries; and at length, when the course of their studies is complete, of those who issue from the Colleges the average number of the students who have preserved their religion to the end of their career does not amount to more than *one* student from every college in each year. Such is the calculation which expresses our hopes of the future in the University, such the final result of our own professional labours!

'"Some of us have passed our youth in these colleges, and we have seen as students there that which we now behold as functionaries; and we have never thought on our education without extreme disgust, *(qu'avec une ingratitude sans bornes)* and we shall never reflect on our present office without sorrow.

"We are, my Lord,

"With respect, &c.

"(Signed by the nine Chaplains of the Government Colleges.)"'

1 'I transcribe the following passage from Histoire de l'Instruction publique, par M. Riancey, ii. p. 206. Paris, 1844:

'"It is difficult to represent the state of moral depravity to which the youth of France was reduced in ten years after the foundation of the University. One fact will suffice: several students committed *suicide* in the Parisian Colleges! The most recent of these suicides * has thrown great light on these awful mysteries; and notwithstanding the attempts taken to conceal it from the public, the whole of Paris resounded with the fact for several days. A government student, of fifteen years of age, quitted his college without leave; on his return he was condemned to solitary confinement for three hours. On entering the place of confinement he attempted to hang himself, but without success; after several attempts he tied his cravat to a chair and strangled himself by straining against it. The same day his comrades produced his will, written by his own hand. The following is a copy of it. *'I bequeath my body to pedants, and my soul to the Manes of Voltaire and J. J. Rousseau, who have taught me to despise the vain superstitions of this world. I have always acknowledged a Supreme Being, and my religion has ever been the Religion of Nature.' This will was immediately circulated among the Colleges of Paris. Copies were eagerly made of it and circulated; and the students joined in admiration of this appalling crime, as if it were an act of the most heroic devotion.* 'Un pareil récit,' adds M. H. de Riancey, 'en dit plus que toutes les réflexions. Il fallait arriver au dix-neuvième siècle et l'Université Impériale pour voir ce forfait inoui jusque-là, *le suicide de l'enfance.*'"

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* 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Instruction publique,' iii. p. 109. 1818.

Education. M. Gaume cites particularly those demonstrations which have recently taken place in one of the first, if not *the very* first, Academical Institution of the country, the *Collége de France* at Paris. There, Professors *appointed and salaried by the State have had the blasphemous temerity to announce publicly* ex cathedrâ *to their hearers, that the Christian dispensation is but* one *link in the chain of Divine revelations to man!* that it has now served its purpose, AND IS SOON TO BE SUPERSEDED by a *new* publication of the Divine will, of which every man may be the recipient by his own independent act.

'Other professors of the *Collége de France* have as publicly declared to their young scholars, that they have *seen* with their *own* eyes a new Prophet, whom God has sent into the world to regenerate it! And these professors have appealed to their hearers whether *they*, too, have not seen this prophet; and above sixty of them at a time have replied, in a public lecture-room, "*Oui, nous le jurons*, Yes, we swear that we have seen him!" and this dreadful blasphemy has been allowed by the Minister of Instruction and his Council to be broached by national teachers, in the great College of the capital, without any interference or remonstrance!'

And the general result of Dr. Wordsworth's experience is summed up by him, in a manner that must rather shock the admirers (if he has any) of Mr. Joseph Kay, as follows:—

'It is not the object of this journal to refer by any direct application or parallel to the warnings which this state of things reads to us in England, but they are too striking and too numerous not to excite the most profound sentiments of gratitude and *apprehension* in the mind of every Englishman who contemplates with seriousness the condition of public affairs with respect to Education and the Church, first in this country, and then in his own. One of the greatest blessings which it seems to have pleased Divine Providence to confer upon England is, that it has placed before her for her *warning* the example of France.'

So much, then, for State education in France; of the *religious* character and effects of which let it here, once for all, be observed—1. That it does not profess to *omit* religious education, on the contrary, it expressly provides for it. 2. That[1] the provision which it does make for religious instruction is *precisely* that which Mr. Joseph Kay would recommend for adoption here. 3. That what Mr. Kay so recommends is *precisely the great 'plan'* of Dr. Hook. 4. That the result of this provision is the awful state of things above described. But we are anticipating. The point for which we are now referring to French education is its *State* character; the evils arising from the identification of the professor and schoolmaster with the Government.

[1] This provision, as we have already quoted from Mr. Kay, is as follows—'The 'Normal Schools admit members of all religions. All *dogmatical* instruction is 'avoided in the great lessons; and the pupils receive this instruction, at times set 'apart for it, from ministers of their own Church.' The *primary* schools, it may be observed, are, in the religious point, upon a different footing. There are Roman Catholic Schools under Roman Catholic masters, and Protestant under Protestant. But it is the upper schools where the mixture prevails, and it is to the upper schools also that Dr. Wordsworth's descriptions apply.

It is not simply that the Minister has a system of machinery in his hands which no Englishman would wish to see entrusted to any minister whatever; but that the whole spirit of the national education becomes infected with a political pestilence. Boys get up revolutions;—a barring out of an obnoxious usher, or a glorification of an acceptable one, becomes a rebellion, a state offence,—into which Secretaries of State think it necessary, and not without reason, to inquire. All the turbid tide of the political world, with its ebbs and its flows, its pollutions and its violences, is let loose, in a greater or less degree, throughout the whole educational system of the country.

Nor is Germany at all a more hopeful precedent. We have not space to go into such full details of the educational system in Prussia and Austria, as we have done in that of France; but a few extracts from Mr. Kay's book, and from the ephemeral publication placed last on our list, will suffice to show that here also the education is strictly in the hands of the government, and with pretty much the same results.

'Each of the ten provinces of Prussia,' says Mr. Kay, 'is subdivided into departments, each of the departments into cantons, and each of the cantons into communes. Each department in Prussia, as in France, has a council, presided over by a préfet, which direct many of the internal affairs of the department. In the country communes, where there are several schools and institutions of primary instruction, the magistrates form above the particular committees of each school, a higher committee, which has the surveillance of all the communal schools. Every commune is *obliged by law* to support at least one primary school, and the priest or clergyman of the commune is *ex-officio* inspector of this school, and is member of a communal committee of administration, which is composed of some of the principal inhabitants of the commune. . . . .

'Besides this communal inspection, there is another inspector, who resides at the chief town of the canton, who inspects all the schools of the canton, and corresponds with the communal committees and inspectors. This cantonal inspector also is generally an ecclesiastic.

'*The education of the department is presided over by a special councillor, who is appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction,* and is an *ex-officio* member of the council which directs the internal affairs of the department. This officer also inspects the schools of the department, directs and encourages the efforts of the local inspectors, and of the schoolmasters, receives reports of the progress of education from the local inspectors, and reports to the provincial consistories and to the Minister of Public Instruction.

'In Prussia, therefore, as in France and Switzerland, the system is one of centralization, aided by local efforts.'—*Kay's Education of the Poor in England and Europe*, pp. 79, 80.

This education is strictly compulsory. 'Parents and schoolmasters are required to see that the children attend the schools regularly.'

Now, the whole of this system, as in France, is in connexion with the Universities, and both the superior and the 'primary'

education is 'under the direction and control of the minister for ecclesiastical, educational, *and medical* affairs.' Mr. Perry gives an amusing hint of the kind of superintendence and influence exercised by the educational minister of the 'paternal' Government of Prussia.

'It may easily be conceived that where, as in Prussia, a boy is placed from his infancy in the hands of government to be moulded according to its will, and is early taught that all his hopes for the future depend on his pleasing or displeasing the higher powers, by whose representatives and servants he is surrounded on every side, it is a much easier thing to secure obedience and industry than in an English school, where the consequences of ill conduct or idleness are not, with respect to outward circumstances at least, so serious. *When a little Prussian boy sets his master at defiance, he defies the director, the school-collegium, the consistory, the chief president of the province, the minister of instruction, &c., and finally his most gracious Majesty! What can a little Prussian boy do, even though his mother should back him?* The whole force of the kingdom, the police and the army may be brought against him; he may be lopped off for ever from the body social; for without his school testimonials he is as badly off as the man without a shadow.

'Idleness and disorder are punished by reprimands, threats of bad testimonials, extra work, and, in some cases, (but only with the consent of the "conference,") by imprisonment. The scholars of the German gymnasia are for the most part too quiet and serious for their years; *they are seldom seen to play together*, and have none of the noble games in which the English lad delights, and in which both muscles and wits are so agreeably and healthfully exercised. *They are too early taught to feel their responsibility to some other power than that of their parents and teachers*, and the natural and happy thoughtlessness of childhood gives way too soon to a careful consideration of future consequences.'—*Perry on German University Education*, pp. 124, 125.

Poor little unfortunates! after all, it seems that something else is necessary besides the desk.—One in four of the population going to school is not quite *all* we want; even in Germany, at school, neither marbles nor football! and at the Universities, neither boat, nor skate, nor boxing-glove, nor cricket-ball, nor tennis,—nor in short any other instrument of exercise and amusement, save only the sword, the pipe, and the beer-cup!—

> Quid tibi, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,—
> Quid pius Æneas tantâ dabit indole dignum?

But though there be no games, the surveillance and interference of the government is continued without relaxation. In every German University there is a resident government 'curator and plenipotentiary,' a gentleman—

'who is the connecting link between the University and the Government, and acts on all occasions as the representative of the Minister of Instruction. The office of curator, which is now united in the same person with that of plenipotentiary, is of long standing at the universities, and is exercised for the most part in such a manner as to render it worthy of its name. It is consequently very popular. That of plenipotentiary has only existed since the year 1819, and was instituted in accordance with the notorious decrees of

Carlsbad. *This office is as much disliked for the inquisitorial arbitrary powers connected with it.* as the office of curator is respected and beloved. The plenipotentiary is in fact the chief police authority in the university, *and is more particularly charged with the discovery and suppression of all political societies among the students.* He does not, however, generally interfere with the academical authorities in the exercise of their peculiar functions. It is his duty to observe and to report, to act as the eye and ear of the central government, and to see that the university is governed in conformity with its original constitution and the wishes of the sovereign and his minister, under whose immediate direction and control the entire course of instruction is placed.

'The most important and pleasing part of the curator's office is the privilege of suggesting improvements in the university, and proposing suitable men to fill the chairs which from time to time fall vacant. The great and beneficial influence which he is thus enabled to exercise upon the character and reputation of a university, has been strikingly exemplified in the case of Bonn, which owes so much of its present prosperity to the fostering care of its learned and popular curator, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg.

'It is the duty of the curator to receive the annual report of the election of academical officers (as the rector and deans), with the plan of study and lists of lectures for each university session, and he has to forward all these to the minister for his sanction.

'The various institutions, museums, seminaries, and associations, which arise among the members of the university, are also under the immediate care and superintendence of the curator; without whose authority—*or rather that of the Minister of Instruction given through him—no change can be made in the original constitution of these associations.*'—*Perry on German University Education*, pp. 30—32.

Besides all this; every professor, ordinary or extraordinary, is appointed by the Government, and is in government pay; and even a private tutor 'must obtain leave of the Minister of Public Instruction to announce himself for admission into the faculty to which he would attach himself,' and receives, besides his pupil's fees, 'an occasional gratuity from Government.' Imagine Lord John Russell sending down a terminal bribe to the most noted private crams at Oxford or Cambridge,—ejecting a master at Eton for inculcating Toryism,—or putting his veto upon the degree of the Conservative leader at the Debating Society!

However, the effects of this political union in Germany between education and government are not by any means uninstructive or obscure. It may safely be said that whenever there is a revolution or a disturbance in Germany, the universities are at the bottom of it; or if they are not lucky enough to originate it, they always contrive to get to the bottom of it before it is done with. 'What Englishmen say in newspapers,' says Mr. Perry, 'Germans say in lectures.' The lecture-room of the university is the arena where the political warfare of the country, such as it is, is transacted; and the university professor is the first person looked to on both sides when a 'row' is felt to be appropriate, or unavoidable. Witness *e. g.* the seven

professors of Göttingen, on the occasion of the supersedeas of the Hanoverian constitution, by King Ernest, in 1838. Or witness the meeting in the Wartburg in 1817, with the view of organizing a general Burschenschaft, or political union, open to *all* the students of the different German universities, which forms an appropriate pendent to the 'Concours' at Paris, of which we above quoted the description. The following short reference to the meeting on the Wartburg is given by Mr. Perry:—

'The attempt which was made in the year 1817 to unite the students of all the German universities into one general Burschenschaft, under the government of a diet formed by representatives of each society, excited great attention throughout Germany, and roused the jealousy of the ruling powers. The idea of holding a general assembly of students in some central spot, with the view of effecting such a union, appears to have arisen first in Jena, where the Burschenschaft had entirely swallowed up all rival associations. The students of Jena, after taking the matter into consideration, issued circular letters of invitation to the universities of Berlin, Erlangen, Giessen, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Leipsic, Marburg, Rostock, Tübingen, and Würtzburg—requesting them to send deputies to a general assembly of Burschen, which, as they proposed, was to take place on the 18th of October, 1817, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic. The place fixed upon for the meeting was the Wartburg, or, as it is also called, the Lutherburg, near Eisenach, in Thuringia. The year 1817 had additional interest for the youth of the Protestant universities, from the fact of its closing the third century since the Reformation, with which and its great promoter, the place of their meeting was so closely connected. On the appointed day, above 500 students were assembled at Eisenach, for the grand meeting on the Wartburg, where the Grand Duke of Weimar had liberally ordered preparation for their reception. There, on the 18th of October, they held a solemn council, at which the endeavour was made to induce such of the students as were members of Landsmannschaften, to unite with the Burschen in their attempt to found a universal Burschenschaft. Many good speeches were made, *and liberty, and "German nationality and fraternity" were the theme of every speaker.* But not contented with mere words, some of the more ardent and imaginative of the students, in imitation of the zealous Reformer who had burnt the bull, committed four-and-twenty obnoxious books to the flames, amidst the applauses of the assembled multitude. To give the matter a yet more serious and suspicious character in the eyes of the government, the members of the various Corps and Burschenschaften, who had been lately reconciled, declared a general peace, and partook of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper together, as an earnest of the sincerity of their reconciliation, and a ratification of their newly-formed treaty of friendship. This circumstance, together with the formal burning of books, were eagerly seized upon by the enemies of the liberty of the students, who represented the whole transaction as the commencement of a popular revolution. The principal actors on the Wartburg, and more especially one of the four professors who were present at the meeting, were subjected to a rigid examination at Weimar, before the Austrian and Prussian commissioners, and the Grand Duke of Weimar himself.'—*Perry on German Education*, pp. 90—93.

This meeting led to the murder of Kotzebüe, and the decrees of Carlsbad, which, says Mr. Perry, '*place the universities entirely in the hands of the Government,*' and by reason of which

the liberty and safety of the Academic body depend solely on the wisdom and forbearance of their rulers. One more extract, on Austrian State Education, shall close our remarks on this part of the subject. It is taken from Mr. Kay's book, and purports to be a quotation, made apparently with approbation, from a recent work, by a Mr. Wilde, on Austria.

'*In Austria, education is compulsory: it is not left to the option of the parent as to whether he will or will not instruct his child, for he is compelled to send him, when of a certain age, to the national school of his parish;* and the many disadvantages under which the uneducated labour, are too many, and the laws against them too strictly enforced, to permit of general ignorance, even in the most distant country parts. All children, from five to thirteen, both males and females, come under what is called the "school age," and the description of education they are to receive is strictly defined. So that all, from the simple agricultural peasant to the highest university professor, must pursue the path of instruction *in the manner marked out by the State. This, however, is not without its disadvantages: for, though the instruction is general, yet the plan is one so conducive to the caste-continuing system, after the manner of the Chinese and ancient Egyptians, that it is opposed not only to political reformation, but also to the steady progress of civilization itself, and the rapid development of the resources, both mental and commercial, that should have taken place in this empire during the present long peace with which it has been favoured.*'—P. 112.

But it may be said, that, though in France, or Austria, or Prussia, a Government System of Education, pervading as it does the whole of society, high and low, is necessarily a political engine; and introduces the evils of political passions and dissensions into the quiet groves of the Academy;—yet this need not be so in England: and that, at any rate, all that is proposed is to have a Government set of *parish schoolmasters*, and that the independence of the professor, and of the *superior* school and college tutor will not be touched. This, of course, is perfectly true;—and the question is, to what it amounts? What would it be to have the parish schoolmasters, and them only, dependent on the Government—acting under the Government agency—inculcating what the Government wishes—and removable by the Government at pleasure? Now, that this would be a great instrument of power in the hands of the Government is most clear; the question is, further, whether it would not lead to the same evils *in kind*, though less in *measure* than those which would arise if the *whole* education of the country were subject to the State contr
So long as there were a quiet Home Secretary, with no
particularly strong party zeal, matters might
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the Catechism to Dissenters, or for whipp
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didate. But let a Minister come in wh
such things—a minister who never prese

or who ejects all magistrates who drink obnoxious toasts, or attend obnoxious meetings—and let such a minister be in a position where it behoves him to take every conceivable means to retain office; or let there be a minister who is simply unscrupulous in the use of his power and patronage, and wields it to no other purpose than that of 'strengthening the hands of Government;' and then see what would be done with the Government schoolmasters, and what would be the effects of the fear of Government influence upon the body of them. No, we have an independent clergy, and it is our boast and glory that we have them; let us have an independent school system also, if possibly we can. It would surely be no less *really* a wrong and an evil, though it might not appear so, for a minister to eject a parish schoolmaster for being true to his trust, than it would be for him to eject a master at Eton, or a tutor at Oxford.

And then there is the evil of Government jobbing. If it is a mischief to have posts in the Excise bestowed on unfit and unqualified Government partisans, what would be the case if schoolmasters were made on similar principles? Ignorance or irreligion, or even virulent dissent, would be a small thing in the way of an unscrupulous Minister. But we have said enough, we think, to show, that if it can *possibly* be avoided, the surrender of education into the hands of the State, is, by all means, to be deprecated; and we pass on to the other objection urged against the projects for national education which had hitherto appeared; viz.—their unsatisfactory treatment of religion.

This, of course, has formed the whole root of the controversy from the beginning.

Two questions appear to have been raised in it:—the first and most important one, affecting the whole nature and essence of education,—what is the place and office of religion in education, and is it necessary that it should have *any* such place and office at all?—the second, and now pretty generally decided one, though its decision is dependent upon the decision of the other in the affirmative,—is the Church to have the *exclusive* control of this religious education, whatever it be,—or are the different communions to assume the care each of its own children,—or is the State to come in and amalgamate and mediate between them all?

The first of these questions was the root of the controversy before 1839, the root of the controversy in 1839, and is the root of the controversy still.

Lord Brougham, at Gower-street, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the whole general body which we have referred to in the outset of our article, as pushing what we have taken leave to call the educational cry, have from

the first taken one clear and intelligible view of education, based on the doctrine maintained by them as to the office of religion in education; an opposite, we trust no less zealous a party, have taken an opposite view, equally clear and equally intelligible, based on an opposite doctrine as to this important particular. We do not charge the liberal party with being simply *irreligious;* all we say is, that they take a different view of the province of religion in education from that which we do ourselves. We say that they have taken this view from the first, and that they take it still.

It is needless to refer to the difference on this point between ourselves, and those who banish religion from education *altogether*, on the ground that it is a point on which agreement is impossible. Few persons, we believe, altogether proscribe it. The notion even of the Gower-street College was that the parents should teach religion at home. It was to be a separate item. That was the view. Just as dancing, or drawing, or fencing, or natural or experimental science, or any other department of art or knowledge, might have its hour and its professor, so religion was to have *its* hour and *its* teacher; that hour being the hour spent at home, and that teacher the parent or such persons as he might provide. We believe we are doing ample justice to Lord Brougham's party in this statement of their views. The charge is not uncommon that they would proscribe religious teaching altogether. We do not impute so much to them. We believe their doctrine is simply what we have stated, that education is a system of separate lectures or infusions of knowledge, and that *one* of those lectures or infusions, in any complete education, is devoted to the subject of religion.

Now it was this view of the matter which was combated in 1839; it is this view which is combated still. It was not objected or contended by the Conservative party, in 1839, that the Church is under present circumstances entitled to the *exclusive* pecuniary support of the State; far less was it any mere worldly prejudices about 'our venerable Establishment,' any such unworthy feeling as that which Dr. Hook calls 'establishmentarian pride,' that speaking generally, prompted and animated the struggle. It was felt to be the question—1st. whether or no there should be a *direct Government* Education: 2dly. whether that education, in whosever hands it might be placed, should be conducted on a system which, though its friends contended that it was *not* irreligious, its opponents maintained to be inevitably so; or upon a system which, *by the admission of all parties*, should be at least a *religious* education, that, namely, of supporting the different schools of the different religious communions. That th

nature and definition of education was the ground really disputed by the Conservative party, and not any question of jealousy or exclusiveness, appears from the opening of Lord Stanley's speech, already referred to:—'He,' Lord Stanley, 'understood those gentlemen who limited education 'to the mere cultivation of the intellect, and to the finding out 'the shortest and readiest methods of infusing into the mind a 'certain degree of worldly knowledge and temporal information; 'he understood those gentlemen who were endeavouring to fit 'the population of this country for an improvement in their 'moral character, without reference to their religious feelings 'or motives; he understood those gentlemen who so limited 'the term education, and applied it solely to temporal instruc-'tion apart from spiritual knowledge; and he perfectly con-'curred in their view, that with such a system the Clergy had 'nothing to do. But let him have leave to say that such was 'not the view in which education was regarded by the great 'majority of the people of this country.' And Lord Stanley then proceeded to argue that education was essentially and *legally* a matter of spiritual concern; quoting the dictum of Twining C. J., from the Year Book 11 Henry IV. '*La doctrine et information des enfants est chose espirituel;*' and referring to the practice of licensing schoolmasters by the Bishop. And his inference was, not that the Clergy should therefore have cognizance of *all* education; but that education, *by whatsoever party conducted,* was mainly a spiritual concern, and ought to be conducted spiritually, *according to the views of that party.*

Now, the above passage certainly puts the arguments of the liberal party in a more irreligious point of view than we conceive them entitled to. But this is not material to our present purpose. What we would observe of it is this: that it was spoken as a matter of fact, not against a purely irreligious, or non-religious project of education, but against a scheme of education which *expressly provided that religion should be taught by incidental lectures, coming in as an isolated matter,* and administered by the Clergyman or the dissenting teacher, as the case might be; and that the ground it took against *such* a scheme was, that that scheme was faulty in its religious theory; that it was not, in short, a religious education.

To what then does this charge amount? People talk of religious education. What do they mean by it? Do they mean that to go to a lecture or set of lectures on acoustics, or pneumatics, or animal magnetism, is wrong, if you do not also go at the same time to hear a disputation on theology? Decidedly not. Is it meant that a good hammering of the Latin and Greek

grammar into a boy's head is *per se* an evil, a thing to be avoided, when it happens that the instruction in the Catechism is unfortunately omitted? Is the one evil, the omission of the Catechism, sufficient to convert what would otherwise be, and by itself *is*, a good, viz. good Latin and Greek teaching, into something positively dangerous? Again we reply, certainly not. If education were indeed composed of a disjointed collection of fragments, of a tesselated work of lectures, then of course the omission of one most important feature, namely, the theological one, from the course, would render the rest mutilated and imperfect, and possibly dangerous. But this is not our notion of education; which we take to be inevitably ONE and a whole,—indivisible in its operation and in its result. We have already said, indeed, that we conceive this collective system to realize the liberal view of education. And religion forms an item in it accordingly. In no scheme of liberal education, so far as we have seen, is religion designedly omitted. It is everywhere an item. It is so in France, so in Germany, so in Switzerland; it was so in the Whig ministerial project in England in 1839. If you object that the system was irreligious, or if with respect to France or Germany you object the very irreligious fruits of the education at work, you are met straightway by the answer that the system is *not* irreligious; it provides religious instruction.

It is clear, however, to you, that the system *does* produce irreligious fruits; that it is substantially an irreligious one; and you therefore are compelled to conclude that your idea of 'religious education,' and that of your liberal opponent, are not one and the same.

What then *is* religious education? The true and only test of it seems to us to be this—what sort of a man (or woman) is it constructed and intended to produce? Education is not in the programme, it is in the result. It is a process, a work. Some educations produce one kind of character, some another. A scientific education is that which is intended to make a scientific man; a classical education, a scholar; a commercial education, a commercial man; and so a religious education is that which is so constituted as to produce a religious man. We do not say that it always *must*, in fact, produce religious persons; of course it will fail, as other educations do; but it is that which is *constructed* and *intended* to produce a religious result. Now this is a very easy practical test, if people are really set upon knowing whether any given scheme of education is or is not a religious one. On the other hand, it is one easily *in appearance* got over by bringing forward to disprove it some possibly nominal religious feature, as a religious lecture, which may

or may not accompany a religious education. The question then seems to be, what is the general tone and effect, the ruling *character*, of any given education? If on the whole it is religious, the education is a religious one. If not, it is not so. This character may be conveyed by accessories, by attendance at chapel, even by a *religio loci*, as well as by more direct means; or again, all these accessories and means may be present, and the spirit may not be there. Education is a whole. Attending a system of good secular lectures is a good thing in its way; but standing by itself it is an education of a secular kind—it leaves a man secular: add a religious lecture, and you have in all probability, a secular man with a little religious information. But put the attendant on the purely secular lectures under the guidance, and especially under the *resident* guidance and influence, of a religious master, or parent, and however secular in name and element the system may be, the pupil probably becomes a religious man. It is the spirit of the whole, the manner in which it is turned to account, that makes the education religious or irreligious; and this in every case *depends upon the master.*

It is a practical question, and every case stands upon its own merits. Ἐν τῇ αἰσθησει ἡ κρίσις. Let every man take the case as if it were his own. When he sends his son to school, does he inquire whether the 'education is religious?' No: he asks about the character of the tutor; *his* religious and general principles, *his* habits of authority and powers of influence. Being satisfied on these points, he trusts the rest. But how would any of our readers feel, if, on making the above inquiries, the answer should be, 'Mr. Smith is a gentleman, sir, of no principles at all; that is, no religious principles; he is a very good scholar, and a capital mathematician, but he is not a divine; indeed he carefully avoids religion, because he wishes to avoid giving offence, and there is a good deal of difference of opinion about these things in the neighbourhood. However, you may be perfectly satisfied, sir, on the religious question; for the Clergyman attends twice a week for an hour a day, to teach the Bible and Catechism; and Mr. Wordy, the Baptist preacher, comes the alternate days; so you may take your choice.' Now, there is a good deal of simplicity in the world, but we should take our worthy reader for a simpleton indeed, if being either a strenuous Churchman or a zealous Baptist, he sent his son to Mr. Smith's school in th
expectation that he would turn out like his father. I
a very good education, but it would certainly *not* be a *re*
cation. We do not of course say, that every educa
country, even every good education, is substantially a
religious. There are many degrees of goodness. M

are content with a very little. But all we say is, if a man *does* want his child brought up to be a *religious* person, this is not the school he would choose. Well, then, if we should not choose such a school for ourselves, how can we ask the poor to do so? Or how, still more, can we talk of *compelling* them to do it? Would it not be the most indefensible tyranny? Would it not be, as it is now admitted to be in France by M. Guizot himself, a violation of the first rights of mankind, the rights of families?

There is this further remark, that though there may be many very good private schools throughout the country, schools for the rich, giving more or less a religious or irreligious education, and so doing more or less good, to all of which schools it is a person's own act to send his children; and therefore, if he chooses a school which, whatever other good qualities it may have, is yet not a religious one, he has only himself to blame, and may supply the defect if he please, or if he can; in the case of *public* schools, and especially public schools for the poor, it is different. The poor *cannot help themselves;* it will not do to give *them* an education, the only one they can get, which is not religious, and then plead that it is nevertheless *per se* a good. An education of a public nature, and especially one for the poor, *ought* to be *religious*, for otherwise there is no means in their power of bringing up their children religiously at all.

A religious education, then, we take to be that, not which has this or that *quantum* of religious instruction in it, but which is throughout of a religious character, and produces not only well-instructed and well-informed, but religious men. And one sure means of making any given education of this character, we had almost said the *only* means of doing so, is to have at the head of it a religious man. *The teacher is every thing.* Or, if the teacher cannot be secured, then the school should be under the direct and absolute control and superintendence of a religious person.

Now it was to gain this point, and also, and by consequence, to exclude from the central direct superintendence of all the national education of the poor throughout the kingdom, a Minister, who, as things are now, might be really, and is almost bound to be ostensibly, of no religion at all; it was for this, we say, that the struggle was made in 1839. The struggle was made; and more, the battle was won.

It was in 1839, conceded and established that the education of the poor should be as independent as that of the rich; and it was established further, that it should be a *religious* education, —an education, as to the poor of the Church, in the hands of the Clergy; and as to the poor of the dissenters, in the hands of the dissenting ministers.

The *principles*, then, upon which education was to be conducted

being settled, a *new* question immediately arose, the practical question of how to supply the sufficient means to support the requisite staff of teachers. The *quantity*, in short, of the education became, and still is, the difficulty.

The State grant, indeed, has, ever since 1839, been, in all probability, the same as it would have been if the State had taken matters into its own hands.[1] *It was not diminished on the defeat of the project. And it was afterwards increased*, and is now 100,000*l.* The National Society for educating the poor in the principles of the Church, has, according to its own statement, perhaps an exaggerated one, but still, within certain limits, necessarily containing the substance of the truth, increased its schools by one-third, and nearly doubled its scholars, since 1838.[2] Since the year we are speaking of, the Society has founded the training college of S. Mark, at Chelsea, and the training school for mistresses at Whitelands; it has enlarged its normal school at Westminster, and it has adopted the training school at Battersea, an establishment originally set on foot by the liberal party. And, besides this, there has been the institution of the special fund for the manufacturing districts, a fund from which alone, though only established in 1842, the average expenditure has hitherto been 13,000*l.* per annum. What the efforts of private benevolence may have effected within the same time, in the matter of Church Education, we have of course no means of judging. But speaking from our own experience, and knowing as we do, the prevalence of the feeling among many of the Clergy against being interfered with by Societies, or hampered by conditions, if they can possibly help it, we should say that there must be a very large number of Parish Schools throughout the country not supported by the National Society, and conse-

[1] In 1839 it was 30,000*l.*, in 1846 it was 100,000*l.* Dr. Hook, p. 8, speaks of 'the whole amount of money granted by the Government in aid of the building of schools, from 1833 to 1846,' as 395,000*l.* This is *exclusive* of the 100,000*l.* grant of the year 1846. There has been a *continual* increase in this grant.

From 1839 to 1842 it was	£30,000	per annum.	
— 1843 to 1844	——	40,000	„
— 1845. . .	——	75,000	„
— 1846. . .	——	100,000	„

[2] The numbers given are—

	Schools.	Scholars.
1838 ——	6,778....	587,911.
1846 —	10,509....	911,834.

Dr. Hook dismisses this statement very summarily indeed, as 'of very little value;' chiefly because 'there is no evidence' that 'there was no double enumeration' of children attending either Sunday or evening schools; and because many of these schools '*may* have been' dame schools, or only hired rooms. Surely the onus lies on the objector. However, for *our* purpose, we presume Dr. Hook would admit that the statement is of value; for we are only arguing from the *relative* amounts of the two statements, and the exaggeration is of course quite as likely to happen in 1838 as in 1846.

quently not included in their estimate. There have been several rather noted cases indeed, within the last year or two, of private energy and benevolence in the cause of education, some of which must occur to every one. We would specify in particular the college of S. Augustine at Canterbury, the college of the Holy Trinity in Perthshire, and also, though on a humbler scale, the college of S. Andrew[1] at Harrow Weald, Middlesex. This last originated in a great measure in the organization of a parish choir,—which formed a nucleus, that afterwards grew up into a higher and more regular school; and we know of similar cases, though less complete in their results. On the whole we have no doubt that private effort, (by which we mean the efforts of individuals, *apart from the Societies,*) is now far more actively in operation that is thought.

Of the efforts, whether private or public, of the Dissenters, we are, of course, still less informed. The British and Foreign Society does not appear to have done much; but the individual efforts of the Wesleyans, and within the last year or two, of the Romanists, must come to a good deal.

Still we are far from affirming that *much* has been done relatively to the wants of the country, or even much in comparison to what might have been. But this we do say, that *relatively to the time in which it has been effected,* not only a very great deal has been done, but much more than could possibly have been anticipated. The best testimony, indeed, that of the present Premier, has just been borne to the success, comparatively speaking, of the voluntary efforts of the friends of education, since 1839. On Mr. Ewart's motion on the 17th of July last, on State education, Lord John Russell said—

'I do not think there are, in this country, the same facilities for laying down a system of education which have been found in other countries, and even in other parts of the United Kingdom. I think that one of our difficulties is, perhaps, the extent of the voluntary effort in this country. When M. Guizot began his system in France, he had at his command a law, *enforced by a despotic authority,* for forming schools throughout that nation. When the King of Prussia promulgated his educational law throughout Prussia, he also exercised a *full and undisputed authority.* Those who were in the Parliament of Scotland in 1696 had the full confidence of the people of a country then united in favour of one religion, and no doubt they acted in conformity with the national will when they [illegible] their law for the establishment of national schools. The same [illegible] is applicable, in some degree, to what has been done in Ireland [illegible] had attended either the schools founded by the State [illegible]

[1] This college is entirely for the education of children [illegible] feeds, clothes, teaches, and *disciplines,* with a view to the [illegible] or (after further study) taking orders. It is supposed [illegible] the education is as complete and systematic, and the [illegible] any State school could possibly be.

efforts of the people of that country. But England stands in a different position. *Here the efforts of the National Society have been very successful, and a vast number of children are educated at their schools.* The British and Foreign School Society, which was established previously to the National Society, has also many schools in connexion with it. Various denominations of Dissenters, the Wesleyans especially, have shown the greatest zeal and energy in the establishment of schools.'

In this state of things, then, the *principles* on which the education of the poor is to be conducted among us being pretty well settled, and the efforts made in accordance with those principles having hardly had time thoroughly to expand themselves, having increased much, relatively to the time, but having shown themselves, we quite admit, as yet altogether unequal to what they needs must be, Dr. Hook publishes 'A Letter to the Bishop of 'St. David's.' What were its contents? Everybody was interested in the subject of education; everybody was still more interested in knowing what Dr. Hook had to say on such a matter.

Well, unhappily for the world, a certain Mr. Joseph Kay, B. A., the young gentleman whom we have mentioned already, was appointed, a year before Dr. Hook's publication, to be Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. Instead of confining himself to the Latin letter which is usual on these occasions, Mr. Kay perpetrated a book. He has published what he calls a 'Report' on the State of Education *in England* and Europe; and he appears to conceive that the publication of this book, or report, is in regular fulfilment of his duty as traveller. We have no means of knowing whether the volume is statutable or not, (except that Dr. Whewell does not appear exactly to coincide in the author's view of the case,) but this, at least, we know, that it contains a good deal of matter which anybody who desired to know the contents of Dr. Hook's pamphlet might read as well or better there than in the Doctor.

We have no fault to find with Mr. Kay, and we are quite prepared for his facts, but we are not at all prepared to accept his inferences or his principles; and we demur still more to them when we find them with the borrowed strength and authority of Dr. Hook's name. But we will not misrepresent Dr. Hook. We will give the substance of his interposition in his own words.

The main foundation of his whole book and argument, the reason, as it seems, for his writing at all, is what he considers the immense deficiency, *in quantity*, of our present education for the poor. The foundation of Mr. Kay's book is just precisely the same. He does not indeed (though Mr. Kay does[1]) exag-

[1] The main object which Mr. Kay seems to contemplate in a good system of education is 'to cut down the out-door relief,' 'which is only an encouragement to

gerate the *results* of education; he admits that 'to the unsanctified heart education may often be a bane and not a blessing;' but he contends that it is 'impossible, except by a miracle, to sustain Christianity in this country,' unless measures be adopted for securing to our manufacturing population the moral training which is the basis all good education. He proceeds:—

'I admit with gratitude the good which has been accomplished through the instrumentality of the National Society. I concede with pleasure the credit which is due to dissenting societies, especially to the Methodists. I demand the praise of all unprejudiced men for the indefatigable zeal in the cause of education, speaking generally, of the Clergy. But, my Lord, when I look upon all that has been done, I ask, what is the result? I must contend that, compared with the educational wants of the country, *we have done next to nothing;* we have lighted a lanthorn which only makes us more sensible of the surrounding darkness: we have caused the waters to flow, but what we have effected is but as the jets of a fountain, and not the steady copious stream which is required.'—Pp. 6, 7.

He then goes on to estimate the efforts of the National Society. By a process of what we must, with all deference, call rather off-hand calculation, he cuts down the estimate of our present amount of education from 911,834 scholars returned in connexion with the National Society, to 493,650 scholars provided for, since 1833, by Parliamentary grant, raised to 'perhaps 600,000, or 650,000, by the efforts of private benevolence.'

But here, on the grounds we have just laid, we must protest *in limine* against this being a fair estimate of what is being now done by way of education, or even Church education, in this

improvidence, *and a stimulant to population.*' But he continues, 'So long as we 'sit looking on indifferently, and fancying that a society with 400,000*l.* in its 'hands, and a committee of council with only 75,000*l.* per annum can undertake 'the education of our millions of poor, so long do we only prepare that fearful strug-'gle we shall one day have, between an ignorant multitude with no stake in the 'country yelling for bread and their political rights, *and an aristocracy and church 'who have gathered together the riches and capital of the country into their own 'storehouses, and have refused to force upon the attention of Government the real 'wants of a neglected people. I cannot help speaking warmly on this subject.* I 'have spent months among people acting so differently, regarding this question in 'so different a light to ourselves, and as a matter of such vast and momentous im-'portance, and I have witnessed such satisfactory results *clearly traceable to their 'having thrown aside the prejudices and* FORMULAS *of the middle ages,* that when I 'turn my eyes again upon my own country, I cannot repress my indignation when 'I see such masses of my poor countrymen condemned to grovel through a misera-'ble life of squalid pauperism and ignorant sensuality, whilst those who have 'fattened and swollen with luxury by means of a fostering legislation choose to
laws which have secured their comforts, their position, and their
upon them at the same time still greater duties, which, if
them to the bitterness of the poor man's curse. Is it
true philanthropists in this country, who, having
of European legislation for the poor, since that
and on our own seeming determination to
*tempted at times to wish that our English
terrible ordeal that we also might have been*
'—Pp. 154, 166.

country. We have no wish to over estimate what has been done, or to subtract one iota from the force of any argument that may urge increased exertion. But to dispirit and discourage is not to stimulate; and a gross understatement is more likely to discourage than any other conceivable course. We have no statistics, of course, of schools *not* in connexion with the National Society; but we should be inclined, from our own experience, to say, that at least one-fourth of the Church schools for the poor were not in connexion with the society; and if 'dame schools,' and schools in hired rooms be counted, perhaps one-third. At all events it *does* seem perfectly incredible that *all* the voluntary education in the country, dissenting as well as Church, should be truly represented by figures, about one-third less than those returned by the National Society alone. But we proceed to extract Dr. Hook's graphic and characteristic, and unfortunately rather more accurate, picture of the *sort* of educational destitution unhappily too prevalent among us.

'But go to our poorer districts, not to our towns, but to our manufacturing villages, and there you will perceive how great our educational destitution really is. I am myself surrounded by a district containing two hundred and fifty thousand souls, exclusive of the large towns, in which there are thousands uneducated, or receiving an education worse than none; for where a number of children are gathered together, if some good is not going on, much of evil must ensue from the mere aggregation of numbers. Not one in a hundred attends any place of worship, but the usual practice is for the men to lie in bed on the Sunday morning, while the women cook the dinner, and for an adjournment in the evening to take place to a public-house. I am sure, from what I have witnessed, that however low in principle, and consequently in practice, many of the Clergy may be in Wales, this state of things is not in the manufacturing districts to be attributed generally to any want of zeal on the part of the Clergy. The very first object which a respectable Clergyman has in view when he receives an appointment, is to form a school. But, suppose him to be placed in one of those poor districts which abound in the land, in which there is no man of wealth resident, what is he to do? Let us suppose him by great exertion to have obtained a pittance sufficient to pay for the hire of a room, having calculated on collecting three or four pounds every year by a charity sermon (little as this seems to be, the collection often is less): let us suppose him to have induced some pious young man, for the love of God, to give up a trade, and to undertake the school with a trifling salary, and with the hope of obtaining a livelihood by the pence of the children. The poor young man having been sent for a short time to that apology for a training-school at Westminster, has confided to him, as a great privilege, the sole charge of a hundred or a hundred and fifty little dirty, ragged, ignorant urchins, assembled in the miserable building now dignified by the name of a National School Room, and he is expected, as by miracle, to convert them, in as short a space of time as possible, into clean, well-bred, intelligent children, capable of passing a creditable examination, if by chance an inspector or organizing master pass that way. He begins his work upon these hundred or hundred and fifty children, and upon whom does he depend for assistance and support? The Clergyman of the parish or district looks in occasionally, and gives him a word of encouragement, but the multipli-

city of his various and important duties prevents his doing more; or he thinks, perhaps, that his friend, the schoolmaster, is the only person in his district upon whose cooperation in works of piety he can depend, and consequently so far from aiding the schoolmaster, he looks to the schoolmaster for assistance. And in the school what can the good young man effect? He cannot educate (it is physically impossible) all the children himself, and therefore he is obliged to have recourse to the monitorial system; the result of which is, that while a portion of the children are vain, conceited, and puffed-up, a larger proportion are left in their ignorance. I have known instances of children who have been for two years at a National School, and have left it unable to read.

'The master seeing this, depressed in spirit, gets through the drudgery of the school hours as best he may; but has his work ceased? No; he must teach his monitors: to them he must impart some knowledge out of school hours, and his mind is still kept on the stretch. He may perhaps be under the necessity of keeping an evening school also. Nor is he even then at rest. Having lamented the inconvenience of the room they have hired for a school, he and the Clergyman are found closeted together, devising the best means, from a letter to the Queen Dowager down to the holding of a bazaar, for erecting a building better suited for their purpose. They determine to beg. The principal burden of this begging devolves of course upon the Clergyman, and no one who has not experienced it, can form an idea of the weariness and painfulness of begging from day to day for districts wholly inhabited by the poor. He is, indeed, sometimes cheered by the kind expressions and liberal donations of the wealthy, and overwhelmed with joy at receiving an anonymous five-pound note. But how often does he meet with a cold repulse from some supercilious Pharisee, who, proud of having contributed a few pounds more than his neighbours in his own immediate neighbourhood, insinuates by his manner that if the poor Clergyman had done his duty, he would not have need to ask a stranger for assistance! How often has he to endure the insolence of the purse-proud, and to listen to excuses which serve only to remind him how true to nature Shakspeare was, when he depicted the characters and framed the answers of the friends of Timon. The master too is employed in this work; and though he finds himself regarded as one who has no fixed station in society, he very often by his patience and perseverance succeeds wonderfully. They labour incessantly; until at last, by the aid of the National Society, a grant from the Committee of Privy Council, *and a liberal donation from Queen Adelaide*, the requisite amount is nearly gained. The Clergyman then proceeds to build, and guarantees the money that is wanted to complete the work, which, generally speaking, he has to pay from his private resources. There is no complaint to be made; both Clergyman and master feel that they have been labouring in their vocation, and in labouring for the glory of God, and the welfare of their fellow-creatures —they have been doing God's work, in that station of life, however humble, in which he, by his providence, has placed them. No happier feeling than this can exist, and the more humble our sphere of action the more of spiritual comfort attends this blessed conviction. But it is very clear that the energies which are thus exhausted in procuring funds for the erection of the fabric cannot be directed exclusively, as they ought to be, to the moral edification of those in care for whose souls the labour of love was first undertaken. Nor is the anxiety of the master to cease with the completion of the building; upon him, equally with the Clergyman, devolves the duty of collecting the subscriptions needful to defray the expense always the prospect before him of being reduced to gre very time that his family is increasing, by the defalcation children, upon which, either wholly or in great part, his to depend. From increase of the population, the Clerg

soon as one school is built, has to commence another; and when all is done, he has the satisfaction of feeling that it is only as a drop in the ocean.' Pp. 11—15.

Few of our readers who have seen much of parish school-making will be inclined to doubt the truth of this, though of course a picture of a very opposite case might be drawn, and a case, perhaps, not more uncommon. So much then for what is done. The next step is to compare this state of things with what, as Dr. Hook and Mr. Kay argue, education in point of quantity ought to be.

Now Mr. Kay's simple process is to take the population of the country at sixteen millions, to show that out of this population there is, on an average, about 1 in 11 to 1 in 13 at school; that in foreign countries, where education is attended to, 1 in 6 or 1 in 4 is found to be the ratio; and we conclude, accordingly, that *our* system is rotten to the core. The following extracts will show the singularity of the process by which Dr. Hook arrives at much the same conclusion, and the data on which he founds his estimate of what our educational establishment in his opinion ought to be:—

'It will be admitted on all hands that there ought to be a school in every district capable of accommodating scholars in proportion of *one in six* of the population. In parishes of 1000 inhabitants there ought to be a boys' school and a girls' school. In parishes of 2000 there should be, in addition, an infant school. It will, I trust, be admitted that no master should have charge of more than sixty scholars, unless aided by an apprentice. In every school containing more than eighty scholars, the master should be aided by an apprentice; and for every additional eighty scholars, by a junior master trained in a Normal school, and by an apprentice also. . . . .

'I have, I believe, stated the minimum of what is required; *and I proceed to remark that the population of England and Wales now amounts to at least* 16,000,000, and by the foregoing estimate the number of children who ought to be receiving education will be 2,660,000. *If* the schools be supposed to contain, on the average, 160 children, the number of school-buildings required for England and Wales, will be 16,625. If, for the sake of simplicity, *masters* only be spoken of, the number of teachers required for these schools may be more readily computed. In each of these schools a master, an assistant master, and two apprentices, would be required, if the most efficient system were adopted; or 16,625 masters, a similar number of assistant-masters, and 33,250 apprentices.

'If an inferior plan of organization were adopted; if *no* assistant-masters were employed, and each school were provided with a head master and with one apprentice for every forty scholars beyond the first forty taught by the master, then 16,625 schools, containing on an average each 160 scholars, would require 16,625 masters, and 49,875 apprentices, for the efficient instruction of 2,660,000 scholars. On this plan, the elder apprentices would supply the place of assistant-masters.'—Pp. 22—24.

Then for the expenses of the proposed scheme, the annual outlay is estimated as follows:—

16,625 Schools with salaries of 100*l.* to principal teachers	£1,662,500
16,625 Schools for general annual expenses, 30*l.* each .	498,750
8,312 Schools with two apprentices, at 15*l.* each, or 30*l.* .	249,360
8,312 Schools with three apprentices, at 15*l.* each, or 45*l.*	374,040
Total general outlay on elementary schools .	£2,784,650

'It is presumed that 2,660,000 children would be in attendance on these schools. The school pence received from the children ordinarily vary from one penny for each child to threepence, fourpence, or sometimes sixpence a week. The lowest rate is most general. If we presume that the entire population of school age are at school, and take into account the fluctuations of attendance, it would probably be a high estimate to suppose, that three-half-pence would be received weekly from each child, upon a payment during attendance, of twopence per week; or, omitting the holidays, six shillings a year would be thus received.

'If the income from voluntary subscriptions be estimated at one-third more than the school pence:

660,000 children paying six shillings per annum, or 1½*d.* per week, would provide an income of . . .	£798,000
Voluntary subscriptions rate at one-third more . .	1,064,000
Together	£1,862,000

'The expenses of Normal schools would average 50*l.* annually for each student, or for two thousand candidate masters, 100,000*l.*, and for one thousand mistresses, in training. 50,000*l.*

'The total annual outlay would, therefore, be 2,784,650*l.*+150,000*l.*, or 2,934,650*l.*; and, deducting the whole probable income from this sum, a balance of 1,072,650*l.* remains to be provided for, by endowments, or from annual grants of parliament, or parochial taxation.'—Pp. 26, 27.

Thus Dr. Hook estimates, that in point of numbers, we stand as follows:—

Required number	2,660,000
Present number	650,000
Deficiency	2,010,000

In point of expenditure, independent of voluntary contributions,—

Required outlay	£1,072,650
Present vote (1845)	[illegible]
Deficiency . . .	

This then is the basis of [illegible] strength of this, and this alone [illegible] whole system of education [illegible] lutionized; and that there [illegible] which we will shortly state [illegible] identical with the plan now [illegible]

to remark that the inference thus made, is precisely the one inculcated consistently, throughout his book, by Mr. Kay.

Now with respect, in the first place, to these figures themselves, we have no wish, as we have already said, to put a stopper on *any* argument or exhortation to increase the educational means of the country, and if the above statement were made merely to urge increased exertion, we should be inclined to accept it as it is; but when Dr. Hook urges it upon us as an argument for an entire change, a complete revolution in our whole system of education, we feel bound to examine before we accept it. As a *stimulant to increased exertion,* we repeat, we have not a word to say against it. True or false, we could for that purpose swallow it whole; it would be unimportant in that point of view, whether it were much or little exaggerated; a deficit it is obvious there would be, and this would be enough. But if it is to be the foundation of an argument, the basis of a new principle, a ground for condemning all that *is,* we feel it necessary to look closer at it.

First, then, for the 2,660,000 children who *ought* to be receiving *charitable* education. Dr. Hook, in a note, justifies his estimate of one in six for the children of the working classes, by supposing that *one in four* is a fair representation of the *whole* school-going population, and that, if so, then *one in six* would be a fair proportion for those among them who would receive *charitable* school education. In other words, taking *all* the children to be one-fourth of the population, he would make the children receiving *charitable* education two-twelfths, and those receiving *higher* education one-twelfth of the whole; or the former just double the latter. We demur to this whole estimate most entirely. Dr. Hook, shortly after the passage we are now considering, goes on to support his figures by referring to the cases of France, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Holland, Hanover, and Denmark. And singular to say, these countries occur in Mr. Kay's book in precisely the same order, and with precisely the same facts and figures concerning each. But it seems a little odd that Dr. Hook appears to have overlooked the fact that the educational estimates of all these countries, as given by Mr. Kay, *include rich as well as poor.* Now, in France, where *all* the schools, rich and poor, are in relations with the University, and therefore must be supposed to fall into the returns, the average of scholars ranges, according to Mr. Kay, (in the fifteen *most favourable* departments,) from *one in six* to *one in eleven* of the *whole* population. Mr. Kay's French tables, we would observe, appear to include superior as well as elementary schools, public as well as private, and girls as well as boys. Here then is, on an average, one school-goer in eight at the outside for the *whole* population, rich and

poor; and in *one* department, out of the fifteen best, one in eleven is thought a good average. Yet Dr. Hook takes one in four as the basis of *his* calculation. We turn to Prussia. Mr. Kay, p. 78, arrives 'at the satisfactory conclusion,' that in 1831 EVERY *Prussian child* under fourteen, and able to attend school, was then receiving primary education at the hands of the public. What, then, is the proportion of these children to the whole population? Mr. Kay's table gives it *one in six.* Dr. Hook, we again observe, assumes one in four. Now this is for the *whole* population; it follows, therefore, that if a large proportion of children receiving education at the hands of their parents has to be deducted,—one-third is deducted by Dr. Hook,—then the result of the two cases of France and Prussia would give from *one in nine* to *one in twelve,* as about the residue left for charitable education. But Dr. Hook's estimate for charitable education is *one in six.* However, this is not all. In England we conceive that a much larger deduction than one-third would have to be made, in order to arrive at the number requiring *charitable* education. It is not simply all the children of the rich that have to be deducted: all the children of those who, as a matter of fact, do, at their own expense, provide a decent education for their children, must be deducted from Dr. Hook's one-fourth, before we can say that we have before us the number of children who represent the actual pressing educational destitution of the country. But who are those persons that do *not* so provide? Every Englishman who can afford it, *as a general rule,* sends his male children to school, and either brings up his girls at home, or if of the farming, trading, or middle class, sends them also to school. On the one side we have to count the upper classes; it is not they only who monopolize even our great public schools, (witness the Blue-coat school in particular;) much less can it be said that they only send their children to school at all. And in addition to these we have to reckon all who can any way afford to give a decent education to their children. On the other we have to reckon *only* those who are too poor to pay for their children's schooling.

Again: from certain populational returns which we have consulted, it appears that one in four, so far from being a fair representation of the *whole school-going* population, represents *at most all* the children, of whatever kind, whether at school or not, under, say, from ten to twelve years of age. It appears from Mr. Kay's table, of the comparative proportion of school-goers to the whole population throughout Europe, that one in four, or four and a half, to five, is the very highest to which he could aim with a hope to carry it for the proportion of school goers to the *whole* population, rich and poor; and the average of *school-goers,* as

in France and Prussia, is, as we have seen, much lower. But if one in four represents, therefore, not the *school-goers*, but the *whole body* of children in England, there are to be deducted from it, before we arrive at the number of school-goers,—*i. e.* of children who ought to go to school,—1. All the daughters of the upper classes: and generally all who are educated at home. 2. All the sick. From this result, if we wish to arrive further at the number of children who stand in need of *charitable* education, we must deduct, 1. All the sons of the upper and middle classes at the superior public schools; 2. All the children of the upper and middle classes at private schools. To say, then, as Dr. Hook does, that the children receiving charitable education are to all these classes as two to one, seems past all belief. And it appears that if, as Dr. Hook urges ought to be the case, —our *poor* children at school were to the whole population as one to six, the proportion would *exceed* that borne by the *whole* children at school to the rest of the population in France, and would *equal* it in Prussia.

Then again for the 650,000, who, according to Dr. Hook, 'are now receiving' education, and who are set off so unhappily against the two millions and a half of children who ought to be. We have already given the reasons why we cannot think this estimate of 650,000 at all approaches a fair account of the existing education of the country. We will now only notice, further, the loose sort of process by which Dr. Hook arrives at these 650,000. He takes the Parliamentary grants since 1833, (how many schools were built *before* 1833?) divides the sum by 120*l.* (the supposed cost of each school,) averages the number of children to each school, ('according to the minutes,') multiplies it by the number of schools, and so brings out his product; to which he throws in what he calls a 'liberal estimate' of 100 schools built without Parliamentary aid since 1833, and thus brings forth the 650,000. This he confidently opposes to the return of the National Society. And not only so,—but he would have us accept it for *all* that is being done of any sort or kind, throughout the country,

Now this may be all very pretty upon paper, but what possible right can any body have to say that it is true or false? The presumption is certainly against it; that is all that can be said.

But when, after going through all this process, Dr. Hook proceeds, not to sum up and infer what alone he could have inferred, even if all his figures were correct, viz. that there is a lamentable short-coming in the education of the poor, and that further arguments might prove in what way that deficiency was to be met; no, but that the whole *principle*, the root and

branch of our present education system, is wrong and rotten, and ought to be superseded by something else,—it certainly does occur to inquire, not only how such an inference can be supported by such a state of facts, supposing them correct; but also whether such a process of figures is really worth anything at all. How are we to know that there are 100 or 1,000 schools built since 1833 by private charity? Why are all the schools built before 1833 to be summarily ignored? Who is to say that the number of children in each national and *private* school for the poor is 120? or 10 times 120? The National Society alone returns 911,834 scholars, and there are besides the private schools of the Church, the Dissenters' private schools, and the British and Foreign Society's schools;—what is there to prevent the assumption that the gratuitous education of the poor now going on is nearer a million and a half than 650,000? And for the two millions required, we have already shown on what sandy foundations that estimate rests.

However we should not have quarrelled with these figures, and we do not quarrel with them, if applied to their legitimate purpose, and limited to support their legitimate inference, viz. the simple one that increased efforts are required to educate the people.

But on the foundation of these figures, Dr. Hook, quietly following Kay, proceeds to found the following startling superstructure:—

'And now having stated what has been done, what our probable resources are, and what is requisite to be done in order to place the education of the people of our own country in the same advantageous position as education in other nations, *I think that we must come to the conclusion, that without some more direct interference on the part of the State than that which now exists*, we cannot succeed in the great object which every patriot as well as every Christian must have at heart. . . . .

'Let us, then, see what steps *may* be taken, without violation of religious principle, and, if so, what steps *ought* to be taken. In order to do this, let us ascertain why there has been so strong an objection on the part of religious men, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, against every proposal which has hitherto been made in favour of a State Education.'—Pp. 32, 33.

And then, having 'conceded and asserted the principle, that in any measure of State education, the State must admit the co-operation of Dissenters,' he proceeds to infer that 'religious men of all parties' would 'require a recognition by the State of the solemn importance of religious training,' and goes on:—

'Now, if the State were to establish a school in which *literary and scientific instruction only should be given by the* MASTER appointed by Government, would not this principle be sufficiently affirmed, provided it required of every child to bring on the Monday of every week a certificate of his having attended the Sunday school of his parish church, or of some place of worship legally licensed, *and also of his having attended for religious instruction*, at some period set apart during the week?'

then, be a principle laid down,—that the State might endow schools in which instruction *purely literary or secular should be imparted,* with due care to impress upon the minds of the children the fact, that this instruction is not in itself sufficient; but that, *to complete the system of education, religious instruction is also secured for them,* in accordance with those traditions, whether of Church or of Dissent, which they have received from their parents.

'To effect this object, there should be attached to every school thus established by the State A CLASS-ROOM, in which the Clergyman of the parish, or his deputies, might give religious instruction to his people, on the afternoons of every Wednesday and Friday; another class-room being provided for a similar purpose for dissenting ministers.'—Pp. 40, 41.

Thus we have not only a State education, but also the *very* system which we have shown above to be *the* liberal system of education; the system in which Religion appears as an item,—and in which the master, the ruling principle of the whole school, is *not* religious, (or need not be so)—the system rejected in England in 1839, the system now at work in France and Prussia; the system which in the former country is producing such deplorable results. And this system Dr. Hook is half persuaded ought to be even compulsory. Of course we quite admit that if the schoolmaster *happen* to be a religious man,—the education would be practically religious; but, be it observed, not only that he need *not* be so, but that if he were *what the system contemplates,* if he fulfilled rightly his trust to the government, he would necessarily be *of no religion at all.* Whether a class lecture twice a week, could counteract the systematic effects of an entirely non-religious government, this is the question between Dr. Hook and ourselves, and the question which we leave to our readers to answer. But Dr. Hook proceeds:—

'Suppose this to be done, in addition to the requiring of the children an attendance at some Sunday school, and I do not ask whether such an arrangement would be preferred to any other by either party, for each party would prefer having every thing in their own way; but I do ask whether there could be any violation of principle on either side? I ask whether, for the sake of a great national object, there might not be a sacrifice, not of principle, but of prejudice on either side?

'Leaving Dissenters to answer this question as they may think fit, I must address myself, through your Lordship, to Churchmen; and I will demand, in the first place, what we shall lose, looking, not to the dignity of the Establishment, which I regard as a question beneath contempt, but *to the propagation of Church principles; that is to say, of what we believe to be pure religion and undefiled before God.*'—P. 41.

This question Dr. Hook answers by endeavouring to show that the present *religious* position of things is so bad that it cannot be worse, and, therefore, that we have nothing to lose! This paradox is certainly a startling one. We are quite ready to admit, if Dr. Hook wishes it, *all* he says against the present state of things; all we say is, and we say it confidently, that to *stereotype* the irreligion by a parliamentary

schoolmaster would be ten times worse. But there is a passage in p. 46, which we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of extracting, and which seems to furnish the best answer that can be given to the whole 'project.'

'For religious education we require more than the Bible, more than the Prayer Book; we require *the living Soul of the Instructor*, sanctified by grace, to come into spiritual contact with the soul of the person taught: the educated and religious mind must be brought to bear upon the mind untrained and uncultivated.'

This, indeed, goes far to make us forget the strong imputations by which it is surrounded. But can Dr. Hook really expect *such a religious* instructor in a State schoolmaster, *appointed on the express principle of ignoring dogmatic differences, and consigning those differences to the occasional interposition of the Minister and the parson?* But to proceed. Having alleged, in support of the strange position that his (Dr. Hook's) plan would be, *religiously* speaking, a gain, the shortcomings of the monitorial system, and the cases of irreverence and carelessness which, undoubtedly, often occur at present,—Dr. Hook thus concludes the statement of his plan:—

'There still remain two important points, which in every scheme of elementary education must come under consideration, and to which, though it be a subject which I am not very competent to discuss, I must now call your Lordship's attention. I allude to the system of Finance, and to the local Governing Body. They depend very much the one on the other.

'Upon entering upon this subject, I must remark that one of the chief objections which is felt by practical men to lie against the measures hitherto proposed for State education is this, that the local management would devolve, in this country, upon persons most incompetent, generally speaking, to superintend the education of the people, if the funds being raised by parochial taxation were placed under the control of parochial representatives. In towns, if the superintendence of the education were to be assigned to the municipal corporations, there would at elections be endless disputes and controversies between Churchmen and Dissenters, whigs, conservatives, and radicals, and the triumph of either party would act detrimentally upon the schools. Any one who is conversant with manufacturing towns will bear witness to the truth of what I now say, unless he be entirely blinded by his prejudices. That a local fund would be necessary, and local superintendence expedient, I fully admit: but we should make the locality as extensive as possible, and endeavour to obtain as superintendents persons removed, as much as possible, from the littleness and disputes of local politics.

'Now it seems to me that instead of charging the local fund on the parochial assessment, we should rather raise it from a county rate, to be granted by the magistrates at the quarter sessions. By the county magistrates certain school districts throughout the county might be defined, and for each district a Board of Management should be formed, the functions of which be to elect and dismiss masters and mistresses, to provide for the registration of the schools, to settle and to decide whether or not in any school the school pence should cease to be received as part of the salary, to apprentice the pupil teachers, to purchase books, appoint to attend to the repair and ventilation of the school-rooms, and provision for their general management in all respects.

'The Board of Management should depute one of their num-

on the state of the schools in the district at every quarter sessions. And there should of course be a power of appeal to the President of the Committee of Privy Council on Education.

'*The Board of Management should be open to all persons without any religious disqualifications whatever, and should be of a mixed character, so as to be void of political or sectarian bias.*

'The salary of the master might be derived in part from the school pence, except in localities where the non-payment of pence might be deemed expedient; but a certain minimum stipend should be also secured by law, with power on the part of the magistrates to raise the stipend to a fixed maximum. This salary should be charged on the country rate.

'The master should also have the prospect of gratuities from Government for great success in the management of his school, and in the training of his apprentices. The gratuities should be charged on a central fund.

'This central fund should consist of some annual vote of Parliament, *administered by the Committee of Council on Education.*'—Pp. 59—61.

And here we pause to inquire what conceivable ground has been shown for all this innovation of principle? It may be well for Mr. Joseph Kay, a consistent advocate of liberalism, to draw the inference, that because Switzerland educates 1 in 4, France 1 in 8, and Prussia 1 in 6, therefore England should follow such examples; and to argue that the fact of our being infinitely behind our neighbours in these returns, is a conclusive reason, *the questions of direct State-teaching and of the liberal principle of education being assumed,* why we should simply do as they do. Mr. Kay's book openly goes upon this assumption. It is a book of figures. It does not profess to argue principles. —The tables show a deficiency,—you ought to make it up. This is all it urges; and assuming that quantity is all that is to be considered, of course the argument is undeniable. But Dr. Hook has to do much more than this. He has to build upon *his* figures an argument for a change of principle. He is *not* a latitudinarian. He is a Churchman; so are most of the persons he wishes to convince. And his argument is, that because we cannot show 1 in 6, or 1 in 4, as well as they do in Prussia (where they count in rich and poor) *therefore* we are to surrender our independence, *therefore* we are to change our whole views of education, and *therefore* we are to admit that an education where the instructor is *not* a religious person, or where, if he is, he must not show it, is as good or better as a *religious* education, than one where the teacher must needs be the agent and representative of a directly religious body; if not of the Clergyman (or religious teacher) himself.

But surely there is a great fallacy in all this statisticism. Dr. Hook, no doubt, sees around him and knows of much 'educational destitution'—great, terrible, appalling ignorance. We quite believe this, and we wish we were better prepared to meet it. But the mere existence of the fact, however undeniable, and however lamentable, does not, without more, prove that there is only *one* way of meeting it, and that way one

diametrically opposed in principle to all that we have contended for and successfully contended for hitherto, and to all that we still believe to be right. But of this further on; what we now insist on is that this marking in throughout the country, of the children that go to school and the children that do not, really proves very little. Half the parish may go to school, and it may show wonderfully on paper; and yet, after all, it may mean nothing. The master may be lax, or dull, or unauthoritative, (or worse); or the boys may be inattentive; and after one short month from their dismissal, their knowledge may be, and generally is, and might also be in a State school, very scanty indeed. Or, on the other hand, a dame school, (that despised and uncounted establishment,) may really be working much good among the children of the place, and nobody any the wiser, and no return at all. The real point with the poor, after all, is not the amount of actual information imparted,—that they soon forget,—but *the discipline of the school*, and the habits taught by it. If Dr. Hook had quoted the experience of Leeds, if he had given us the secret histories of the garret and the cellar,—if he had related the heathen ignorance of the neglected and untutored poor within his knowledge, the impression produced upon us would have been far greater than any we can derive from a whole legion of estimates.

But let this pass. We will take the destitution to be such, and as fearful to the full, as Dr. Hook asserts. We will take our own efforts to be as little in comparison with what is required as he himself would insist. What then? Are we without more, to conclude that those efforts are wrong *in principle?* Or rather are we, conceding and still maintaining them to be in principle right, are we to barter away that principle in order to purchase the assistance of the State, and to sell our independence for gold—our birthright for a mess of pottage? Dr. Hook endeavours to show our present system to be a failure. In *quantity* we admit that *as yet* it may be; in *quality* there may be, as there always will be, carelessness, laxity, inefficiency. But in *principle*, Dr. Hook makes not the shadow of an effort to show that it is wrong; yet he is for reversing that principle altogether. Is not the answer obvious? Increase the quantity, mend the quality as much as you will, but whatever you do maintain your principle inviolate. If you do not, you will not only sacrifice right to expediency, but you will throw away entirely what has already done: for it cannot co-exist with what is subver it. It will inevitably be swallowed up. The argume quantity to principle is what we cannot digest. We seems, do without State help,—two millions of money be raised by private contribution. We quite agree. reason is this why that help should not be adminis

and sound principles? What reason is this for setting up miscellaneous 'boards of management,' and schools where religion is made only an item? Dr. Hook's plan, it will be observed, supported (or unsupported) as it is, by the state of facts upon which we have been commenting, is neither more nor less than the establishment throughout England of schools in the hands of the State, where religion is to be, not the qualification of the teacher, but the province of the lecturer. Now these are the very points, the identical questions, as we have shown, which are in controversy between the two schools of education, the liberal school and the strict one. These are the two points which were settled in 1839, with the almost unanimous and unequivocally expressed assent of the whole people. These are the points upon which French superior education is at issue with us, with what results we have seen. Whatever else is done, this at least we must maintain, *et totis viribus enitendum est*,—first that we preserve our independence, next, that our education of the poor be at least on the whole a religious one. It may be, we do not deny it, that a school under Dr. Hook's system may possibly *by accident* be a religious school, by reason of the master being *by accident* a religious person, and, *vice versâ*, a school under the superintendence of a clergyman, or a clergyman's deputy, may by accident also, be much the reverse. But Dr. Hook's religious school would be *in derelict*ion of the general rule of the system, which contemplates a non-religious master, with isolated lectures to counteract his influence: whereas the school under the clergyman would *contemplate* the securing a religious education by having a religious master and a religious system.

Is it necessary, then, or is it not, in order to secure the efficient aid of the State, first to surrender the appointment and independence of all the schoolmasters in the kingdom, into the hands of a Minister of Instruction; and then to adopt the whole popular doctrine about education, (namely, that it is a system of lectures,) with its necessary concomitant in practice, the confinement of religion to one of those lectures? Surely, we reply, there can be no necessity of the sort. Lord John Russell himself has answered this very question in this very same way. He sees the necessity of State aid. He will *not* withhold it. But he will *not* make a condition of it the sacrifice of the existing practice of education. He will not expel private charity from the ground it has pre-occupied. He will not expel, he will aid it.

But even if State aid were withheld, except upon the terms which Dr. Hook suggests, surely it would be a reason, not for a compromise of principle, but for increased exertion on the part of the Church. It is not a little matter that Dr. Hook asks us to surrender. *It is our freedom of action. La liberté d'enseignement* was an article of the French charter; so important

was it felt to be. Yet we are asked to come forward *spontaneously* and freely offer and give up this pearl of price. And all for what? Simply to induce the State to do what she is quite disposed to do without such a surrender, to give her liberal aid to the cause of education. It is not that the State system *might* not for a time be even all we could wish, but there is no security that it would, and if it were, there is no security that it would continue so. Our hands would be tied. We could do nothing, whatever were the result, and however evil the instruction might be.

And there is really no *reason* for the surrender. Government is ready to help, on the principles already established. In England, 'every respectable Clergyman,' says Dr. Hook, and the fact is notorious, does, '*the very first thing*, get up a school, if there is none in the parish already.' And if he does not do so, it is simply because he cannot. He has no money. The National Society cannot give him any, because his case is not strong enough; or, it will not, because his case is too strong; in other words, because he cannot (his parish being too poor) raise any money to meet the grant. What is wanted in this case? Simply money. Let the State grant five-fold, or fifty-fold the present amount, and let it give, with due inquiry, to cases where money is *not* raised to meet the grant, as well as to where it is, and there would be little difficulty in establishing a good school. Every Clergyman has time to build a school, if he has the means. And every Clergyman could get a good schoolmaster if he had the money to pay him.

And here we would refer, before concluding, to one very important and valuable feature in Dr. Hook's pamphlet; viz. his remarks on the importance of raising the character of the schoolmaster. This subject of itself is enough for a separate article, and at the conclusion of a long one on another subject, we can but touch upon it superficially. But we would not pass it by without expressing our conviction, that while one great means, humanly speaking, of securing such an elevation in the character of the master as can alone render our education worthy of the name, is to raise the stipend very considerably; and for this purpose, first, to raise by Parliamentary grants all the stipends of the most important of the existing schools very considerably; yet the best, and most hopeful source of improvement would be the introduction of other and higher motives, by the institution of such educational bodies as that of the Frères Chrétiens at Paris, where the religious feeling combined with the *esprit de corps*, acts as a stimulus, and supplies an elevation which no mere worldly position would secure.

But the great thing wanted, for this object, is undoubtedly more normal schools; more Stanley Groves; more Whitelands

Dr. Hook himself can find no fault with these. Yet these are of the very essence of our existing system. Why not multiply them? Why not have a State grant for ten, or twenty, or fifty, if you please, of such establishments as these,—establishments on the principle of which we *are* agreed, instead of importing a wholly different and conflicting system, whose principles few can accede to? Of course they should be built only where there is a *demand* for them, in consequence of the existence of a certain amount of Church population unprovided for. And in the same way the dissenting population should have similar grants. But in both cases the facts of this demand should be certified. Dr. Hook, we understand, objects to having his 'plan' demurred to, unless some better is suggested. We suggest the extension of the one now in operation. We suggest that we should *not* give up the privilege of at least contributing a portion to the education of those whom we have so long neglected. The absorption of education into the hands of the State would dry up private benevolence. We would seriously ask Dr. Hook, whether he thinks that any, or how many, of the charitable and self-denying spirits who devote themselves and their substance, though all too little, to the present work, would do the same to support a system whose principles they doubt or abhor? And even if it is unreasonable, as we think it is *not*, to expect the State to do more than it does, without a more direct control in the education of the people, then we would suggest, that at least the schools of different religious communions be kept separate, and the religious character of each be preserved in its integrity.

And now we have done with Dr. Hook. We hope he has done service to the cause of education, by calling attention to the magnitude of what remains to be done; and we most heartily, warmly, and zealously respond to all that he would say about the necessity of progress. We repudiate most emphatically the charge of being mere obstructives. But we deprecate a progress upon wrong principles: we advocate one which continues in the course, whatever it be, which alone we can be convinced is right. And if Dr. Hook himself, which does not indeed seem probable, but if he should succeed even to the extent of his wishes, we cannot help thinking that he would be the first to regret it after it was done; that he would then vainly deplore the loss of what we have,—the loss, the irreparable loss of that little, which though little, is still in the right direction,—and the substitution for it of a system, which once for all would substantially banish the Clergyman from the instuction of his own parishioners, and take the poor throughout the length and breadth of the land into the discretionary management, even in things spiritual, of a Principal Secretary of State.

ART. V. — *The Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts. By the* Rev. E. DUKE, M. A. F. A. S. F. L. S. and Member of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London: J. Russell Smith. 1846.

THERE are few but must have felt a deep interest in the (so-called) Druidical temples of the county of Wilts. Most of us have examined them personally, and we have perhaps read the best works upon the subject, and yet, if we would but own to our true impressions, how seldom have we acquired entire satisfaction, from either sight or reading, as to the objects for which, or the people by whom, or the time when, these stupendous monuments of human labour were erected. Still, such inquiries and researches have not been entirely unprofitable. The chief writers upon this interesting subject have displayed so much ingenuity of conjecture, and the results of such an extensive research, that there is often profit, and always entertainment in their theories, not unaccompanied by solid instruction at the same time. But Stonehenge and Abury continue as before,—apparently incapable of explanation: still inexpressibly, awfully majestic, in the now feebleness, so to say, of their abused remains; fragments, rather than ruins; shadows of skeletons, rather than presenting to the common observer even a rude outline of their original structure; exciting a solemn veneration; raising up question after question, theory upon theory; and still, the same now as yesterday,—falling back into the dark obscurity of a hundred generations. Such being the commonest feelings about these, the most interesting remains of antiquity in England, it was not without satisfaction that we received one more volume, though a small one, promising further information; and, if apart from the general interest of the subject, we felt additional inducements to rely with confidence upon the studies of a new writer in an old field, such might be found in the fact, that the present author's home, as he tells us, is close to these old temples, and he not only is F. A. S. &c. &c., but a 'Member of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.'

But anticipations are one thing, realizations another. It is a disagreeable office, therefore, at once and without needless preliminating, to say, that it has seldom been our unhappy fate to wade through a book, in the pages of which we could find less instruction of any kind, or a larger number of the most puerile absurdities. Mr. Duke has adventured too great an experiment upon the (supposed) ignorance and credulity of modern readers to pass

his book over,—as we had intended,—with a single sentence of condemnation. Stonehenge and Abury are facts too solemn, and too national, to be submitted to the trifling of such as Mr. Duke; and we have a duty towards upholding the credit of English literature not to allow, without protest, the publication of the present book on a subject which has engaged, and harassed, and disappointed the erudition of real learning and patient investigation, not only at home but on the Continent.

We will give Mr. Duke's conjecture in his own words:—

'My hypothesis is as follows: that our ingenious ancestors portrayed on the Wiltshire Downs a Planetarium, or stationary Orrery, located on a meridianal line, extending north and south, the length of sixteen miles; that the planetary temples thus located, seven in number, will, if put into motion, be supposed to revolve round Silbury Hill, as the centre of this grand astronomical scheme; that thus Saturn, the extreme planet to the south, would in his orbit describe a circle with a diameter of thirty-two miles; that four of these planetary temples were constructed of stone, those of Venus, the Sun, the Moon, and Saturn; and the remaining three of earth, those of Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, resembling the "Hill Altars" of Holy Scripture; that the Moon is represented as the satellite of the Sun, and, passing round him in an epicycle, is thus supposed to make her monthly revolution, while the Sun himself pursues his annual course in the first and nearest concentric orbit, and is thus successively surrounded by those also of the planets Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; that these planetary temples were all located at due distances from each other; that the relative proportions of those distances correspond with those of the present received system; and that, in three instances, the sites of these temples bear in their names at this day plain and indubitable record of their primitive dedication.'—Pp. 6, 7.

Such is the Rev. Mr. Duke's theory: and we would remark, before we pass on, that we hear no more of the 'three instances,' but of one only: viz. a place called *Marden;* which is most ingeniously declared to have been 'Mars' den.' The village of Marden tells its own history; and the Greek word Ἄρης, and its Roman form Mars, were of course in common use among 'our ingenious ancestors,' the Britons of Druidism.

But it *is* a theory,—a startling theory; and for every theory, whether Mr. Duke's or Newton's, people will be provoking enough to ask for some little evidence.

We ask, perhaps unnaturally, for some authorities,—for some little attempt at proof,—for some attempt at the removal of antecedent difficulties. However clever a theory may be, people will demand the evidence of at least some slight pretence at inquiry into matters of a kindred sort,—some little examination, for example, of other Druidical remains in this or foreign countries. But Mr. Duke is, so at least his book leads us to conjecture, a young man. He has seen Stonehenge and Abury; he has walked from the last to the first, a distance of fifteen miles;

he has been moon-struck with the sight of these gigantic ruins; and has plunged, at the risk of his future reputation, into the mere assertion of utterly incredible suppositions. We have not a word said upon the almost equally wonderful ruins in other parts of the world. Carnac is a stranger to Mr. Duke. He recks not of Shap nor of Stanton Drew. The Dracontia of Asia Minor and of Ireland are equally unknown to him. He does not condescend even to attempt to disprove the received view of his three earthen temples, which lie so opportunely between Abury and Stonehenge, being, as they certainly are, military camps, and not temples at all; and only one authority (if authority he may be styled, who was but a plagiarist, the 'Ape of Gellius') does he venture upon, viz.—the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. When some twenty years or so have gone over Mr. Duke's head, and the calmness of a matured manhood has sobered his youthful impatience, and the fruits of some little reading and inquiry demonstrated to himself the unreasonableness of his early speculations, Mr. Duke will wonder no less than ourselves at the absurdities of which he has been guilty.

But our author is not as yet so candid; he is especially anxious to be thought a sober-minded, accurate reasoner; one who progresses carefully, step by step; and who toils on through a long series of painful arguments to his ultimate conclusion. He is 'no visionary,'—p. 79. Again, 'I feel the importance of the task which I have set myself, that of developing by substantial and existing facts my theory; for I am no visionary,'—p. 84. Again, he trusts, that he has 'disclosed the ultimatum, 'the gist of a theory, well supported, not by a visionary train of 'reasoning, &c.'—p. 114; and not to repeat other such self-complacent compliments, he explains his own solidity by a comparison of himself with 'the visionary Stukeley,'—p. 125. But we have searched anxiously for these wonderful arguments, these well-connected facts: Where are the arguments? where are the proofs? Certainly not in the present book. Very probably in some 'visionary' book; one, for example, in which may also be found his learned proof that 'the word *Abiri* bears 'reference to a plurality of deities,'—p. 36, which in another passage he tells us we are to find 'in a previous part of this dissertation,'—p. 105: and that 'I have before shown it,'—p. 36; when not one syllable has been said upon the matter. It is a curious fact that lunatics never will believe that they are insane.

Not only is Mr. Duke 'no visionary,' but he is the man, the very man, for whom has been reserved for countless ages the glory of unravelling the mystery of these temples. Sir R. C. Hoare, 'his late friend,' [and we would add, a really learned antiquary,] was not fit to hold a candle to him: 'puzzled

'with the obvious facts,' which stared him, as Mr. Duke tells us, in the face; 'he lost that clew, which I have picked up, and 'am now unravelling,'—p. 103. He (Mr. Duke, not Sir R. C. Hoare) 'has found the key wherewith to unlock these sacred 'temples, and to lay open to mankind those stores, which had 'been hitherto hidden from their eyes, to throw off that hitherto 'impenetrable veil, by which they have been for ages enveloped 'in darkness, and in mystery,'—p. 129. Once more, he doubts not that 'he is the Œdipus who has expounded these interesting, 'but hitherto incomprehensible, remains of antiquity,'—p. 163.

But Mr. Duke is a theorist: and when a man sets out with any 'theory,' such sublunary matters as proof, argument, fact, and authority, he can readily dispense with. Or else it were obvious to ask,—Here is a great nation, laying down meridional lines, constructing a Planetarium, 'a majestic and stationary orrery denotive of the cycle of cycles, the great Platonic year'—p. 182; well skilled in the movements of the heavenly bodies—and for the building of whose temples the stones of Stonehenge 'were brought from Africa, and artificers accompanied them,'—p. 175; who have left no traces of any other kind of civilization? Certainly it is possible that such a nation might exist, but is there any proof of this astronomical knowledge? If Stonehenge and Abury are parts of a Planetarium, what is Carnac in Brittany? is that also a 'grand astronomical diagram 'of the universe,' traced upon a meridianal line? The Cromlechs, do they represent comets? are the barrows connected with the nebulæ? Is Kit's Cotty-house another name for Cassiopœia? For if one is an astronomical structure, so are they all.

However, lest we should be accused of unfairness, let Mr. Duke's qualifications as the discoverer of the original purpose of Stonehenge speak for themselves.

Every one who has crossed Salisbury Plain must have observed the frequent embankments, sometimes single, sometimes double: in one place short and low; and in another of great length and height; as, for example, the very famous and mysterious 'Wans Dyke.' These, Mr. Duke tells us, were nothing more or less than a species of unceasing guide-posts to mark the way from one British village to another. Savages, and people of all countries which are not civilized, are invariably found to possess in a much higher degree than more cultivated nations, the senses of sight and hearing; in short, all those faculties which enable men to travel safely through wild and difficult districts. But that which any 'Shepherd of Salisbury Plain' would be capable of effecting, the ancient inhabitants, we are assured, were not equal to. 'The Britons had not the advantage of artificial light,'—p. 13; (nor, we believe, are gas-

lamps yet very general between Stonehenge and Abury;) and therefore, lest they might lose their way, in going at night from one village to another, some mile or two apart, 'they formed a 'fosse of from four to five feet in depth, and about three feet in 'width at the bottom, so as to enable two persons to walk abreast; 'the banks expanding upwards were nicely curved, as they 'remain to the present day; the chalk thus thrown on the verge 'of the banks formed a bright and whitened line on either hand, 'leaving a path in the hollowed centre, from whence with com-'mon care they could not easily emerge; thus did they create "a 'lanthorn unto their feet, and a light unto their paths," and arrived 'with safety and certainty at their destined goal,'—pp. 13, 14. Most readily do we extend to this explanation, which supersedes so easily the labours of wiser heads, all possible praise of originality. The only source to which we can trace its origin, is the very veritable history of *Hop o' my Thumb* and his brothers, with their famous thread.

There is an ugly word which some critics are fond of using, but in the employment of which we are very chary. It is one at which authors are terribly indignant, especially youthful writers. And yet at times, paraphrase, circumlocution, hint, intimation, all are of no avail, and out comes the expressive dissyllable for which nothing can make amends—'twaddle.' Now it is in the spirit of kindness that we would point out to Mr. Duke such passages as the following. Our readers will remember, that the subject of inquiry is the 'Druidical Temples of Wiltshire.' Speaking of the sun and moon, we are told:—'It 'is a remarkable coincidence, that these great and twin lumi-'naries are usually spoken of together; thus, in the Holy Can-'ticle, called "The Benedicite," and which may be, but seldom is, 'read in the morning service, instead of the "Te Deum," the sun 'and moon are appropriately classed together,'—p. 58. This is an example of ritualistic twaddle. Again, after a not very apt description of himself and companions, (unhappy ourselves, to wit,) seated on the top of 'Dian Hill,'[1] in which are sundry lucubrations about 'Callimachus,' and 'Horace,' and the 'Trojans,' and the 'Romish [church] Calendar,' Mr. Duke plunges fearlessly into the 'feudal system;' and thus proceeds: 'It is time, my fellow-travellers, to arise and pursue our journey; 'but, before we proceed, I must say a very few words on the 'subject of agriculture. The feudal system is passed by;'

[1] By way of showing his etymological skill, Mr. Duke says, 'Diana and Dian were struck off the appellations Anna and Hanna, being subsequently added,) and that the *feriæ*, or festivals, were superseded by the *fair*, as now held, of the Saint,'—p. 9. Now Fair is scarcely a verbal alteration from *Diana Feriæ*.

'to return. To agriculture it was a most injurious system, as 'under its auspices were supported a host of small copy-holders, 'and life-holders, bound to pursue a certain and defined course of 'husbandry, often contrary to sound policy, and obliged to eke 'out a scanty subsistence, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. The extinc-'tion of this race has been mourned by ill-judging philanthro-'pists, but it has, to the great advantage of the community at 'large, been replaced by a race of substantial yeomen, cultivating 'under superior management lands better combined in size, and 'far superior in crop. The practice of agriculture is becoming 'every day better understood, improvements are ever rising up, '&c. &c.'—p. 100. This is politico-economical twaddle.

On another occasion, Mr. Duke does not even condescend to inform us of any of the steps by which he arrives at the decisions which he lays down. We instance a point upon which very much of the argument of his book, if it had had an argument, must have depended: and unless it could have been proved clearly, and all difficulties which encumbered it been removed, we can scarcely conceive that a sensible person would have ventured to publish so surprising a theory as his own. This point is the connexion of the 'earthen temples,' (supposing them to be temples and not camps,) which happen to lie on 'the meridional line' between Stonehenge and Abury, with the worship of the heavenly bodies. This whole question is thus satisfactorily dismissed. 'To the *hill altar*, or sacred mound of earth, 'there is frequent allusion in the Scriptures, and nowhere more 'prominently so, than in the 78th Psalm, 59th verse. In this 'fine Psalm, in which David recounts the mercies of God to the 'Israelites, he beautifully depicts their ungrateful acts, and 'describes the judgments, which their evil deeds had brought 'upon them. Amongst the provocations, which this rebellious 'people offered to their Lord, the Psalmist thus pathetically [?] 'complains of their idolatry: "For they grieved him with their '*hill altars*, and provoked him to displeasure with their images." 'That this passage is allusive to the planetary worship may be 'fairly inferred,'—pp. 73, 74. And a page or two after, so plain is the inference, we are told, 'It is very singular, that, as Sir R. 'C. Hoare observed these three earthen works *in succession*,... 'he never conceived their astronomical connexion,'—p. 77. We can only account for it, by presuming either that this learned antiquary was as obtuse as we must confess we are ourselves, or that he had never read 'the 78th Psalm, 59th verse.'

As we have already said, one main portion of Mr. Duke's theory is that Silbury Hill represented the earth, 'the centre of the grand astronomical system.' Let us hear how this is proved. 'The Earth, as the centre of the universe, is in this

'terrestrial diagram adequately represented by Silbury Hill, a 'tumulus of earth, indeed, but not a sepulchral tumulus, neither 'is there reason to believe that it was a religious temple. The 'researches of the antiquary have failed to discover any *indicia* 'that it was in use for either of these purposes. I not only assert 'that Silbury Hill was not a religious temple, but I claim that 'negative fact as a corroborative proof of my correct appropria- 'tion of it as the representative of the Earth; and on this strong 'ground, that though the Earth may be a planet to the inhabit- 'ants of any other heavenly body, to the Moon, reader, if you 'please, yet it could not be such to its own inhabitants, to whom, 'whether moving or not, it must be apparently stationary. The cir- 'cumstance that Silbury Hill does not develope itself [!] as a re- 'ligious temple or sepulchral tumulus, leaves it admirably at my 'disposal as the representative of the Earth, the centre of this 'curious mundane system,'—p. 187. And so the rest follows as a matter of course. To say nothing of other parts of this most rapid conclusion, we are again so dull as not to be quite able to perceive Mr. Duke's 'strong ground.' So far as our recollections of Silbury Hill serve us, (and there are few English travellers who, a few years ago, did not pass it in going down the old Bath road), it was not more 'moving' than the stones of Abury or Stonehenge; all were equally 'stationary.' There was no 'development' about any of them. And in one sense only could it have suggested itself to us that Silbury Hill was intended to symbolize the earth, viz. as being the very largest artificial heap of it which we, or any other mortal, we believe, ever set eyes upon. But as this is a line of argument which does not seem to have occurred to our ingenious author, we will not further insist upon it.

But Mr. Duke can put difficult questions—very difficult ones. He is talking about the origin of the stones at Stonehenge; and marvellous to relate, for once declares 'that he does not think he can account for them,'—p. 70. For once he is on a par with poor, ignorant Sir R. C. Hoare, whose powers of observation, as Mr. Duke tells us in every alternate page, were so inferior to his own. He continues: 'Townshend, in his *Veracity of* '*Moses*, &c. the first geologist of his day [who—Townshend or 'Moses?] endeavours to account for them, but they evidently 'puzzled him. He seems to regard them as dislocations; but if 'so, where is the rock from whence they were dislodged? . . . . I 'shall be told by philosophers, that the particles of granulated 'quartz, circulating in the fluid chalk, coalesced by virtue of 'chemical affinity; but in my turn I will ask the philosopher, 'whence the power to these atomic particles in the womb of the 'earth to rush into each other's embrace, and whence the agglu-

'tinating and lapidific matter which bound them together as in 'a chain of adamant?'—p. 71. These are, we repeat, very hard questions, and couched in most sonorous language; an apt illustration also of that useful method of answering one difficulty, or at least of getting rid of it, by proposing a greater.

The last temple which Mr. Duke arrives at, according to his plan, is Stonehenge; and to make his theory complete, he has to prove this to have been the temple of the planet Saturn. Our readers, doubtless, have already wondered at the quiet way in which we are assured that these ancient earth works and stone temples symbolized the planetary system of our firmament, ranged at the proper distances of their orbits, and in the due order in which modern discoveries have proved them to be. But in laying before them Mr. Duke's great proof of Stonehenge having been the temple of Saturn, 'the extreme planet to the south,' we think we may very safely leave to their own imagination the rest of the subject. We must, however, before we pass on, express our surprise that Mr. Duke could not discover some one little mound more, or circle, farther off, which symbolized the Georgium Sidus; and to have recovered from a modern Herschel the honour of the first discovery of that planet, and restored it to its proper claimants, the ancient Druids. Every one knows, who has seen either the place itself or a plan of it, that Stonehenge is surrounded by a ditch (according to Sir R. Hoare), or 'fosse,' as the accurate Mr. Duke tells us, not allowing that the two things are the same. And he proceeds: 'I regard it as 'a sacred demarcation which proclaimed to the multitude the '*ignobile vulgus* in silent but expressive language—"Enter not 'within, for this is holy ground." This is my sincere belief; 'but to this I will also add . . . another curious and important fact, 'which is this, that as this temple, being the extreme of the series 'in this superb Planetarium, and being situate at the due distance 'from Casterley Camp, as the temple of Jupiter, *should be* the 'representative of the planet Saturn, so is it specially marked 'with a strong and most singular concurrent fact, namely, that 'the temple of Stonehenge and its surrounding fosse bear the 'exact relative proportion as the planet Saturn, and his surround-'ing belt. The question here arises whether this extraordinary 'fact be, or be not, an accidental coincidence. I think not. My 'opinion is, that it must have been a purposed coincidence, but 'that if so, the Druids had the use of the telescope; and this I 'frankly say, that I think they had, as they could have known 'nothing of the belt of Saturn without it,'—p. 136. Surely readers cannot wish that we should enter into a serious refu of this crowning absurdity. Nor scarcely can we think th will believe us when we tell them, that the discoverer of t

'Planetarium,' the longlooked-for 'Œdipus,' is himself ignorant of the science of astronomy. He has ventured to publish an outrageous speculation about the ancient temples of Wiltshire, which would have required, at the very least, an accurate knowledge of the heavenly system, its component parts and bearings; a knowledge of the gradual discoveries made with respect to it in different countries, and in various periods of the world's history; yet he not only does not attempt to support his assertions by any arguments drawn from such sources, but confesses his 'slender skill' in the whole matter,—p. 77. His chief hope is, that there are some 'less conversant with astronomy even than himself;' a fact which we greatly doubt; and is obliged to have recourse to a friend (who must be grievously annoyed, we presume, to see his name mixed up with these follies), in order that some of his opinions and guesses might be tested by a quadrant,—p. 146.

We, and we doubt not our readers, are quite tired of Mr. Duke and his book by this time. We cannot trouble ourselves to make any remarks about the numerous 'astronomical cycles,' the Metonic cycle, &c., all which we learn that the Druids thoroughly understood, although we cannot make out that Mr. Duke himself understands them. But with a few short extracts thrown together, we shall conclude.

When Mr. Duke has hold of a phrase which he thinks peculiarly brilliant, he certainly likes—perhaps we all do—to repeat it: thus, p. 16, we have, 'Stukeley published his valuable work *Abury* 'Described in the year 1743, but even in his days the work of 'dilapidation had made far progress, and very many of its stones 'had been broken up for building houses, stables, pigsties, aye, 'and even for the repair of the roads! The work of destruction 'has ruthlessly gone on to the present day, and so few stones are 'now left, that we may truly say with a sigh, "Ilium fuit."' Again: 'Despoiled by the sacrilegious hands of modern bar-'barians, the stones broken up by ruthless Goths for the 'building of barns and pigsties, aye, and for the repair of the 'roads . . . I fear that we may now, with a sigh, say, "Ilium 'fuit,"'—p. 66. We must not forget to add here, that Mr. Duke very charitably has provided a punishment for these defunct barbarians. They are 'now, I ween, expiating their sins in purgatory,'—p. 66. We say charitably, because he allows some term to their punishment. To those who remember any thing of the personal and domestic history of the great [illegible] deities of Jupiter, and Mars, and Venus, and their [illegible]ist be a new view of the subject, to [illegible]mily.' 'The deification of the sun, [illegible]nets was the prelude to the multi-

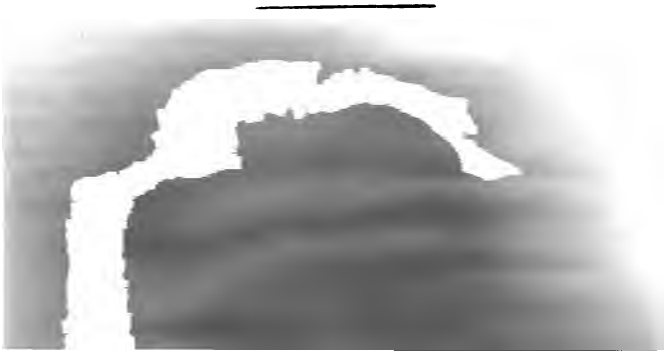
'tudinous system of the gods and goddesses of the Greeks and 'Romans. They first of all personified them, and then added 'to them a crowd of fictitious relatives; and to this great, yet 'holy family, they attributed not merely the virtues, but all the 'vices and errors, of mortal man,'—p. 50. And the same is repeated in other places, as especially in the beginning of the volume, where we have the epithet given in all the dignity of capitals. 'The Greeks and Romans also . . . personified 'the planets, and . . . established polytheism in its fullest ex-'tent. They recognised as supreme a Holy Family,' &c.—p. 18. Certainly we can barely think Mr. Duke's disclaimer in another place altogether uncalled for: 'I need not say that I 'am an utter disbeliever in the absurd mythologies of the 'ancients,'—p. 48. We really are very glad to be made certain of this fact. But the sentence immediately preceding this is so very charming, that, although the connexion between the two is slightly obscure, we have not the heart to suppress it. 'From the Caduceus, the heraldic symbol of the Sun, as the 'chief deity and ruler in the planetary mythology of the early 'Egyptians, was derived the Ῥάβδος of the Greeks, the fasces of 'the Romans, the mace and wand of our own country; and 'Mercury, the messenger of the Sun, was most assuredly the 'prototype of the Ῥαβδοῦχος of the Greeks, the lictor of the 'Romans, the beadle of our mayors, the verger of our ecclesi-'astical dignitaries, aye, and the Legate à latere of modern 'Popedom',—p. 48.

We shall only make another extract: one which amusingly enough displays our authors's high estimate of his own personal qualifications. He tells us, p. 145, that he is 'a man of ordinary stature:' and, p. 172, he is discussing, not very satisfactorily by the way, the question whether the nation which built Stonehenge was above the common height of men. We are told that it was not; and then follows: 'Were I destined to build a 'Stonehenge, I would have chosen bands of men, from twenty to 'thirty years of age, [probably his own age,] and in height from 'five feet six to that of five feet nine inches; [certainly his own 'stature;] since in such men may we expect to meet with the 'maximum of activity and strength united,'—p. 173.

We feel that some of our readers may ask, why we have taken the trouble to expose at such length the contents of so trumpery a volume: it may be thought that a mere condemnatory sentence in another department of this review would have been sufficient. But the subject of the great artificial mounds and embankments—of the enormous barrows—of the stone temples of the county of Wilts, is one far too important, both historically and under other aspects, to be passed by, when brought before

the public, without an ample consideration: and this, independently of the truth or falsehood, of the cleverness or the stupidity, of the suggestions which may be advanced. In the one case, we should assist readily in the support of carefully grounded theories, and in the other, of which Mr. Duke's book is a glaring instance, point out its absurdities. Stonehenge and Abury are among the wonders of the earth; they belong not to England only, but to the whole world. As we have already said, they propose to us the consideration of questions, which should not heedlessly, and with the mere folly of idle conjecture and guess, be rashly entered on. Men of the greatest learning, and most subtle intellect, have felt the difficulty, as well as importance, of the subject: it has been acknowledged by hundreds, who have started, full of energy, in the pursuit of their true history, and have in the end wisely kept silence. But how true is the often quoted line, 'Fools 'rush in where angels fear to tread!'

In a small corner of our library we keep a few favourite volumes. The class is a peculiar and not a numerous one; among them are *not* Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, or Higgins' Celtic Druids, or the papers on Stonehenge and Druidism, published in the Archæologia, or Mr. Deane's Worship of the Serpent, or even 'the visionary Stukeley:'—but such books as the very famous Journey of the Lord Mayor to Oxford, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Dillon, and the Journal of the Rev. George Clayton's voyage to Paris. Among these the Rev. Mr. Duke's volume shall find an honoured place; and our hope is, that, like the productions of Dr. Dillon and Mr. Clayton, it also may become worth guineas instead of shillings; an event not unlikely, as soon as its author has arrived at a sufficient appreciation of its merits wisely to suppress it.



ART. VI.—*Lyrical Compositions, selected from the Italian Poets, with Translations. By* JAMES GLASSFORD, Esq., of Dougalston. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman. 1846.

FEW things have ever appeared to us more astounding than the sudden rise of Italian literature. More than five hundred years ago, it burst upon the world all at once, in all its fine proportions, full of beauty, grace, and dignity, like Minerva from the head of Jove. The first poem in this collection is by the author of the 'Divina Commedia,' who was born in the year 1265, and yet it is quite as intelligible, if not quite as easy, as an aria of Metastasio. There may be something antique in the cast of its thoughts, but there is nothing uncouth, or even rough, in its diction. It might have been written yesterday. We do not mean to deny that, when the Stil classico and Stil moderno are brought together for the express purpose of comparison, much difference may not occasionally be discernible, but whole passages may be read even of the earliest authors without any perceptible difference. If, on the contrary, we take up any book, either French or English, written at the same period, or even later, a native, and much more a foreigner, finds it almost unintelligible.

That a language so early brought to perfection should exercise a great and extensive influence over the literature of other countries, might reasonably be expected, and yet, with one or two striking exceptions, we are not inclined to believe with Mr. Glassford that this has been the case. The reasons, we think, are plain. In the first place, the early great Italian models were few; and we much doubt if one or two books, even of surpassing power, are ever likely to exercise a widely-extended influence over the popular taste. Then the Italian language was by no means generally cultivated. French was the language of that world which gave the tone to literature; and French, in spite of a few early instances to the contrary, was essentially opposed to the romantic school, which Italian literature embodied. The age of Louis XIV., the Augustan age doubtless of modern letters, with all its correctness and brilliancy, was hard, cold, and conventional. [illegible] its influence was widely spread over Europe. In England [illegible] rticular, owing to the close connexion between the [illegible] the almost universal use of the French language in [illegible] sation, and the comparative ease with which French [illegible] ultivated it was paramount. The [illegible] times the popular taste, was [illegible]

model, and consisted, either of pieces translated from the French, or pieces belonging to the same artificial school.

And this style of literature suited the dry and unspiritual character of the existing Church. We do not deny that, during the period of which we are somewhat loosely giving the character, there might be found, both in the Church and in the literary world, persons of a higher and more spiritual tone of mind, whom the teaching of the one and the poetry of the other could not satisfy. These found in their own minds, or in the minds of a few others, something deeper and more holy than was supplied by most of the existing models.

Mr. Glassford instanced Milton as a case in point. That Milton was deeply read in Italian literature, and cultivated the language with eminent success, no one can dispute, for the proof is before the world, but he belonged to an earlier period than that of which we are now writing. Besides, allowing their full merit to his Italian poems, and giving him entire credit for his lofty genius and his transcendant poetical talent, we do not think him the happiest example that could have been brought forward of the best influence of Italian literature. In fact, his own mind was essentially classical. As a puritan, he thought it behoved him to choose a subject professedly religious; but it is on classical allusions that he most fondly dwells, and it is the classical mythology to which he gives the most prominent place. Even in his exquisite hymn on the Nativity, where one might reasonably expect that a Christian poet would forget his classical predilections, he sighs over the departure of the gorgeous superstitions which faded before the cross, and mourns over the silence of the oracular voice more than he exults at the Advent of the Redeemer.

But though Milton, at an earlier, Gray, Collins, and Cowper, at a later, period, may, as Mr. Glassford supposed, have drawn part of their poetical inspiration from the language and literature of the 'sweet South;' we are inclined to believe that, in most cases, the growing preference of the romantic to the classic literature owed its origin rather to the study of our own early romantic writers, or our more recent acquaintance with the romantic literature of Germany, that land of impassioned feeling, deep thought, and, alas! audacious speculation.

This will appear more probable, if we consider, in the second
there were elements in Italian literature itself, which,
t least, might, and no doubt did, deter the serious
d from its perusal. The great master of Italian
imself a pattern of moral, as well as of poetical
's great poem has all the reverential feeling
mind can desire; but it is too difficult to
pect that the number is not great of

those who are well acquainted with more than its most celebrated passages. We speak, of course, of foreigners. Italians do him ample justice, not only by the praise which they lavish upon him in unison with the general voice of Europe, but by the interest with which they hang over his pages; by making him their companion by day and their dream by night. Petrarch also was a writer of a pure and lofty character, and his long, constant and unrequited love has shed around him a halo of interest in the minds of the tender and imaginative; but we doubt if Petrarch, like Dante, has not been more lauded than read by the greater number of his professed admirers. If his love was not, as some have supposed, a mere poetical abstraction, it certainly did not impart to his earlier compositions either the grace of simplicity, or the charm of nature. They are full of strained thoughts and forced expressions. Perhaps from no writer of eminence might more examples be extracted of the Italian *concetti* than from the pages of Petrarch. This censure must not, however, be extended to the compositions of a later period. Many of the poems, written after the death of Laura, are eminently beautiful and touching, and some of them even sublime. Still we cannot, upon the whole, esteem Petrarch a popular writer, or one likely to influence much the age in which he lived. But to Dante and Petrarch succeeded a class of writers, who dwelt almost exclusively on the brilliant and sensual part of literature. The religious spirit, which seems an essential element of romantic literature, as it is of Gothic architecture, was banished almost entirely from their compositions. The two great writers on whom Italy especially prided herself, Boccaccio and Ariosto, especially the former, were not only sometimes chargeable with brutal indecency, but always with the absence of high, pure, and true feeling. In reading the Decamerone, the heart never throbs either with tender or holy emotion. Even the far-famed Griselda seems to us rather revolting than touching; while the most pathetic tales are polluted with the grossest sensuality. All this while, there is a sparkling vivacity, a brilliant colouring, a boundless fancy, an exuberant life, which leads us into a new and ideal world, 'full of all sweet sounds and harmonies.' But the great Spirit is not there. And this is perhaps the reason why there is so little in these splendid writers to touch the heart. All deep feeling is essentially religious. Even infidel writers have often felt the necessity of seeking religious sources in order to heighten their pathos. This has been done by living writers in some of their tenderest compositions, and with a truth and power which deepen our regret that their inspiration is not genuine.

Tasso was altogether a purer and more spiritual writer. There was in his writings 'no line which dying he would wish to

blot;' but his great poem was a struggle between the classical and the romantic. Like Milton, he jumbled oddly the Pagan mythology with the Christian ethos, and produced a kind of centaur, of which, though the parts were beautiful, the whole was incongruous. These faults lay on the surface, and while feeling and devout persons were charmed or edified by isolated passages, the general reader was chiefly struck by the want of truth and fitness in the machinery. Against Tasso, too, the whole classical battery was specially directed; and the censure, fulminated by Boileau against those who preferred 'the tinsel of Tasso to the gold of Virgil,' spoke, we apprehend, the sense of the generality of men of literature.

At a later period, Alfieri was the master, we can scarcely call him the founder, of another school, and one we think eminently unqualified to produce a lasting impression on the poetical literature of his time. Cold and severe as an antique statue, without any of the freshness and colouring of actual life, he strikes us by passages of intense power; but his tragedies, which are formed after the strictest classical model, have nothing of the glow and fancy which we consider the natural element of Italian literature. There is, moreover, in Alfieri no high and pure tone of moral feeling. His temper, when traced to its source, is an almost insane hatred of all constituted authority. To hold up this bugbear to the terror and execration of his countrymen, he has brought together all the crimes that history relates or fancy has embodied; and the effect is always painful, and often disgusting. Alfieri may have had his share in unsettling the minds of turbulent and discontented men; but it is not to his pages that we must turn, when the pure world of thought and feeling is to be laid open to the admiration of mankind.

Metastasio, as every body knows, was a writer of a directly opposite character. Sweet, tender, high-minded, and even pious, he wanted only a loftier aim, and a severer standard of composition, to be a perfect poet. Writing, as he did, for the opera, his words made subordinate to the music, and his compositions hurried forward, if the subjects were not chosen, by the command of a Court, we cannot wonder, that, satisfied with facility, he often stopped short of excellence, and lavished upon the evening of a festival, powers which might have made him illustrious to posterity. In Metastasio, accordingly, though there are scenes of great beauty, tenderness, pathos, and even dignity, there is little individuality of character, and few of those shades or gradations of feeling, which give to fiction the semblance, and even the reality, of truth. Still, we think that Metastasio has been greatly underrated, and especially by

serious and devout persons, who have looked upon him as a mere writer for the stage, a somewhat superior composer of the *libretti* of the opera. Leaving his blank verse out of the question, which, however, is often eminently beautiful, we know nothing more charming, either in sentiment or expression, both often of the highest order, than many of the arias which close the scenes, which may be taken as little detached poems, without much injuring their force and expression. We are under obligations to Mr. Glassford for having given us translations of some of these in the volume before us.

We are aware that, during the whole period of which we have attempted to give a slight and rapid sketch, the lyrical poetry of the Italians was rich in thoughts and feelings, which the most intellectual must admire, and the most pious reverence, but that poetry was but little known abroad. The celebrated authors, whose characteristic merits and defects we have ventured to point out, were in every body's library, if not in every body's hands; but we doubt if a tithe of the pure and earnest writers, whom Mr. Glassford has introduced to the English public, was known to it even by name. Still there were some who searched out the hidden springs, which only needed to be laid open to the general eye, to show that Italian literature was greatly misunderstood and undervalued. Thinking and feeling for themselves, they detected its hidden merits, and sometimes opened a glimpse of them to the world. From time to time, tasteful and devout persons surprised us with translated extracts from this language of light song and lighter love, and showed that there were richer and better things behind.

But it has remained for the present day to discover, through the medium of its imaginative literature, the deep truth of the Italian mind. The celebrated narrative of Silvio Pellico must not indeed be classed among works of fiction. Interesting as the most highly-wrought romance could possibly be, it is still the true record of his life during ten most painful and eventful years; eventful, inasmuch as they comprised revolutions of feeling, and changes of character, with which the external convulsions of an empire are not worthy to be compared. He does not so much detail the secrets of his material prison-house as the secrets of his own interior soul; and what a beautiful picture of meek submission, unbounded charity, and humble reliance, has he unfolded to our view! His work, therefore, is strictly and literally a romance of real life. But, in the works of Manzoni, Azéglio, Grossi, and Cantu, the imaginative literature of Italy has taken the highest ground. It is true that they have not the sparkling gaiety, the brilliant colouring [illegible] mer hues, of Boccaccio or of Ariosto, but the

though sterner, qualities. They enter into all the serious reality of life. They do not paint it as a gorgeous day-dream, a glistening vision, a scene of waving trees and flashing waters, where the lover serenades his mistress, or the gay circle hangs in speechless interest upon the tale of the narrator; but a theatre of dark passions and dark deeds, where the guilty are successful and the innocent suffer, and where the only light which breaks in upon the gloom is the light of Heaven. In fact, they point us to the Cross. Unlike the fictitious narratives of our own country, even those which profess to aim at more than mere amusement,—with them, time is nothing, eternity every thing. In our most approved works of fiction, it would be invidious to specify living examples; indifference to worldly success is often indeed professed, but, somehow or other, it always comes at last. It is clearly the reward. We do not except the religious novels of the ultra-Protestant school. Even with them, worldly success, rank, money, influence, popularity, have their full weight. The possession of these mundane qualities is a good to be desired, the loss of them an evil to be deplored. It is in a different school that the Italian writers have been taught their estimate of human life. They do not *talk* about the propriety of sacrificing time to eternity, and the world to God, but the whole structure of their story implies the deep and settled conviction, that nothing is really worth caring for but the formation of the character for heaven. It cannot be understood upon any other supposition. In the moment of triumphant villainy, a villainy never punished in this world, they give you a glimpse of the hell within, and think that sufficient punishment. This is their poetical justice. And they, who believe what others profess, will feel that they are right. One can scarcely doubt that the authors of these books must be men of devout and earnest minds. Who, that was not a Christian, could have conceived the sublime scenes in the romance of Manzoni, between the saintly Cardinal Federigo Borromeo and the mysterious 'Un-named?' Who describe the death of Ginevra? Who develope such a character as that of Niccolo de' Lapi? And, though the pathos of some of the closing scenes of those novels, those of Azéglio in particular, is such that one can scarcely bear to read them, the impression left behind is not only salutary but soothing. It is like a strain of sad and solemn music, which, as it lifts the soul to heaven, tells us that 'life,' after all, 'is a vain shadow,' and that 'man disquieteth himself in vain.'

But we are not reviewing the Italian novels; and it is therefore time to turn our attention to the work before us. Though its merits are of no common order, we fear it will

never attain to the popularity which it deserves. We do not believe that the sonnet, at least the legitimate sonnet, can ever be popular in England. It was early tried, with more or less attention to the strict rules of composition, and with various success. The celebrated Surrey composed several sonnets, and, though they are now but little known, they are not deficient in tenderness. Upon the whole, they aim at the regular form, of which Petrarch has supplied the model; but they end with a quatrain and a couplet instead of two triplets, which is inadmissible. Sir Philip Sidney's compositions of this kind are mostly irregular, and so are those of Sir Walter Raleigh and Drayton. Shakspeare and Spenser, who had loftier claims to the admiration of their contemporaries and posterity, and might well have rested their fame upon their great works, both wrote sonnets, and may be said, according to the strict standard, to have failed. Milton succeeded well. Not to mention his Italian poems, some truly noble English sonnets may be found in his collection. In later times, the difficulties of the legitimate sonnet have weighed so heavily on writers in general, that, with a few honourable exceptions, such as Wordsworth, they have given us either the form without the spirit, or the spirit without the form. The most popular writers of sonnets, Charlotte Smith, for example, and Bowles, though the former has one or two good legitimate sonnets, boldly threw off the trammels, and gave us instead three elegiac stanzas and a couplet, often terminating in an Alexandrine. Miss Seward adhered to the legitimate sonnet, and succeeded, but she stood almost alone, till Mr. Glassford showed what might be done by a correct taste joined to an unlimited power of language, even in this most recondite style of composition.

But now, shall we confess that, in spite of our high, and almost unqualified, admiration of the work before us, our ears are not fine enough to detect the peculiar harmony of the legitimate sonnet. We allow the merit of what the French admire so much, 'la difficulté vaincue,' but we think it is often at too dear a cost. In a language like the Italian, full of vowel terminations, rhymes may easily be found. Moreover, the poetical licences, which are of all kinds and degrees, are ever at hand for the writer's use. If *a* will not suit him, he may make it *ave;* if *fu* will not answer his purpose, *fue* will; he may turn *fe* into *feo;* and even transform *speme* into *spene*, and *chiedo* into *chero*, in order to suit the rhyme. Then, the rhymes themselves are often such, as would be quite inadmissible in English versification. Casa is unlimited in the licence which he takes in this particular. In one of his most admired sonnets, translated in this volume, '*imbianchi*' rhymes with '*bianchi*,' and '*ghiaccio*' with '*agghiaccio*.' In another, he has '*parte*' three times in th

two quatrains, with scarcely a shade of difference in the meaning, and the fourth rhyme is '*disparte.*' In a third, '*rimanyo*' rhymes with '*rimanyo,*' in the second quatrain, in precisely the same sense. This is somewhat worse than Racine, who makes *pas* (foot) rhyme with *pas* (not), and is satisfied. At this rate, one does not see how any kind of versification can be difficult. But what is an Englishman to do, with his unmanageable language, and severe standard of composition, in a species of verse which never admits of more than five rhymes in fourteen lines, defines the position of those rhymes, regulates the pauses, and requires moreover the high finish and polished grace of a mosaic? *We* think that, in most cases, he had better give up the task as impracticable, and do, what most writers of sonnets have done, make the best of his materials, without caring about the form in which they are arranged. We will give one or two instances to illustrate our meaning.

In a collection of 'Church Poetry,' published some time since, and well known to Churchmen, is the following beautiful poem in fourteen lines, which we need not apologize for recalling to the recollection of our readers.

'A CHILD'S ANSWER.

'I met a fairy child, whose golden hair
Around her sunny face in clusters hung;
And as she wove her king-cup chain, she sung
Her household melodies—those strains that bear
The hearer back to Eden. Surely ne'er
A brighter vision blest my dreams. "Whose child
Art thou," I said, "sweet girl?" In accent mild
She answered, "*Mother's.*" When I questioned, "Where
Her dwelling was,"—again she answered, "*Home.*"
"*Mother!*" and "*Home!*"—O blessed ignorance!
Or rather blessed knowledge! What advance
Farther than this shall all the years to come,
With all their love, effect? There are but given
Two names of higher note,—"*Father*" and "*Heaven.*"'

Now, at first sight, this poem might be mistaken by some persons for a legitimate sonnet, because the first, fourth, fifth and eighth lines rhyme together, but there are three rhymes in the two quatrains, and the triplets are exchanged for a quatrain and a couplet. Who is there, however, who would lose one expression, not to say one thought, of this exquisite composition, for the sake of adhering to a rule as arbitrary, if not as senseless, as the classical unities? One can conceive the writer to have thought as much, and, feeling that he must sacrifice something, to have sacrificed what seemed to him least valuable.

Again: we doubt if the following affecting lines by Sir John Carr are not more delightful to the uninitiated than all the

legitimate sonnets that were ever penned. They do not profess to be regular. They are not even correct as an elegiac poem, for the first and third lines of the first stanza do not rhyme together, but the second and fourth do, and the ear is satisfied, while the tenderness and earnestness of the composition are above all praise.

'CONSUMPTION.

'Upon the breezy cliff's impending brow,
With trembling step the Hectic paused awhile;
As round his wasted form the sea-breeze blew
His pale cheek lightened with a transient smile.

'Refreshed and cherished by its balmy breath,
He dreamt of future bliss, of years to come;
While, with a look of woe, the spectre, Death,
Oft shook his head, and pointed to the tomb.

'Such sounds as these escaped his labouring breast—
"Sweet health! thou wilt revisit this sad frame;
Slumber shall bid these aching eye-lids rest,
And I shall live for love—perchance for fame."—
Ah! poor Enthusiast!—in the day's decline
A mournful knell was heard—and it was thine.'

We might here transcribe, from the volume before us, many strictly legitimate sonnets, in which the observance of the rule has not injured the beauty of the composition, but we shall reserve them for our future extracts, and only bring forward one in which we think the rule has cramped the style, and thus injured the effect.

'SONNET FROM PETRARCH.

'Not her I loved could death unlovely make,
But the loved face to death a charm could lend:
What better guide could Heaven in mercy send?
Well did she teach, and I the lesson take.

'For He, whose life was lavished for our sake,
Who, spurning hell, its brazen gates could rend,
Has shown me how the grave is now a friend;
Then welcome death, within whose arms to wake.

'And tarry not; my debt of life is paid,
If not in years, yet surely had arrived
When my heart's treasure from these eyes was wrested;
Since which not even a day have I survived;
Together for we went, together stayed,
And now with hers my travelled feet have rested.'

Now, in this sonnet there are several instances of what, in any body else, we should call slovenly versification, but we have no doubt that Mr. Glassford did what he could, though he was

unable here to overcome the difficulties of the metre. In the last quatrain, 'within whose arms to wake,' is anything but a translation of 'il tuo venir me' è caro,' and is clearly a mere make-shift. In the three lines which follow, the construction, to say the least of it, is ungraceful, and badly expresses the sense—'if my debt of life was not paid in years, it surely was 'when,' &c. We do not like the rhyme 'wrested' and 'rested.' The sound is too entirely the same, too closely resembling the Italian license which we have before specified. In the last line but one, 'Together for we went, together stayed,' is much too violent an inversion. We would rather have written, 'We 'went together and together stayed,' though 'for' is rather required to complete the sense. A few instances might be pointed out here and there, in other parts of the volume, where the exact sense of the original is not given, and probably for the same reason, the difficulty if not the impossibility of expressing it according to the prescribed form. Thus in p. 134, 'And wilt thou not, O fierce, ungoverned power,' &c., is a mistranslation of—'Dunque dovevi tu spirto si fero,' &c.; and in p. 177, 'Bent on a fleeting page his name to grave,' gives quite a different meaning from—'Su i fogli accorcia altri l'età fugace.' But such errors or defects are very rare; and, in spite of the great difficulties of the legitimate sonnet, Mr. Glassford has come off generally with eminent success.

Before we proceed to examine the pieces contained in this volume, we will observe, in passing, that the legitimate sonnet admits of a form which the translator seems to have overlooked. He has stated very accurately, in the preface to his first edition, that, in the two quatrains, the rhymes may fall, one on the first, fourth, fifth and eighth lines, and the other on the second, third, fourth and seventh; or, that one may fall on the first, third, fifth and seventh lines, and the other on the second, fourth, sixth and eighth; but he has omitted the third form, in which the first line rhymes with the third, sixth and eighth, and the second with the fourth, fifth and seventh. In the triplets, he has allowed too great latitude. He is borne out certainly by the practice of English sonnet writers, who have no doubt felt themselves obliged to relax the rules, but if we are to have the legitimate sonnet, we should keep to the authorized, i.e. the Italian, model, and we do not believe that, in the whole [illegible] of Italian poetry, a sonnet can be found in which [illegible] are exchanged for a quatrain and a couplet. The only [illegible] ment, according to strict rule, of which they are susce[illegible] the following:—First, the three [illegible] the first tri[illegible] have three different terminations [illegible] may be placed in the second [illegible]

the writer. Secondly, and this is the most approved form, probably because it is the most difficult, the first line rhymes with the third and fifth, and the second with the fourth and sixth. Thirdly, the first rhymes with the third, fourth and sixth, and the second only with the fifth. In justice to Mr. Glassford we must add, that he has never availed himself of the licence which he allowed, and that his sonnets are as strictly regular in the triplets as in the quatrains.

We are speaking of this volume as if it consisted entirely of sonnets, because they comprise by far the largest proportion of its contents. They are, moreover, the most difficult of composition, and show in the most striking manner the power which the translator possesses over both languages. Lyrical pieces of all kinds are however included in it, one or two odes, a few canzoni, some madrigals, epitaphs, airs, epigrams, choruses, fables, hymns, and one sestina. We are obliged to Mr. Glassford for giving us a specimen of this said sestina, both as a proof of the 'difficulties' which he could himself 'conquer,' and of the absurdity into which a mere trial of skill could betray so indolent a people as the Italians, who leave out, or change, without scruple every letter which it is difficult to pronounce, and whose aim seems to be to talk, as well to live, with the least possible trouble.

The very description of the sestina makes one giddy; like the marriages and intermarriages of Debrett's Peerage, or a will drawn up by a lawyer, or a bamboozling of witnesses, or a puritan's sermon, or anything else, past, present or to come, in which there is neither rhyme nor reason. The very sight of it is enough. One cannot by any possibility comprehend it. One sees that there *are* rhymes, but how they got there, and why they came, is a mystery. No human ear can detect the jingle, except where it ought not to be, at the end of one verse and the beginning of another. The French 'bouts rimés' were nothing to this. Nay, they were harmony itself, 'with linked sweetness long drawn out.' Plaguing enough they must have been for the unfortunate wight who had to fill them up, but the rhyme could not fail. It was cut and dried for the occasion. A practised poetaster, by the bye, could always tell whether the sonnet, or what not, would be worth anything, by the nature of the terminating words, which might, or might not, be common place. We once saw a poem of some length, in which the writer had introduced, as a trial of skill, a number of the most impracticable and heterogeneous words that could be got together. Foolish as it was to undertake such a task, it was not ill done, and, though it was quite as difficult as the sestina, the effect was better, for the rhymes were in their right places, and passed glibly into the ear.

The first thing which struck us upon opening this volume, which is a pretty thick one, and glancing at its contents, was the extreme difficulty of the undertaking. In one sense, it is a long work, inasmuch as it fills nearly six hundred pages, for half of which the translator is responsible; but then it is composed principally of sonnets, as we have said, and entirely of lyrical pieces, which, with one or two exceptions, are short, and will be judged of individually, and not in the lump. Men of taste, therefore, will require in each separate poem the perfect correctness and elaborate finish, which might be dispensed with in a longer work. Mr. Glassford, however, has met the difficulty manfully, and, we think, successfully, in spite of the few defects to which we have called the reader's attention. He has evidently great command over his own language, and a deep feeling of the language from which he translates. He has thrown himself, as it were, into the Italian mind; and we do not hesitate to say, that a reader who knows nothing of the original of these beautiful compositions, will have as clear an idea of their peculiar turn of thought and expression as any mere version can give. We have never believed that poetry could be perfectly translated. It may be imitated most successfully, as Pope, and Swift, and Johnson, and, above all, Boileau, have shown; but a close translation is generally about as much like the original poem as a skeleton is like a man, or a scare-crow like a suit of clothes fresh from the hands of a London artist. Cowper's Homer is a case in point. That painful work kept its author in comparative tranquillity of mind for several years; and so far, it was a great blessing; moreover, it is a perfectly correct translation, wonderfully so, as school-boys who are learning Homer can testify; but it resembles Homer as a Lincolnshire grazier resembles Sir Isaac Newton. The form is there, but the vivifying spirit is away.

Mr. Glassford has not fallen into this error. His poems are beautiful *per se*. But they are more than this. They approximate to the peculiar excellence of the original. They are not mere imitations, but translations, in as strict a sense of the word as is perhaps possible when one language is to be transfused into another. This is very high praise, but we think it fully deserved. We give him great credit for his choice of subjects. He was clearly a man of a serious and earnest temperament. Accordingly the poems which he has selected are distinguished by a soberness and gravity seldom found in a volume not strictly religious. Not a few of them, indeed, are decidedly of this description, and chosen on that account; and, even where the sentiment rises no higher than the tender and thoughtful, as in some of the airs of Metastasio, it is often made religious by a

short note at the end, which opens up a hidden and deeper meaning. We shall now proceed to justify our high estimate of the volume before us, by selecting a few of the poems, in the order in which they come.

The opening sonnet from Dante is singularly grand and solemn. Its images pass before our eyes like a vision, or like the shadowy and awful beings of his own Inferno. It embodies also an idea, well known to those who have deeply suffered, but which no one has described with more fearful truth—the pang which is felt when the inward anguish is met by indifference from without. It is like the affecting unconsciousness of children, when sorrow is wearing away the life of those about them.

> 'Pilgrims and strangers, here who thoughtful stray
> With mind intent perhaps on other care,
> Come ye indeed from climes remote so far
> As this your semblance and your haste would say?
> You do not weep while passing on your way
> Among our streets, but hurrying onward, fare
> As those who know not, and who nothing share,
> Our city's grief in this her sorrowing day.
> Would you but stop awhile to learn the tale,
> My heart assures me, with a sigh, that none
> Entered her gates who would not weeping go.
> Suffice to tell her Beatrice is gone;
> Of whom to speak, though fitting words would fail,
> From other eyes than ours the tears must flow.'

Nothing can be finer than this, and it is an exact translation of the original. Let any one compare the two poems together, not cursorily, but slowly, patiently, and minutely, and he will be astonished at the admirable precision with which every shade of thought is transferred from one language to the other.

We select from Petrarch the well-known sonnet, 'Io vo piangendo i miei passati tempi,' &c., which has not unfrequently been translated before. Perhaps we cannot better do justice to Mr. Glassford's version than by putting it into juxta-position with the version of one, now forgotten, who was no contemptible poet in his day.

REV. HENRY MOORE.

> 'Pensive I now the trifled years deplore,
> When mortal charms engross'd my vain desires,
> Still grov'ling on the ground, though born to soar,
> And with strong pinion reach the starry fires.
> O Heav'n's Eternal King! propitious still
> My griefs regard with pity's tender eye;
> Succour a feeble mind, a wand'ring will,
> And what my virtue wants, let grace supply!

Grant, that with storms and billows long distrest,
In port at length my weary soul may rest:
Though vain my life, O sanctify its end!
For what remains my Guide and Guardian be,
Living, I'd live, and dying, die, to Thee—
Thee, my sole Refuge—Thee, my last, best Friend!'

MR. GLASSFORD.

'Past life I mourn; I weep that I could place
All hope and all desire on mortal thing,
Nor mounted, as I might, upon the wing,
Leaving some pattern to the after race.
Do Thou, who seest my sinful state and base,
O Thou invisible, immortal King,
To my lost spirit frail Thy succour bring,
My emptiness supplying with Thy grace;
That I, my life in war and storm who past,
May die in port, at peace. Oh, if my day
Was dark and troubled, be the evening clear!
Vouchsafe Thy help; my sand is ebbing fast;
When death shall strike, O may Thy arm be near!
Thou knowest that none other is my stay.'

Not a few persons will prefer Mr. Moore's version to Mr. Glassford's, for the reasons alleged in our observations on the legitimate sonnet; but Mr. Glassford's is Petrarch, and Mr. Moore's is *not*. We must extract one more sonnet from the acknowledged master of this species of composition. 'Rotta è l'alta colonna, e 'l verde *lauro*,' &c. The *concetto* in this first line, in which there is an allusion to the name of Petrarch's mistress, is lost in Mr. Glassford's translation, but we do not regret it, for it is certainly rather out of place in a *lament*:—

'Fallen the high column, withered is the *flower*,
Whose shade refreshed me, and protected most:
Vain were to match the treasure I have lost
From north to south, in east or western bower.
Thy hand, O death, has robbed me in one hour
Of my best solace, and my greatest boast;
Nor earth, nor empire, can repair the cost,
Nor Indus' gem, nor gold's imperial power.
And can the soul when pierced not mournful be,
The head not droop, the eye not fill with tears,
Though yielding silent to the great decree?
How fair, O man, untried thy life appears!
How with the dawning of one morn may flee
Thy fondest hopes and fruit of many years!'

We like the following noble sonnet from Ariosto better than the original, inasmuch as 'Charon's Bark' should not have been introduced into a composition of such severe truth:—

'How shall my cold and lifeless prayer ascend,
Father of mercies, to Thy seat on high,

If, while my lips for Thy deliverance cry,
My heart against that liberty contend?
Do Thou, Who knowest all, Thy rescue send,
Though every power of mine the help deny;
And, oh! make haste before the hour draws nigh,
When to the gates of death I shall descend.
Eternal God, oh, pardon that I went
Erring so long, whence have mine eyes been smit
With darkness, nor the good from evil known.
To spare offenders, being penitent,
Is even ours; to drag them from the pit,
Themselves resisting, Lord, is Thine alone.'

He who could write thus, must have sometimes mourned bitterly certain passages in his Orlando.

The sonnet by Michael Angelo, is worthy of a Christian artist, and it is translated in Mr. Glassford's best manner, without the least stiffness, but sufficiently close to the original:—

'Now my frail bark through life's tempestuous flood
Is steered, and full in view that port is seen
Where all must answer what their course has been,
And every work be tried, if bad or good.
Now do those lofty dreams, my fancy's brood,
Which made of art an idol and a queen,
Melt into air; and now I feel, how keen!
That what I needed most, I most withstood.
Ye fabled joys, ye tales of empty love,
What are ye now, if two-fold death be nigh?
The first is certain, and the last I dread.
Ah! what does sculpture, what does painting prove,
When we have seen the cross, and fixed our eye
On Him, whose arms of love were there outspread!'

The sonnets by that noble lady, Vittoria Colonna, are Christian poems of a high order. We should like to extract the translation of 'Se le dolcezze,' &c., p. 75, but we must refrain. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of giving the sonnet on the death of her husband:—

'Methinks the sun his wonted beam denies,
Nor lends so fair light to his sister's car;
Methinks each planet, mild and lovely star,
Has left its sweet course in the spangled skies.
Fallen is the heart of noble enterprise,
True glory perished and the pride of war;
All grace and every virtue faded are,
The leaf is withered, and the floweret dies.
Unmoved I am, though heaven and earth invite,
Warmed by no ray, nor fanned if zephyr blow;
All offices of nature are deranged;
Since the bright sun, that cheered me, vanished so,
The courses of the world have quite been changed.
Ah, no, but sorrow veils them from my sight.'

The following beautiful 'Inscription for a Fountain,' by

Bernardo Tasso, will remind every classical reader of Horace's gem, 'O fons Bandusiæ,' &c. We really cannot tell which to prefer, the original sonnet or Mr. Glassford's version; the one is so exact a counterpart of the other:—

'Free to thy flocks, O wandering shepherd, still
Are my green banks, with herb and flower inlaid,
And free the olive and the mulberry shade,
Whose aged boughs adorn this lovely hill.
But trouble not the crystal drops that spill
From my clear fountain, by the muses made
Sacred, nor these my sparkling springs invade,
Whose cooling draughts the heavenly dream instil.
Here drinks Apollo, here the sister train,
The loves unblemished, and the maidens chaste;
Perhaps a milk-white swan of gentle brood.
If thou art aught but shepherd base and rude,
Here may'st thou sing some sweetly moving strain,
Then largely of my lucid waters taste.'

We extract what Mr. Glassford considered 'one of the finest of Casa's sonnets, one of the most beautiful in language, in thought and style.' It is evidently a favourite with the translator, who has done it ample justice.

'Sweet wood, whose loneliness bears true consent
With troubled thoughts like mine! now that the hours
Are few and dismal, and the north-wind pours
His icy bolts down heaven's dark battlement;
That age thy green and spreading boughs hath bent,
And on thy locks, like mine, are winter showers;
Now that, in room of white and vermeil flowers,
Are all thy sunny slopes with hail besprent;
I ponder, by the short and glimmering light,
What soon myself shall be; for I too feel
My veins to stagnate, and my limbs grow numb.
But more than thee, and inly, I congeal;
My winter with a keener blast will come,
And days more dim and cold, and longer night.'

We give the following graceful fable from Aurelio Bertola, to show the facility with which Mr. Glassford can open up the light and sportive vein as well as the grave and serious.

'THE LINNET.

'A sailor's linnet, favourite of the ship,
Made with his master round the world a trip;
And far remote from European tides
The bark on India's coast at anchor rides.
There many a painted bird in plumage gay
Flies through the grove, and flits from spray to spray;
Feathers so blue, so red, so green,
In woods at home are never seen.
Great pleasure in that sight the linnet found,
And listened for their song, but heard no sound.

Day follows day, and back they daily come
To sport among the trees, but always dumb.
At last our traveller takes it in his head
To think this pretty, and the birds high bred.
Then homeward he returns, his lesson got,
And never from that hour would chirp a note,
But sate quite mute, and when his mother came,
To chide this silence, and would call out, shame!
He gravely said, "It is the foreign mode,
So much admired; they never sing abroad!"

How many of our travellers, like the bird,
Bring home whatever custom is absurd!'

We could be tempted to give many more extracts, but we must forbear, and one or two of the airs of Metastasio must close our quotations.

'Though many a gem of brightest dye
In caves of Indian ocean be,
They do not boast a calmer sky,
Or more unruffled sea.
Is there a shore which Neptune finds
Less subject to his boisterous sway?
It is forgotten by the winds
Some poor and narrow bay.'—*From Zenobia.*

'Although no combatant is near,
Though smooth the course and ocean clear,
His guard the wary foe will keep,
The wary pilot watch the deep;
While hushed the camp, while bright the sky,
Will poise the lance, will trim the sail;
Prepared, whatever chance be nigh,
To meet the battle, or the gale.'—*La Clemenza di Tito.*

'Unbending to the furious wind,
How oft the hardy oak we find,
A hundred and a hundred years,
The shock of winter brave;
At last, when levelled from the steep,
Its passage plough upon the deep,
And, by that very wind impelled,
Go stemming through the wave.'—*Adriano.*

'Alas, no steadfast hope is mine,
No calm of a celestial day,
But liker to that lurid ray
When storms are on the wing.
The lights which from a distance shine,
Which only rise to disappear,
May show how much I have to fear,
But cannot safety bring.'—*Attili*

In closing our remarks on this book, [illegible]ress
our conviction that it will never be pop[illegible]

the first edition was a proof of this. It was published by the author himself, during his lifetime, in the year 1832, and it does not seem to have attained a very extensive circulation. Mr. Glassford was probably prepared for this. We can conceive of him as satisfied with the φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν and looking on popularity with indifference, if not with disdain. Popularity was clearly in his power. He could have written, if he had chosen, such lyrical pieces as those of Moore or Mrs. Hemans, or such fables as Gay's; which every ear could have felt, and to which every heart would have responded; but he chose a severer model, and a more difficult task. He has succeeded admirably, but it is not every reader of poetry that can appreciate his work, or even understand it. The versification of which the volume mainly consists, requires no little study to comprehend and taste. It is like scientific music, which a practised ear may feel more than those simple melodies, which thrill upon the heart of the uninitiated, but which are 'cav.are to the general.' We confess that, cordially as we admire the volume, we read it ourselves sometimes as a task. It cannot be called attractive. Its full merit cannot be comprehended, without comparing it with the original, line by line, and almost word by word; and this is a work of time and labour. In these days of railway reading, as well as railway travelling, few have leisure or patience to read a work of taste in this manner; but it is the only way to do Mr. Glassford justice. It is the only way to discover, that, while he has enriched the literary world with a volume of sterling merit, which will at least be valued by the thoughtful reader, he has nearly, if not quite, solved the difficult problem of translation. He has nearly proved that it is possible to transfer to one language the peculiar properties of another, so that the new dress, in which the thoughts are clothed, is worn with the same ease and grace which distinguished the original garb. In this view the volume stands alone. We know nothing like it in any language. And we think unsparing praise is due to the patient perseverance, as well as to the taste and genius, without which Mr. Glassford would scarcely have attempted such a work, and certainly could not have achieved it.

ART. VII.—*Histoire de Léon X. Par* M. AUDIN, *Chevalier de l'Ordre de Saint-Grégoire le Grand, Membre de l'Académie et du Cercle Littéraire de Lyon, Président de l'Institut Catholique de la même Ville, Membre de l'Académie Tibérine, et de l'Académie de la Religion Catholique de Rome.* Paris: L. Maison. 1844.

M. D'AUBIGNÉ's History of the Reformation is a bold attempt to revive in all their strength the feelings of that time, and to represent Luther and Zwingle not merely as great men and reformers, but as little short of Apostles. M. D'Aubigné writes with much liveliness and spirit, with much minuteness of detail, and profusion of citation; every page overflows with sympathy, with admiration, with triumph—and as the subjects of his panegyric were equally strong in their praise and their abuse, he aims at copying them in rough sweeping expressions of abhorrence and vituperation. He identifies himself most successfully with their ideas and measures: nothing comes amiss; nothing, however apparently awkward, finds him embarrassed—we can hardly say for excuses, for that would be to degrade his heroes, but,—for ingenious laudation. He pushes on without shrinking or misgiving, with an enthusiasm which nothing can put out of countenance, with an admiration which no continued exercise can fatigue, with a confidence which nothing can shame. His pages are no bad picture of the progress of the movement; they roll on, crowded with the Reformers' own words, boisterous, abrupt, scornful, self-complacent—secure of convincing, unconscious of fallibility, and incapable of doubt. One broad maxim governs the whole: that it is impossible to say anything too bad against Rome, or too good about Luther. And by the help of this, with a generous imagination, and a skilful use of grotesque old quotations, M. D'Aubigné has eased his heart of much spite against the Pope, and has accomplished a popular history, very graphic and dramatic, according to the use of the day.

We have before us, in M. Audin's Leo X., the appropriate pendant to M. D'Aubigné's Reformation. In many respects, of course, a great contrast, it nevertheless matches very well, as opposites often do. Like D'Aubigné's book, it is a history of the newest fashion, alive with picturesque incident, strewed thick with characteristic quotations, for the sake rather of their words than of their weight as evidence, animated all through by a resolute spirit of admiration, which expresses itself, not in the stiff formal reflections which satisfied the stupid earnestness of old party historians, but in gushes of warm sympathy, in brilliant trokes of dramatic effect, in touches and bursts, which mark

not only the historian, but the *littérateur*, the wit, the poet, the man. But it looks at the times from an opposite point of view. M. D'Aubigné writes as the historian of the Reformation; M. Audin, as the historian of the '*Renaissance*.' Italy and the Pope, who are the objects of M. D'Aubigné's horror, fill M. Audin with inexpressible enthusiasm; and as M. D'Aubigné makes an Apostle of Luther, M. Audin makes a Saint of Leo X.

The differences of style and execution which mark these two remarkable efforts at picturesque apology, only make each the more suitable companion of the other. M. D'Aubigné writes as the historian of revolution and strife, who is in his element amidst confusion and storm: he admires the eager restlessness, the turbulence, the insurgent and conquering energies of the time; he paints with admiration the struggles and doubts of conscience, the agonized throe of approaching liberty; he revels in the truculent jest, the withering rebuke, the triumphant retort, the staggering interrogation; he gloats over the rage of defeated Tetzels and Ecks, the trepidations of exposed friars, and the mortification of humbled diplomatists; fully persuaded of the victory of his own side, he thoroughly enjoys the conflict; he affects the free, the impetuous, the uncouth, the wild; his style is harsh, sententious, broken, without finish or measure. M. Audin has all that the other wants of smoothness and repose. He writes to set forth a time of 'unity and faith, of light and liberty;' his visions are all of peace and beauty; a gentle insinuating softness pervades his volumes; he speaks in the tones of wronged innocence—wronged, but yet not provoked, only plaintive. For the dark, gusty sky of Germany and Switzerland, we have the bright gay light of the South, making all objects look smiling and fair. All that was grim and forbidding in the history of the *Renaissance* is smoothed and softened into a lofty sternness and heroic majesty; dark blots and scandals dissolve and vanish in the rosy brilliancy of his poetical pages, and even the fearful name of Borgia, the bugbear of history, expands into magnificence, and in the lustre of great purposes and deeds, loses all its horrors. But calm scenes and peaceful souls, such as at the *Renaissance* he finds in abundance, are his delight: one after another they rise up in his smooth, flowing, glossy descriptions, touched off with delicate fondness, graceful tenderness, or irony, playful, but not severe. D'Aubigné's history is tempestuous and stirring; Audin's, soothing, sentimental, unctuous. He allows the intrusion of no foul crimes to shock us; nothing but the ebullitions of some lofty but undisciplined spirit, whose very falls give it a romantic interest. War makes its appearance, indeed; war carried on by a Pope; but it is war consecrated by high zeal, and without taint of

worldly ambition; war ennobled alternately by graceful resignation in disaster, or paternal forbearance in victory: and this is succeeded by a time of peace and unrivalled splendour. We see a court at once the wisest and holiest, and the most brilliant in Europe; where austere self-denial and the keenest wit go hand in hand—where Pagan art and literature lend all their grace, and are purified from all their evil—where hearty affection, sportive gaiety, and tender charity shine forth amid the marvels of reviving art, and the charms of poetry—a time of easy and yet guarded innocence, enjoying in thankfulness and security its rich and magnificent home, till the rebel monk arose to disturb its peace, with his turbulence and craft and ingratitude, his vulgar jests and brutal slanders. Such is M. Audin's picture of the Rome of Leo X.; a very fairy-land of Ultra-Montanism has he conjured up, in his ardent enthusiasm, out of the records of the sixteenth century.

M. Audin is a disciple of M. De Maistre, and his book is a bold attempt to recover for his views a field of history, where hitherto they have found more than ordinary embarrassment; to gain back to the interest and sympathy of his own side a time when the Roman court and hierarchy have been supposed very generally to have forgotten, for a time, their mission. This has of course ever been a chosen subject for Protestant criticism and vituperation: Catholics, says M. Audin, have been carried away by fatal prejudices, and they have left it to the suspicious admiration of a learned but liberal Protestant to write the most popular eulogy of a great Pope.

'Leo X. has been unfortunate; he has not escaped the praises any more than the calumnies of the Reformation: and praise, in the form in which it is given, would wrong the memory of the Pope more than insult itself. Protestantism makes of him an accomplished man of letters, a brilliant poet, a mere literary character of the Renaissance, entirely taken up, on the throne of St. Peter, with vanities of this world: what is more sad, it has imposed upon Catholic opinion, which acquiesces in a judgment dictated by passion. We fully accept the praises which Protestant writers have, for their own ends, awarded to Leo X.; but we claim for him a glory more lasting than that, which finds here below its reward in the admiration and applause of men: and this glory, which God only can give, we shall have to restore to him, when we see him, in the course of a life so short and so pregnant, practising all the Gospel precepts, which he had studied, as a child, at Florence—preserving in exile that purity which, according to the expression of a cotemporary writer, defied suspicion itself; living in the midst of the Roman *literati*, after the manner of the primitive Christians,—fasting, praying, rude to himself—practising abstinence three times a-week—scattering round him abundant alms—and when God calls him to be head of the Church, giving to the world the spectacle of the most eminent Christian virtues.'—*Audin*, i. xiv. xv.

No one, of course, can wonder at M. Audin's taking a new view of his subject, and a very different one from Roscoe, Sismondi, or Ranke; he has every right to do so.

Every great principle gives a new grouping and effect, a new light and shade, to the facts of history. M. Audin is an Ultra-montane, and the others are not. And considering how Protestant writers have often treated this period, and the absurd and incredible picture which they have drawn of it—their blundering spite, their voracious credulity, their shallowness, and meanness of principle—the marvellous way in which they have taken for facts, the mythical exaggerations with which Luther eased his soul, and solemnly believed that they were describing a true state of things when they painted the Church of the day as having absolutely lost all Christianity—we cannot quarrel with M. Audin for coming forward to vindicate this age of the Church from the attacks of such mingled stupidity and ill-nature. It is quite true that Christianity was not forgotten; that goodness and faith were not extinct; that such an extremely improbable supposition as that the Church was teaching nothing but falsehood, and doing no good in the world, is by no means borne out by the facts of the case.

We are now in the days of fairness and candour; all are ready to make admissions and give up prejudices; the papacy of Leo's age must have had a good side, and a fair statement of its true position claims, and probably would receive attention. Nor could any one complain if M. Audin took full advantage of the absurdities of antagonist historians;—if he chose to be witty, or ironical, or indignant, it cannot, we think, be denied that they are fair game, and that his victory would not be a hard one. And even that luscious profusion of sentiment with which he envelopes his subject, his bursts of feeling, and his peremptory apophthegms, the dramatic turns and highly imaginative colouring in which he delights, must be judged of by French and not English rules of criticism, and much must be allowed to an ardent writer, anxious to convey vividly his impressions of a great history, and of striking and varied character.

But after all allowances made, M. Audin's book is a very strong case of historical daring—one, we think, which few but a Frenchman would have thought of, or ventured on. That the scandals of the Church of Leo's time were much exaggerated by the Reformers is credible; that ecclesiastical feelings and traditions were not extinct among the clergy, that the ordinary long-used methods of the Church to reform abuses, and maintain her discipline, were not utterly forgotten; that there were in Italy, often high in station, noble examples of a pure
l life, is also highly probable. In the worst days, God's
more merciful to His Church than
or than history has recorded. But
lieve that the time of the *Renaissance*

was one of the brightest eras of Church history, till darkened by the rise of the Reformation;—he wishes us to believe that the Papacy was still witnessing to Europe for the cause of truth and goodness, and guiding with zeal and deep wisdom the interests of Christendom; that besides some exceptional cases of partial scandal, there was nothing wrong or out of order in the government of the Church: that there never was a time of deeper and stronger faith, never a time when the rulers of the Church were more alive to their duties, or were more earnest in discharging them.

M. Audin forgets that, as we said, we live in days of candour—unless across the Channel it is not necessary to remember it. Here certainly it has been a favourite and very effective topic of controversy, that attachment to principles could not change facts. People have been told with much truth, and with great force, that a bad case, or a bad story, will not bear patching; the charge of bolstering up the Reformation has been a well-chosen subject for keen irony and triumphant scorn, and more than one waverer has been decided in his course by the fear of being committed to such plausibilities. We have been drilled into a state of sensitive and rigorous candour: it is a nervous thing to attack any one, except one's own friends; and we are never so comfortable as when making admissions against our own side. The Roman communion has reaped the full benefit of this feeling:—but they must not claim opposite advantages at once: they must not shame us into frankness, and enjoy nothing but theory and sentiment themselves. A Roman Catholic is not obliged to write history, when it seems to go against him; but if he chooses to do so, he must remember that if history will not bend for Protestantism or Anglicanism, neither will it for Ultra-montanism. M. Audin thinks that he has destroyed the prestige that hung about Luther: he has done so, as one of his critics expresses it, by prying about with keen and curious eye behind the scenes—'particulièrement dans les coulisses.' When he turned his hand to the work of '*rehabilitation*,' he should have remembered his former employment,—he should have remembered that Time, 'that fearless historian,' as he calls him, is not more afraid of Popes than of Reformers; and he should have been cautious about engaging his feelings in a piece of wholesale white-washing, which equals most Protestant efforts in that way, both in daring and sustained self-complacency, and leaves them far behind, clumsy productions as most of them are, in its ingenious adaptation to the ideas of the nineteenth century.

The cause of the Papacy has hitherto been recommended, and has hitherto found sympathy, because, as has been said, it has always taken the strict side. M. Audin fans his enthusiasm, and seeks to arouse that of his reader in its favour, by glowing

pictures of the '*Renaissance*' in Italy, and by showing how the Papacy, especially under Leo, was allied with it.

Considering that M. Audin is a Catholic, his extatic admiration of the revival of letters,—no other words can convey an idea of his way of speaking—is somewhat startling. That the *Renaissance* was a most brilliant and wonderful period; that it was a time when the highest gifts of mind were seen on all sides in rich profusion—that a sense of grace and beauty was strikingly developed and cultivated—that the *Renaissance* was a great step in civilization, is quite true—as it is true also of the time of Socrates and Aristophanes. But a Christian and a champion of that Church, whose boast it is, never to have heeded the charge of bigotry or barbarism when matters affecting Christian faith or Christian morals were at stake, might well pause before he expressed such warm and unreserved sympathy with the spirit and men of the *Renaissance*.

M. Audin, however, does not feel himself under any restrictions; and he throws himself, with the utmost zest, into a highly-coloured and impassioned description of the scene of Leo's birth and education—the gay, and Platonic, and voluptuous Florence: and we have pages of flowery declamation about Lorenzo and his literary Greeks, his villas and his groves, his manuscripts and his statues, his philosophical walks, and the Platonic vigils of his friends: and the change produced by his mild rule in his subjects, the extinction of family feuds, the refinement of life—no more noise of daggers and stilettos in the streets—'tout cela est remplacé par des discussions philo-'sophiques, des cantiques aux muses, de douces causeries, des 'spéculations spiritualistes à l'ombre des bois.' But we must give one or two of his paragraphs at length, as specimens, and we will not do them the injustice of translating them.

'C'est que jamais prince n'aima les lettres d'un amour plus éclairé que Laurent de Médicis! Il était heureux quand le soir, loin de Florence, et dans un de ces palais que lui avait laissés en mourant Cosme, son grand-père, il pouvait montrer à ses protégés ces beaux manuscrits qu'un Israélite lui avait vendus au poids de l'or! Il disait quelquefois à Nicolas Leoniceno: "Je les aime tant ces livres, que je vendrais jusqu'à ma garderobe de prince pour m'en procurer." A Careggi, Cosme avait fait élever une maison toute royale, distribuée en petites cellules où Laurent logeait ses humanistes chéris. Il y avait deux salles pour les livres, une pour les œuvres et les partitions musicales. On lisait sur l'une des portes de cet asile dédié aux muses cette inscription grecque:

"Τέρμα ὁρᾶν βιότοιο.
Μέτρον ἄριστον."

'Après des causeries toutes philosophiques, imprégnées de poésie platonique, où brillait surtout Ficin, on passait dans la salle du concert et Squarcialuppi, son chanteur de prédilection, entonnait un hymne dont le prince avait composé les paroles, et l'on se séparait pour se réunir

lendemain au coucher du soleil. Laurent revenait toujours avec quelque nouvelle miniature d'un moine ignoré, quelque codex antique acheté à Venise, quelque statuette récemment déterrée à Rome. Les poëtes, les philosophes, les lettrés tombaient en extase et se mettaient à célébrer la bonne fortune du prince.'—Vol. i. pp. 4—6.

'Il tardait à Laurent d'échapper au tumulte des affaires, et libre de soucis, et loin des gardes dont il marchait accompagné dans les rues de Florence, de se réfugier dans le *Museion* dont nous a parlé Politien. Quelques-uns de ses amis l'attendaient au sortir de la ville : tous ensemble ils gravissaient la colline au sommet de laquelle s'élève la ville de Fiesole, discourant en chemin de lettres, d'art ou de philosophie. Ficin attendait le prince avec impatience : on échangeait, en se revoyant, de douces paroles d'affection, et la conversation commençait. C'est dans ces promenades au crépuscule, que Marsile aimait à soulever quelques-uns des voiles qui cachaient aux yeux profanes les mystères de sa doctrine favorite. Laurent prenait souvent la parole, et faisait admirer, dans une vive improvisation, sa connaissance du cœur humain, ses trésors d'érudition, son culte pour le beau. La séance finie, un repas à l'ombre des pins d'Italie terminait délicieusement la soirée; puis la nuit venue, le poëte, nous parlons du prince, écrivait ce *laude*, où l'on retrouve les idées philosophiques de l'époque.'—Vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

No doubt all this was very enjoyable to live in, and very brilliant to look back to; lovers of art and lovers of letters may celebrate and envy it; we can well believe that seldom have wealth, and good taste, and inventive power, and love of grace, and freedom of manners, and deep sensibility, and novelty, combined so harmoniously to supply a greater variety of pleasures, or to give them a keener edge.

But there is another side to this philosophical and literary Court—one which must qualify the admiration of a Christian and Churchman. This rapturous admiration of Plato, these Platonic academies, and Platonic lectures, and Platonic *réveries*, were not altogether without effect on the Christian faith of the distinguished courtiers. Not that there were any symptoms of open revolt against the doctrines of the Church; it was not the time to think of such things: the Court of the Medici was no place for theological controversy, which Lorenzo's temper and hatred of the schools would never invite, and which his tact and good taste would discourage if it appeared. But men of taste and fashion began to talk in an unwonted and very enlightened manner about the most serious subjects, and showed much more fear of offending, in their speculations, against the *placita* of Plato than against the Creed of the Church. Mr. Roscoe thus states the character of the Platonic academy:—

'The principal advantages of this institution seem to have been the collecting together men of talent and erudition, who had courage to dissent from established modes of belief, and supplying them with new, rational, and important topics of conversation.'—Roscoe, Lorenzo de Medici, c. iii.

No doubt, much that has come down to us of their sayings

and doings is to be set down to the literary foppery and affectation of these very brilliant, but not very earnest philosophers. But their very trifling betrayed a most suspicious laxity of belief and feeling; and it boded nothing good, when men, brought up as strict Catholics, and still professing to be so, began to call one another '*Fratres dilectissimi in Platone*;' and when Lorenzo, the Pontiff of these zealous converts from scholasticism, aped the festivals of the Church, by keeping the 13th of November in honour of Plato, after the example of Plotinus and Porphyry, and celebrated his memory with all but religious pomp, with 'lauds and canticles,' before his statue. M. Audin mentions all this in quite a natural way; he tells us with great *naïveté* that Lorenzo's philosophers made 'a veritable pagan' of him,—that the 'lauds and canticles' which they chanted on Plato's festival contained '*des offenses fréquentes aux dogmes Catholiques*'—but he seems to find no particular harm in this—he can pardon much to such poetical people, and to the father of Leo X.: and though they did teach, as he says, a 'disguised pantheism,' yet they were in no danger,—'they all thought themselves safe from even the suspicion of heresy—*tant leur foi était vive et docile.*'[1]

In the second place, this philosophic Court was, according to ordinary Christian ideas, a very licentious one. Refinement, genius, sensibility, taste, seem to give a kind of authority and sanction to vice—to make it more tolerable by adorning it; and one effect of the *Renaissance* was, to make clever and accomplished men feel more at their ease in pursuing their pleasures, because they could combine them with literature and love of art. Lorenzo de' Medici took the full benefit of the revival of classical feelings. M. Audin is aware of this, and feels called upon, 'in behalf of Christian spiritualism, to condemn the sensual instincts of this prince.'[2] But the flow and gush of his admiration is surprisingly little checked by this admission. Considering *what* he says of Lorenzo in the following passage, we think that he might have spared some of his poetical touches, and not made him quite so interesting. The description would not be amiss in a *feuilleton*, but is rather unqualified for an ecclesiastical history.

'Dans l'ancienne Rome il eût passé pour un épicurien, tant il avait peu de souci du lendemain, tant il semblait négliger l'avenir; à Florence on disait qu'il avait deux âmes. Il resta longtemps païen, malgré le baptême qu'il avait reçu dans l'église de Santa-Reparata. Les joies turbulentes des jours du carnaval, si beau en Toscane, le mouvement des masques qui emplissaient à cette époque les rues de Florence, les cris des ouvriers, les danses des femmes couronnées de fleurs excitaient sa verve, et lui inspi-

[1] Vol. i. p. 9.

[2] Vol. i. p. 17.

raient des chants étincelants de poésie, mais dont Rome moderne a dû punir la licencieuse expression: du reste meilleur père encore que poëte. quand il ne s'occupait pas de lettres, son plus doux amusement était de jouer avec ses enfants, qu'il mettait sur ses genoux, qu'il couvrait de caresses, qu'il endormait au son de cette petite lyre dont Squarcialuppi lui avait appris à se servir: heureux si quelqu'une de ces beautés faciles que Savonarole poursuivait, en chaire, de ses colères, ne venait pas frapper à sa porte pour l'arracher à ses préoccupations de père, de poëte, ou de philosophe.'—Vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

But M. Audin professes a discriminating and indulgent criticism. Lorenzo's virtues were his own; the defects which sullied that '*belle vie*,' those of his age: and he surmises, with philosophical good-nature, that 'some of his too frequent 'transgressions of the precepts of the gospel were owing less '*aux exigences d'une nature libertine, qu'à la fastueuse imitation* '*de l'antiquité*.' An opposition more important psychologically than morally; and if true, not complimentary to the *Renaissance*.

The early years of John de' Medici are dwelt upon by M. Audin with the unsuspicious tenderness and amiable loquacity of a friend of the family. He begins from the beginning—the dreams which preceded his birth—when he began to learn to ride — and how Piero de' Medici taught Virgil to his little brother; and he imagines that these early lectures may have given him a taste for Rome—'*Jean se prit aussi d'une véritable passion pour la belle Rome chantée par Virgile*.' It might be difficult to speak with certainty of these youthful predilections: but his keen and sharp-sighted father no doubt turned his thoughts early in that direction, with the prudent family forethought which marked the Medici. We will give a scene from M. Audin.

'Lorenzo, like all great men, had an insight into the future. He had divined the wondrous instincts (*les merveilleux instincts*) of his beloved son. In the evening, after the gates of his palace had been closed to petitioners, he would call for his favourites—Politian, Chalcondylas, Marsilius Ficinus, Gentile, Verino the poet, who has celebrated with more enthusiasm than talent the glory of Florence; and, taking Giovanni on his knees, he would point out to them that eye in perpetual movement; that brow with its lines so clear and pure; those locks curling like a young girl's; that swan-like neck with its graceful bend; that smile so sweet and full of mind; and he would ask them to draw the horoscope of the boy. Politian looked at his countenance, and announced that Giovanni would one day do honour to ancient literature. Ficinus lifted his eyes to the horizon, and predicted an era of glory for Platonism, whose empire the Grand-Duke's son should extend in Italy. Chalcondylas, in the boy's Grecian profile, read of happy days for his exiled countrymen; and old Gentile of Urbino, repeated with Simeon in the Scripture, "Bless the Lord, O my soul." John will be the honour of the sanctuary.'

Long had it been since the science of divination had seen so clearly into the future.

Lorenzo's heart expanded with joy at these beautiful dreams, and his

hand, in token of his delight, pressed the hands of his noble friends. He destined his child to the priesthood.'—*Audin*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

M. Audin seems thoroughly to enter into the father's feelings for the advancement of his favourite son. 'At seven years 'old, John de' Medici received the tonsure, and the day on 'which he entered into orders a courier left Florence to demand 'from Louis XI. the collation of a benefice;' a very natural request, as M. Audin shows, and as Louis thought, who at once named him Abbot of Font-Douce, in Saintonge, and a month after, Archbishop of Aix; but the old Archbishop turned out not to be yet dead. But Font-Douce, as M. Audin says, 'was 'but the first of those favours which heaven reserved in such 'rich abundance for the ducal child.' The Pope, Sixtus IV., on account of a family quarrel, had been deeply implicated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi—that conspiracy in which the leading agent was an Archbishop; its scene, the cathedral of Florence; and the signal for murder, the elevation of the host; —he had excommunicated Lorenzo and his friends for executing the conspirators; and he had need now, as M. Audin mildly expresses it, '*de se faire pardonner son amitié pour les Pazzi.*' The abbey of Passignano was demanded for the young Abbot of Font-Douce, and given by the Pope, as the price of reconciliation,—'*c'était noblement se répentir,*' is the biographer's reflection. But this was nothing to the preferment that was heaped on the boy, when Innocent VIII., whose illegitimate son had married one of his sisters, became Pope. 'Every day,' says the warm-hearted biographer, 'brought a new joy to 'Lorenzo;' and he proceeds to give at full length, as if a mere natural subject for pride to parent and historian, the long catalogue of benefices.

'Every day, so to speak, brought a new joy to Lorenzo. In the space of some years, his son was successively named Canon of the Cathedral of Florence, of Fiesole, and of Arezzo; rector of Carmignano, of Giogoli, of San Casciano, of San Giovanni in Val d'Arno, of San Pietro di Casale, of San Marcellino di Cacchiano; prior of Monte Varchi; precentor of S. Antonio, at Florence; provost of Prato; abbot of Monte Cassino, of San Giovanni di Passignano, of Sta. Maria di Morimondo, of St. Martin de Font-Douce, of S. Salvadore at Vajano, of S. Bartolommeo d'Anghiari, of S. Lorenzo di Coltibuono, of Sta. Maria di Monte Piano, of St. Julien de Tours, of S. Giusto and S. Clemente at Volterra, of S. Stefano at Bologna, of S. Michele at Arezzo, of Chiaravalle near Milan, of Pin in Poitou, of Chaise-Dieu near Clermont—'—*Audin*, vol. i. p. 25.

'In 1510,' adds Roscoe, 'he became Archbishop of Amalfi. "*Bone Deus,*" exclaims the good Fabroni; "*quot in uno juvene cumulata sacerdotia!*"' —*Roscoe, Leo X.* vol. i. note 7.

But even this was not enough to satisfy the fond father; one thing was still wanting. His son was now more than twelve years old, and he was not yet a Cardinal. Innocent VIII. was infirm, and was getting old. 'Lorenzo had no time to lose; *il*

'*lui fallait la pourpre, et il la demanda.*' Innocent had, it is true, promised the Conclave, when elected Pope, that he would never create a Cardinal under thirty years of age;[1] but he was of feeble mind, and Lorenzo, as M. Audin expresses it, 'had received 'from nature an eagle eye, a will of iron, and a tenacity of 'purpose, which nothing could conquer;' and his letters to his agent—still preserved in the archives of Florence—show, says Roscoe, 'such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of the 'great man as could scarcely fail of success.' To the pope himself he wrote with the importunity of a benefactor and a relation, begging the favour, 'with the earnestness with which he would beg of God the salvation of his own soul.[2] 'I can 'assure your Holiness,' he continues, as M. Audin paraphrases him, 'that nothing could be so delightful to my heart as a 'father, nothing so happy for Florence, as the hat which I beg 'of you for my son; without this distinguished favour, I see 'not how your Holiness could recompense my devotedness to 'your person, and prove to the world that I am not undeserving 'of your favour.' His desires were soon fulfilled.

'Innocent VIII. could not long resist the prayers of Lorenzo, and the wishes of the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and of the Vice-Chancellor of the Church, Roderic Borgia. The 9th of October, 1488, a courier brought to the '*Magnificent*' a note from the Cardinal of Angers' [old Jean Balue, the ex-confident of Louis XI., and hero of the boar-hunt scene in Quentin Durward,][3] 'written in haste, and running thus:—

'Magnificent and dear brother, greeting. Good news for your son, for you, for Florence: John is created Cardinal, by the title of Sta. Maria in Dominica. I cannot express to you my joy.'

'Never was father so happy as Lorenzo. The evening after this good news Florence was illuminated, and the Grand Duke spent the night in announcing the event to his numerous friends.'—*Audin*, i. p. 27.

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[1] —'Sub pœnâ perjurii, et anathematis, a quibus nec me ipsum absolvam, nec absolutionem alieni committam.'—*Burchard*, in *Raynald.* ad ann. 1484. No. 41. Raynaldi observes that these engagements were 'ad cardinalium commoda detorta: 'quæ cum contra fas conventa essent, in aliquibus infringendis religione se minime 'teneri putavit, sicut videbimus.'

[2] 'La richieggo questa volta con l'efficacia chel' farei a N. S. Dio la salute dell' anima mia.'—*Roscoe, Leo X.*, vol. i. App. i.

[3] The novelist has probably libelled the equestrian accomplishments of this worthy personage, as he has certainly libelled Wolsey, by naming him in the same breath with the most finished, and, in spite of some rough vicissitudes, luckiest, of the scoundrels of the day. 'Un bon diable d'évêque pour cette heure,' said Louis of him, 'mais je ne sais ce qu'il sera à l'avenir.'* Jean Balue long did business with much success for himself and the king, till he became too venturesome and greedy, and was caught tripping. He was bishop of several places, gained a cardinal's hat m Paul II., was eleven years in a cage at Loches, for having led the king into crape at Peronne,—and yet escaped alive,—reappeared in France as Pope's te, and died in much comfort and respectability at Rome, in a good old age. g many other things, he was an amateur, for his own amusement, in military rs, as also in old manuscripts, of which he formed a collection for his cathedral.† idin should not have omitted to tell us the name of Lorenzo's affectionate pondent.

Sismondi, Hist. des Français, xiv. 262. † *Gall. Christ.* xi. 606. *Biog. Univ.*

And M. Audin really expects to carry off this miserable scandal by seeming not to be aware of it; by affecting to throw himself into the spirit of the times,—of the courts of Rome and Florence, who certainly saw nothing wrong in it[1]—and treating it as a very natural arrangement, which did equal honour to the father's affection, the son's precocious excellence, and the pope's discrimination:—by drawing an interesting family picture of Lorenzo's parental feelings; of his overflowing gratitude to the pope; of the never-ceasing congratulations of the citizens, and the rapturous delight of the Neo-platonists; by telling us at great length how Politian wrote an elaborate letter to the Pope, to praise his pupil, and his pupil's family, and his pupil's patron; and how 'inconsolable' the '*humaniste*' was to find that 'so enlightened a judge as Pope Innocent' thought his epistle affected:—and by taking occasion from this to give us an episode about the 'noble exchange of flatteries' which had recently passed between Lorenzo's man of letters and the pope—dedications of Herodian on one side—ducats and epistles of thanks on the other; and to correct the estimate of Lorenzo's ambassador at Rome, who had 'for a moment underrated Innocent's talents,' and said that he was a man 'di non molto letteratura'—'Politian pense autrement:'—by telling us how Florence forgot the old quarrel with Sixtus IV., how for a moment 'elle se prend d'un *amour tout lyrique* pour Rome;' how she 'felicitated the Papacy in prose and verse;' 'how she crowned Innocent VIII., placed him in her museums, celebrated him in her professors' chairs, and struck medals, *pour éterniser dans ses annales la glorieuse faveur qu'elle en a reçue:*'[2]—then by giving us touching sketches, the product of his own warm sensibilities, of the young cardinal's boyhood, and of the great *literati* who formed him—by showing him as the 'pride of his masters'—affectionately

[1] Lorenzo had strong views on the subject of family claims. The sacred duties incurred by Popes towards their relatives are forcibly stated in the following letter, in which the Grand-Duke expresses his anxiety lest Innocent VIII. should have forgotten them:—

'Others,' he writes, 'have not so long deferred their endeavour to be popes, and have troubled themselves little about the decorum and modesty which your holiness has for so long a time observed. Your holiness is now not only excused in the sight of God and man, but men may perhaps even censure this reserved demeanour, and ascribe it to other motives. *My zeal and duty* render it a *matter of conscience* with me to remind your holiness that no man is immortal; that a pope is of the importance which he chooses to give himself; he cannot make his dignity hereditary: *the honours and the benefits he confers on those belonging to him are all that he can call his own.*'*

With respect to his discharge of these duties, Innocent's conscience must have been at rest; his correspondent's concern for him was more disinterested in appearance than in reality. Lorenzo had a son, who was brother-in-law to the son of the pope.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 27—32.

* Quoted from Fabroni, by Ranke, i. 44.

caressing old Chalcondylas—sportively surprising Ficinus at his lamp, and discoursing sweet music, or sweeter philosophy, with him—or else, as the student of Pisa, '*bon écolier, excellent camarade*,' mixing without pride among 'les enfants du peuple,' and 'gaining such reputation for gravity in the university, that 'Cardinal Farnese recommended the bishop of Pampeluna, who 'came to study canon law, to his patronage:'[1]—and, finally, by telling us, with what éclat he took his doctor's degree; how severe the examination was, and how pleased were the examiners; and with what pomp he received the cardinal's *barrette* at Fiesole; and how his brother pranced up on his charger caparisoned with gold, to embrace him; and how a poet in the frenzy of his joy divined that the noble child would one day be Pope. 'The poet saw into the future, says M. Audin; but wherefore 'did he conceal himself under the name of *Philomus*?'[2]

Such is M. Audin's picture of the early education of Giovanni de' Medici. We must now give the reverse, drawn by no unfavourable hand.

'But whilst it may be presumed that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with the dogmas of the Christian faith. Of the followers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time considered as the chief. He had himself arranged and methodized a system of theology which inculcates opinions very different from those of the Romish church, and in a forcible manner points out the object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible. Hence it is not unlikely that the young cardinal was induced to regard with less reverence those doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief of which is considered as indispensable to the clerical character; and hence he might have acquired such ideas of the Supreme Being, and of the duties of his intelligent creatures, as, in counteracting the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the imputation of indifference in matters of religion. A rigid economy in his household was certainly not one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the example of the father might perhaps counteract his precept in the estimation of the son; whose liberality in future life, too often carried to profusion, reduced him to the necessity of adopting those measures for the supplying his exigencies, which gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the Christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were frequently displayed in the city of Florence, probably derived that relish for similar entertainments which he is said to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with the spectacles of Florence were accompanied, of many of which

[1] Audin, with his love of incident, should not have omitted to say, that this canonical student of law, commended to the young Cardinal elect, was no other than Cæsar Borgia.

[2] Vol. i. p. 78. He might have found his name in Roscoe, Leo X. i. note 212. (Bohn's edit.)

Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.'—*Roscoe, Leo X.* Pp.17, 18.

When M. Audin sees so much to admire and dilate upon in the young Cardinal's boyhood, it is not surprising, that he should give a loose rein to his sensibilities and his fancy when describing his life at Rome.

His first appearance at Rome excited much sensation: we have pictures such as the following, in great profusion:—

'At the consistory, the Cardinals remarked the modest carriage, the brief speech, the noble air of the son of Lorenzo: in the streets, what was most striking was his countenance.

'At that period, when *Form* was on the point of being restored in Italy, we can understand how Giovanni de Medici drew all eyes upon him. He resembled then some of those beautiful statues of youth in its bloom, which Pomponio Leto used so often to find in subterranean Rome.

'Painters, sculptors, and artists in general, who saw him pass, were never tired of contemplating that elastic form, that harmony of feature, that straight and muscular leg, that hand of snow, that Greco-Roman countenance, that azure eye, that strong head reposing on its broad shoulders, that slightly filled lip, and all those beautiful proportions of which the type seemed lost. They dreamed of some divinity who had crossed the seas to light down at Rome, to restore there the worship of Matter—(*le culte de la matière.*) We must pardon them, these admirers of the flesh, their enthusiasm for Form.'[1]—*Audin*, i. p. 84.

He tells us of the young Cardinal's simplicity of life—his early hours—his frugal table, his exquisite neatness of dress. The following picture is drawn a good deal from fancy, but no doubt it is generally correct:—

'Enamoured of the old Latin world, he rose in the morning with the sun, and after having heard mass, he knocked at the door of his still slumbering secretary, whom he awakened with these verses of Ausonius:

"Mane jam clarum reserat fenestras,
Jam strepit nidis vigilax hirundo:
Tu velut primam, mediamque noctem,
Parmeno dormis;"

'And then both of them took their way to some of those vineyards, where excavations were going on—watchful of all the lucky chances which the pickaxe was then opening to explorers. The little statue which reappeared to the light was hailed by a double cry of joy, and often celebrated in the evening by the cardinal and his secretary. After having paid generously for it, they would wash it carefully from the dirt of centuries, and bear it like a relic to the prelate's study, whither, informed of the discovery, soon arrived a crowd of antiquaries, of men of letters, of sculptors, of *savans*, who hunted after its name, found it sometimes, still more often gave one, and sung its resurrection in Greek and Latin poetry.

[1] This description of the Cardinal's person is worked up from a funeral panegyric, by a Roman professor of eloquence.—*Doctor. J. A. Ghibbesii, 'Trismegistus Medicus.'*

Soft delights these—which could not disturb Alexander VI. The Pope had ended by becoming attached to the cardinal: and he had good reason for the young man was a model of virtues. . . . . Thus Medici had soon his little court at Rome, composed of the choicest spirits—*âmes d'élite*, living and discoursing only on ruins, on antiquities, on arts, and letters."—*Audin*, vol. i. 280—283.

And if this easy, and splendid, and pleasant life of gentlemanly dilettantism, very graceful as it may be in a dignified and high-born ecclesiastic, seem hardly to amount to what we look for in a great ecclesiastical character, we are reminded of the great work of the day—'*l'Affranchissement—la Redemption—de la Pensée*,' which was going on in the cabinets and *ateliers* of Rome and Florence.

'Is it not a beautiful sight, that great conspiracy of the literati of the *Renaissance* against ignorance! Holy league, in which are enrolled Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Kings, Dukes, Nobles, Peasants, Craftsmen—each one using the gifts which he has received from above, to fight against the common enemy. In the van of this crusade, the Popes distribute bulls, gold, mitres, and hats of cardinals. Here is the work of Pius II., of Nicolas V., of Sixtus IV. of Innocent VIII. Cardinals solicit for those who cultivate literature the favours of the Holy See; thus do Bessarion, Grimani, Piccolomini, and so many others, whose names we shall mention. Priests often refuse dignities, in order to live in peace in a convent, and there to labour in silence for the improvement of morals.'—*Audin*, i. 111.

'*L'amélioration des mœurs*'—the words rather break the spell of M. Audin's eloquence. The *Renaissance* did much for art, and much for literature; but it was also a time when it was to the credit of a Cardinal of the Church that scandal against him might reasonably be disbelieved.

We will say a word in passing on this subject: for connected with it is one of the worst faults in M. Audin's book. If there is one sin more than another, against which the early Church, and the Middle Age Church also, strove more zealously than another, it was impurity. Men of the world complain of the exaggerated importance, and the unnatural blackness, which they ascribed to it; everything undoubtedly bears witness to the seriousness and depth of their feeling—their ecclesiastical regulations, their institutions of life—their stern, often tremendous, penitences. There is no mistake about their sincerity; there really seems nothing in human life which they are not ready to sacrifice, if thereby they appear likely to secure greater purity. It is so with the Fathers; it is so with the leading Churchmen of the Middle Ages. Rome especially had always claimed to be the champion of holiness. The cause of the Popes, in the days of their struggles with the empire, was the cause of strictness, and on
is now founded one of their most vaunted titles to the rever-
Christendom. But the severity of the early times is really,
oral phenomenon, less astonishing than the laxity of

those of Leo X. The tolerance for licentiousness in writings, and in life, is one of the features of this period which over and over again excites the amazement of a modern reader: it is not merely its corruption, but its insensibility, which is so strange—the cool, easy, indifferent way in which all, from high to low, seem to judge and speak of sins of this kind. Nobody appears to think anything of them: no one's character seems to suffer from a taint of this kind, no one seems to feel that amends or acknowledgment is at any time due for a profligate life, or profligate books:—the Church is silent, and does not interfere. There is scarcely a distinguished man of the period, however amiable, or noble, or refined, about whom we can feel safe that some disgraceful fact may not at any moment turn up against him. In art, in literature, in conduct, it is the same. And further, it is the great and distinguished men of the day—the men who stamp the age as it is passing, and by whom it is remembered afterwards, and remembered in many cases with admiration—who exhibit so recklessly this absence of moral feeling. That same Roman court which had battled with emperors for the cause of purity, and had excommunicated kings for their licentiousness, now regarded such offences, even in its own members, with the most indulgent facility; the profligacy of Cardinals could scarcely be said to outrage public opinion, for it was unrebuked, and had almost established a prescriptive right. To have led an immoral life was no bar to the purple—no one seemed to think that it should be: no, nor even to the throne of St. Peter. When Innocent VIII., or Alexander VI., are elected Popes, no one seems to be even surprised; it passes as an ordinary political change, agreeable to some, disagreeable to others, but a scandal to none; and public opinion is silent, except in the epigrams of literary men of the opposite party, who make it their business and pride to imitate Martial and Juvenal, and to outdo them.

It is one of the worst points, as we have said, in M. Audin's book, that he allows himself to treat this deep corruption so very lightly. He has a right to retort, if he can, its own charges upon Protestantism; he has a right, also, to extenuate and explain, to bring out what is great and striking in the time, and to claim respect for what instances of goodness he finds in it. But he does much more. It cannot be said that he absolutely ignores its licentiousness, for there are occasions when it is forced on his notice; but this we will say, that it makes no more difference in his admiration and panegyric, than it would in that of the most indulgent literary liberal. The recollection of it never seems to restrain or sadden him, or to suggest some measure to the flow and transports of his imaginative mind. He

is glad, of course, when he can, to repel the charge; but when he cannot, he proceeds undisturbed in the work of laudation, maundering on in his way of loose, thin, sugary declamation about the 'beautiful spectacle,' and the 'holy confederacy, of the *Renaissance*'—making interesting, or tender, or romantic pictures of poets and artists, with a gentle regret, or an exculpatory rebuke, or a little mild raillery, or a few grotesque touches of good-natured malice, where he has to do with a particularly disorderly spirit. The worship of brilliancy and splendour, of taste, and feeling, and genius, of keen and graceful wit, of Ciceronian latinity, and Catullian elegance; admiration of the beautiful figures and long hair of young nobles and painters; of the profound raptures and joyful tears of poetical antiquarians over *codices*, and coins, and statues; of literary suppers, and philosophical *causeries* in gardens;—seem to have superseded with M. Audin a regard for the common-place rules of moral judgment. He treats the *Renaissance* with a kind of affectionate indulgence, like a spoilt child, full of spirit and promise, though wild, and sometimes wayward; and, large as is the licence which it claims, he has not the heart to refuse its demands. There can scarcely be a more serious offence in such a writer—a defender of religion and the Church—than thus to trick out a licentious time, and to be seduced, by its intellect or its love of beauty, to invite sympathy for what he dares not call good, by help of the shifts and sentiment of the novel-writer.

When John de' Medici came to Rome, his brother-in-law, Innocent VIII., was Pope. He passed through the pontificate of Alexander VI. in comparative retirement, and came out into public life under Julius II., his own immediate predecessor.

M. Audin writes to make out that the papacy had not, at this time, in any degree, degenerated from its best days; and that, though its outward conduct was altered, it was still pursuing, in the due and natural way, the course suggested by change of times as most beneficial to the Church universal. He will not allow that there was any swerving, or wrong direction—any, even temporary, remissness in the policy of the Popes; and indignantly stops the mouths of Roman catholic critics, who think, with regret, that the Roman court might have taken a higher, and wiser, and more becoming line. Each one of these Popes, according to M. Audin, did exactly what his time required.

Undoubtedly the policy of the Church cannot be immovably
ed in one form, and must alter insensibly with altering,
times; undoubtedly, also, her champions and heroes
f every character, as various as the character of other
e exigences of the time; and the turn of her fortunes

has often pressed into her service men who could not have been expected to be fit for it. Such men have often been misunderstood; their perplexed, and, perhaps, turbulent career, has appeared to set the world's seal upon them, and to give the world a right to claim them for its own for judgment. But they will be sure to bear about them some sign—zeal, or self-forgetfulness, or humility, or love of purity—which, even in kings' palaces and the corruption of courts, or amid the strife of tongues, or under the coat of mail, marks them to belong to the cause of goodness. But it would be hard to find any such tokens among the Popes of M. Audin's history.

The papacy was no longer, in spirit and object, nor yet in power, what it had been. The Popes of the Middle Ages, whether always wisely or not, really watched over religion, and made their vigilance felt: they often fought, and often intrigued; but to resist the monstrous and overshadowing corruptions of feudalism was a sufficient object to give meaning and dignity even to a merely *traditional* cause; and often it was pursued with the highest and most unselfish earnestness. But the great fight of Julius II. and Leo X. was to keep a slippery and unsteady footing among the princes of Italy. Still, acknowledged and honoured as the religious chiefs of Christendom, they had sunk down to the temper and policy of one of those petty, though brilliant provincial courts, which crowded and jostled one another so fiercely in their narrow peninsula: the great idea and venerable cry of ecclesiastical liberty had disappeared, and was ill supplied by the watchword of the 'Patrimony of St. Peter.'

The serious object of the Roman court, from being religious or ecclesiastical, had become a temporal one. It is impossible to say that the maxims and principles of Innocent III. were those of Julius II. or Leo X. The papacy had forgotten at this time its own idea. The charge against it is not merely that there were great disorders and corruptions, such as every system on a large scale, and sometime or other, in the long run, is sure to suffer from. Nay, even still, there was much grandeur in its aspect, and much that was beneficial to Christendom in its influence. But it had left its true position, and had failed in doing its proper work; and, with such perilous prerogatives as it claimed, far more grandeur and far greater benefits would not have been enough to atone for such unfaithfulness to its trust. Like every other prince in Europe, the Popes were establishing their sovereignty by humbling their barons: like every other prince in Italy, they were patronising literature and encouraging art; adding province to province, and city to city; forming leagues and breaking them; building palaces and planting gardens; raising wonderful monuments to their fame; settling the

families; heaping dignities and honours on their friends—till the storm rose suddenly on them, to remind them that the duties of the first bishop of Christendom had not been fulfilled, by balancing its princes against one another, or even by consecrating the genius and magnificence of the age to the honour of the first Apostle. The condemnation of these days of security was pronounced in a way that cannot be gainsaid—and, alas! their effects not remedied—by the too late reforms of Trent, and the order of the Jesuits.

At the death of Innocent VIII. the two Cardinals who had divided between them the power of the Roman court, came into direct collision: Julian de la Rovere, the Cardinal of St. Peter *ad vincula*, had been great under his uncle Sixtus IV., and under the feeble Innocent—'*S. Pier. in Vincula si puo dir esser Papa*,' wrote the Florentine Envoy to Lorenzo, at the time of Innocent's election, '*e più potrà che con Papa Sisto, se se lo saprà mantenere.*'[1] But though he was afterwards to become Julius II. he had to give way to one yet stronger than himself, and more unscrupulous—Roderic Borgia.

Cardinal Borgia was vice-chancellor of the holy see. He held large preferment, and was one of the wealthiest of the College. And he acknowledged, without rebuke or shame, a family of illegitimate children, born during his long cardinalship—several sons and a daughter, whose melancholy celebrity has engaged the sympathy of Mr. Roscoe. But Mr. Roscoe's defence of Lucretia is cold compared with M. Audin's enthusiasm.

M. Audin disclaims attempting a '*rehabilitation*' of Alexander VI.;[2] but, as his French critic[3] justly observes, this is pretty nearly what he has attempted. The mass of scandal against him he sweeps away with a stroke of his pen:—it rests solely on epigrams—on the malignity of Burchard, his Master of Ceremonies,—a man of the North, 'a veritable Teuton, who seeks everywhere to find some fault with the man of the South,'[4] and whose crabbed writing, besides, has very likely been ill-read, or maliciously copied by some protestant decypherer:[5]—and, lastly,

[1] In Roscoe, Lor. de' Med. vol. ii. App. xliv. (8vo. ed.)
[2] Vol. i. p. 301.
[3] Université Catholique, vol. xx. p. 154.
[4] Vol. i. p. 300.
[5] 'Nous voudrions bien savoir comment on doit s'en *rapporter aveuglément au protestant* qui s'est chargé de déchiffrer ce journal,' &c.—Vol. i. p. 304. This is rather desperate. M. Audin might easily have convicted the Protestant copyist: there a dozen MSS. of the 'Diary,' (*v. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* t. xvii. *Notices des MSS. du Roi*, i. 68, *sqq.* referred to by himself.) M. Audin's Burchard is quite misplaced: Burchard was a simple, absurd, of gossipping official, exceedingly proud of his post at court, very etiquette, and who put things down as important, because he saw de Bréquigny says, (*Notices*, i. p. 111,) there is much more *naïveté* a his stories. It is observable that he attributes Alexander's death ses, and not to poison.

on the malevolence of his cotemporaries, and especially the 'Florentine hatred' of Guicciardini. Drawing a distinction between the man and the pope—'il y a deux êtres en lui,'—he allows that the *man* often fell deeply; but, as *pope*, he considers Alexander as a sort of hero-king, who performed in his day noble and admirable works; and dwells on his Italian patriotism, his wise and beneficial policy in putting down the tyranny of the great families of Romagna, and that fine Christian enthusiasm—'*ce beau mouvement de zèle évangélique*,' which prompted him to call upon the sacred college to pay a tenth for the purposes of a crusade against the Turks.

We have not space, nor is it our wish, to go into the intricacies of the secret history of the Borgias—no doubt it is a very dark and perplexed one;—but if Alexander VI. has suffered from slanders, it is equally true that his apologist exhibits, in a most remarkable degree, a readiness to call evil good.

Alexander's election, says Burchard—who was not a mere epigram writer, but a man, necessarily from his position, in the secrets of the palace—was brought about by bribery. Such an event can hardly be said to have been beyond possibility, considering that Julius II., Alexander's successor, and bitter enemy, thought it necessary on his death-bed to issue a constitution against such bribery—one of the most stringent and threatening enactments ever promulgated.[1] M. Audin, without mentioning the charge, indirectly meets it by pointing out the probability that the Cardinals would choose a Pope of strong and energetic character, and then proceeds to set up a witness—as he con-

[1] 'Concil. Later. V.—Sess. 5. Absente per ægritudinem Julio, præsedit Raphael Card. Episc. Ostiensis. Perlecta est Julii constitutio, et a Concilio approbata, non solum districte vetans omnem in creatione R. P. simoniam, sed etiam sic factam electionem abrogans et invalidam declarans, nec ullam sic electo conferre potestatem, ipsosque Cardinales qui sic elegerint esse ipso facto Cardinalatu et aliis quibuscunque dignitatibus et beneficiis absque aliâ declaratione privatos: prætereaque excommunicatione reservatâ irretiri, a quo non nisi summo Pontifice legitime electo possint extra vitæ discrimen solvi: paribusque pœnis subjici omnes et singulos hujusce simoniæ fautores, consiliarios, et proxenetas.—Faxit Deus, ne unquam hujusmodi casus eveniant; si enim, interveniente simoniâ, vigeret ista constitutio, *vel ignota esset ac occulta simonia, et tunc ecclesia credens se alicui in terris capiti subjectam esse, falleretur, essetque Acephala, nullusque valere posset ad P. M. recursus, quo illa nesciens careret: atque quicunque vel censura vel alia reservatione supremæ Sedis essent irretiti, tametsi recurrerent ad putatum et existimatum Pontificem, insolubili adhuc nexu ligati remanerent:* quia recursus fieret ad eum, cui sua electio nullam potest tribuere potestatem, qui est excommunicatus, et ab ipso ecclesiæ corpore divulsus. Si vero illa simonia innotesceret, dici non potest quanta inde pernicies emergeret, illo per factiones sibi Pontificatum sibi asserente—et aliis novam alterius Pontificis electionem efflagitantibus. Quonam quæso, judice, nulli partium suspecto, et cujus sententiæ acquieturi omnes essent, controversia ista dirimeretur?'

Synopsis Conciliorum: auct. R. P. J. Cabassutio, Congreg. Orator. Presbyt. tom. iii. pp. 138-9: Paris, 1838.

siders, an overwhelming one in Borgia's favour—the complimentary inscriptions addressed to him by the Roman populace

'In these difficult times, a man of the character of Alexander might well be regarded as an instrument of Providence. There is, therefore, nothing but what is quite natural in his election: the people sanctioned the choice of the Conclave. In one of the inscriptions which they had extemporised (*improvisées*), they compared the two princes who, with the same name, had borne rule in the Roman world; granting to the one, to Cæsar, only human nature; of the other, making a god:

"Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima: Sextus
Regnat Alexander: ille vir, iste deus."

'In another transparency they said, "Honour and glory to Alexander"—"*Alexandro sapientissimo, Alexandro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo.*"

'These cries of the people at the exaltation of the Pontiff are also those of history. If the Cardinal Roderic had altogether resembled the Borgia of Burchard, *it seems to us that the people would have had the modesty to be silent;* at least, they would not have made a god *of a scandalous character;* they would not have called by the name of the most holy, a priest famous for his profligacy—or else scandals and profligacy were secrets hidden from all eyes; and, in that case, how could Roderic have escaped the eye of those who read through stone walls, and who divine that which they have not seen? This is a phenomenon, of which the historian has a right to demand the explanation.'—Vol. i. p. 157.

Does M. Audin, then, mean that a Cardinal, openly living in adultery—for there is no dispute about this—was not a '*scandalous character?*'

Certainly a writer who puts such faith in popular compliments, ought not to be so contemptuous about epigrams. We fear that he gives the Roman populace of that day more credit for 'shamefacedness' than they deserved.

But M. Audin, without insisting on Alexander's personal excellence, maintains that, making allowances for the manners of the time, he was a great Pope.[1] A great Pope in former days was one who, if he diplomatized with kings, was not afraid to face their enmity in the cause of justice and purity. If Innocent III. treated King John haughtily, he punished Philip of France for his adultery, and forced him to take back his ill-used stranger-wife. In the time of Pope Alexander, a King of France became tired of his wife, whom he had married from fear or policy in less powerful days. She was deformed and unattractive; and his predecessor's widow was young and beautiful, and the heiress, in her own right, of the great Dukes of Brittany. The Pope also had his wishes. His second son, Cæsar Borgia, had been created an Archbishop [illegible] a Cardinal, witnesses swearing that he was the legitimate [illegible] of a Roman gentleman;[2] but his elder brother had perished

[1] Vol. i. p. 288. [2] Peter Martyr Angler. Epist. Ep. 173.

by assassination, and as he was now the head of the family, he wished to exchange the crozier and Cardinal's red hat for a baton and coronet. The King of France had these to give; the Pope had on his side bulls and dispensations; and they exchanged their gifts. 'The Cardinal came one morning into the 'consistory, and besought his father, and the other Cardinals, 'that, *considering he had never had his mind inclined to the 'sacerdotal profession*, they would grant him power to lay aside 'the dignity and the habit, and to follow that exercise to which he 'was drawn by the Fates.'[1] Leave was given; and, having assumed the secular habit, he carried to France the bulls of dispensation, and the Cardinal's hat which he had laid aside for the King's favourite. The deformed Queen was put away; Louis XII. married Anne of Brittany, and Cæsar Borgia came back Duke of Valentinois, a baron of Dauphiny, at the head of his hundred lances, to look out for a rich heiress, and to found a house in Romagna, on the ruins of the Orsini and Colonna.

But M. Audin still considers that Alexander VI. did a great work, and one peculiarly befitting a Pope at his day. 'He made Romagna quiet,' he says. It was of great importance that the papal states should not be disturbed by turbulent and perfidious nobles. Accordingly, this great papal work turns out to be the *extermination of them*, and 'Cæsar Borgia was the 'instrument which he made use of to chastise the treason of his 'vassals.'[2] M. Audin gives us the portrait of Borgia, and exclaims—'La devise de Borgia est magnifique: *Aut Cæsar aut nihil.*'

Of these 'chastisements,' which M. Audin thinks that the necessities of the time and the position of the Papacy *almost* justified in the *Pope*, though not in the man, we will give an instance, which made much noise, even in Italy, and has been recorded by one who was almost an eye-witness, if not an abettor.

The following is the title of a short work of Machiavelli:—*Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nello Ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo et il Duca de Gravina Orsini.* These were certain allies of Cæsar's who had lately taken alarm at his increasing greatness, and had quarrelled with him. We quote from an old English translation.

'The news of that defeat put the duke upon new counsels, to try if he could stop that humour by any practice of accord; and being excellent at dissembling, he omitted nothing that might persuade them that they were the aggressors, and had taken up arms first against him: that what was in his hands he would willingly surrender; and if they pleased, the principality should be theirs; and he deluded them so far, that they sent Signor Pagolo to

[1] Guicciardini, lib. iv. p. 257. Peter Martyr Angler. Ep. 178.
[2] Vol. i. pp. 294, 295.

him to treat about a peace, and in the mean time granted a cessation of arms. Whilst these things were in transaction, a supply of 500 lances arrived to him from France: and though by their help he found himself strong enough to confront his enemy in the field, yet he judged it more secure and profitable to go on with the cheat, and not break off the capitulation that then was on foot. And he acted it so well, that a peace was concluded; their old pensions confirmed, 4000 ducats paid down, a solemn engagement given not to disturb the Bentivogli; he made an alliance with Giovanni, and declared that he could not, and had no power to constrain any of them to come personally to him, unless they pleased to do it themselves. They promised on their part to restore the duchy of Urbino, and whatever else they had taken from him; to serve him in all his enterprises; not to make war without his leave; nor hire themselves to anybody else.

'But Duke Valentine having finished the agreement, and disposed his army into quarters all over Romagna, about the end of November, removed from Imola to Cesena, where he continued several days in consultation with certain commissioners sent from the Vitelli and Ursini, (who were then with their troops in the duchy of Urbino,) about what new enterprize they were next to undertake. And because nothing was concluded, Oliverotto da Fermo was sent to propose to him, if he thought good, an expedition into Tuscany; if not, that they might join, and set down before Sinigaglia. The duke replied, That the Florentines were his friends, and he could not with honour carry the war into Tuscany; but their proposal for Sinigaglia he embraced very willingly. Having beleaguered the town, it was not long before they had news it was taken, but the castle held out, for the governor refused to surrender to any body but the duke, whereupon they intreated him to come. The duke thought this a fair opportunity, and the better because he went not of himself, but upon their invitation; and to make them the more secure, he dismissed his French, and sent them back into Lombardy (only he retained a hundred lances under the command of his kinsman, Monsieur de Candale).

'Departing about the end of December from Cesena he went to Fano, where, with all the cunning and artifice he could use, he persuaded the Vitelli and Ursini to stay with the army till he came; remonstrating to them that such jealousies and suspicions as those must needs weaken their alliance, and render it undurable; and that for his part he was a man who desired to make use as well of the counsels as the arms of his friends. And though Vitellozzo opposed it very much, (for by the death of his brother he had been taught how unwise it was to offend a prince first, and then put himself into his hands,) nevertheless persuaded by Paolo Ursino (who underhand was corrupted by presents and promises from the duke) he consented to stay. Hereupon the duke upon his departure the 30th of December, 1502, imparted his design to eight of his principal intimates (amongst whom Don Michael, and Monsignor d'Euna were two,) and appointed, that when Vitellozzo, Pagolo Ursini, the Duke de Gravina, and Oliverotto should come to meet him, two of his favourites should be sure to order it so, as to get one of the Ursini betwixt them, (assigning every couple his man,) and entertain them till they came to Sinigaglia; with express injunction not to part with them upon any terms till they were brought to the duke's lodgings, and taken into custody.

'The Vitelli and Ursini, having concluded to attend the duke themand to pay their personal respects, to make room for his men had their own, and disposed them into certain castles at the distance les; only they had left in Sinigaglia, Oliverotto with a party of 0 foot, and 150 horse, which were quartered in the said Bourg. ing in this order, duke Valentine approached, but when his horse came up to the bridge they did not pass; but opening to the right

and left, and wheeling away, they made room for the foot, who marched immediately into the town. Vitellozzo, Pagolo, and the Duke de Gravina, advanced upon their mules to wait upon Duke Valentine; Vitellozzo was unarmed, in a cape lined with green, very sad and melancholy, as if he had had some foresight of his destiny, which, considering his former courage and exploits, was admired by everybody: and it is said, that when he came from his house, in order to meeting Duke Valentine at Sinigaglia, he took his last leave very solemnly of every body. He recommended his family and its fortunes to the chief of his officers, and admonished his grandchildren, not so much to commemorate the fortune, as the magnanimity, of their ancestors.

'These three Princes being arrived in the presence of Duke Valentine, saluted him with great civility, and were as civilly received; and each of them, (as soon as they were well observed by the persons appointed to secure them) were singled, and disposed betwixt two of them. But the duke perceiving that Oliverotto was wanting, (who was left behind with his regiment, and had drawn it up in the market-place for the greater formality,) he winked upon Don Michael (to whom the care of Oliverotto was assigned) that he should be sure to provide he might not escape. Upon this intimation, Don Michael clapped spurs to his horse, and rid before, and being come up to Oliverotto, he told him it was inconvenient to keep his men to their arms, for unless they were sent presently to their quarters, their lodgings would be occupied by the duke's men; wherefore he persuaded him to dismiss them, and go with him to the duke. Oliverotto following his counsel, went along with him to the duke, who no sooner saw him, but he called him to him, and Oliverotto having paid his ceremony, fell in with the rest.

'Being come into the town, and come up to the duke's quarters, they all dismounted, and attended him up, where being carried by him into a private chamber, they were instantly arrested and made prisoners. The duke immediately mounted, and commanded their soldiers should be all of them disarmed; Oliverotto's party being so near at hand, were plundered into the bargain ....

'The night coming on, and the tumults appeased, the duke began to think of his prisoners, resolved Vitellozzo and Oliveretto should die, and having caused them to be guarded into a convenient place, he commanded they should be strangled. But they said nothing at their deaths that was answerable to their lives; for Vitellozzo begged only that the Pope might be supplicated in his behalf, for a plenary indulgence. Oliverotto impeached Vitellozzo, and laid all upon his back. Pagolo and the Duke de Gravina were continued alive, till the duke had information that his Holiness at Rome had seised upon the Cardinal Orsini, the archbishop of Florence, and Messer Jacopo da Santa Croce; upon which news, on the 18th of January, they also were both strangled in the castle of Pieve, after the same manner.'

'Here finishes,' concludes the imperturbable narrator, 'the 'description of the manner which Duke Valentine took to 'slay Vitellozzo,' &c.

M. Audin, without justifying this, thinks that it was the way to emancipate the Popedom.

'If, like this fatalist historian, we might estimate an action by its beneficial influence, we ought to express our satisfaction, without a murmur, at these stern blows which Cæsar Borgia struck at some of the Orsini family; but crime, whether profitable or not to society, is ever a violation of the divine laws. It is certain that these vicars of the Holy See, so miserably

assassinated, were an obstacle to that unity, of which Italy stood in such pressing need, in order that she might drive out the stranger—that they contributed by their revolt against Alexander, to the conquest of the country—that they lent aid and protection to the French monarch—that *shackled by them, the papacy could not fulfil its duties, either as a spiritual or as a temporal kingdom.* . . . Most of their fiefs they held by the grace of the Sovereign of Rome, and they used his gifts to sell and betray him. *When they pleased they could starve the Pope, the Cardinals,* and the inhabitants of Romagna.'—Vol. i. p. 299.

An opposite view was certainly taken at the time, by one who knew Cæsar Borgia well, and entertained a high respect for his talents and strength of will. These are the reflections of Machiavelli on the objects and probable results of Borgia's proceedings.

'Pope Alexander the Sixth had a desire to make his son Duke Valentine great, but he saw many blocks and impediments in the way, both for the present and the future.' . . . .

The historian enumerates these obstacles, and how they were partly got over, and then proceeds:—

'The duke finding himself powerful enough, and secure against present danger, being himself as strong as he desired, and his neighbours in a manner reduced to an incapacity of hurting him, being willing to go on with his conquests, there remained nothing but a jealousy of France; and not without cause, for he knew that king had found his error at last, and would be sure to obstruct him. Hereupon he began to look abroad for new allies, and to vacillate towards France; as appeared when the French army advanced into the kingdom of Naples against the Spaniards, who had besieged Cajeta. His great design was to secure himself against the French, and he had doubtless done it if Alexander had lived. These were his provisions against the dangers that were imminent, but those that were remote were more doubtful and uncertain. The first thing he feared was, lest the *next Pope should be his enemy,* and *reassume all that Alexander had given him,* to prevent which he proposed *four several ways.* The first was by destroying the whole line of those lords whom he had dispossessed, that his Holiness might have no occasion to restore them; the second was to cajole *the nobility in Rome, and draw them over to his party, that thereby he might put an awe and restraint upon the Pope;* the third was, if possible to *make the college his friends;* the fourth was to *make himself so strong before the death of his father, as to be able to stand upon his own legs,* and repel the first violence that should be practised against him. Three of these four expedients he had tried before Alexander died, and was in a fair way for the fourth; all the disseized lords which came into his clutches he put to death, and left few of them remaining: he had insinuated with the nobility of Rome, and got a great party in the college of Cardinals, and as to his own corroboration, he had designed to make himself master of Tuscany, had got possession of Perugia and Piombino already, and taken Pisa into his protection. . . . .

'But his father died five years after his son had taken up arms, and left him nothing solid, and in certainty, but Romagna only, and the rest were *in nubibus,* infested with two formidable armies, and himself mortally sick. This duke was a man of that *magnanimity and prudence, understood so well which way men were to be wheedled, or destroyed, and such were the foundations that he had laid in a short time, that had he not had those two*

great armies upon his back, and a fierce distemper upon his body, he had overcome all difficulties, and brought his designs to perfection.

'He told me himself, about the time that Julius II. was created, that he had considered well the accidents that might befal him upon the death of his father, and provided against them all, only he did not imagine that at his death he should be so near it himself. Upon serious examination, therefore, of the whole conduct of Duke Valentine, I see nothing to be reprehended; it seems rather proper to me to propose him (as I have done) as an example for the imitation of all such as by the favour of fortune, or the supplies of other princes, have got into the saddle; for his mind being so large, and his intentions so high, he could not do otherwise, and nothing could have opposed the greatness and wisdom of his designs, but his own infirmity, and the death of his father.'[1]

And for these times M. Audin does not condescend to the figure, half-admission, half-apology, which he applies, after Baronius, to the tenth century—that our Lord was asleep in the bark of Peter:—for Alexander VI. and his 'truly royal 'qualities,'[2] he claims an historical grandeur.

Julius II. is certainly a relief after Alexander VI. At least he was a great man;—undisciplined as the wild sea, and one who in less evil times would have been thought a scandal to the smallest cure in Christendom—but if the Roman Pontiff was to play the king, it was as well to have one who could play his part with grandeur. He schemed and fought, but not for the sole object of setting up in the world his own base-born and abandoned son. He provided one nephew with a dukedom, and kept up his own Cardinal's title, *S. Peter ad Vincula*, in his own family—giving it to two of his other nephews successively, both of them men of honourable character—and then he devoted himself to strengthen the dominions of the Roman See.

M. Audin feels the effect of the change of scene. Julius is the 'Moses of Italy,' capable of any thing—'he might have been a great general, a great artist, even a Napoleon;' and, following the hint of M. de Maistre,[3] he enlarges on the 'great idea' of the Pope—the independence of Italy.

'Not one of these sovereigns, national or foreign, gives a serious thought to the interests of the Holy See, the integrity of Romagna, the deliverance of Italy, the glory of Catholicism, the preservation of arts and literature. Julius II. towers above all these crowned heads, as the cupola of St. Peter's above the spires of other churches. He has an object, a plan, an idea:—the emancipation of his country, which is invaded, and which he wishes to save. Talk not to us of his ambition: is it not sanctified by the end he has before him?—we may be told that Julius loved too well the helmet and breast-plate; that he wielded too well the sword; that he remained too long on horseback;—this is possible; this is written not only in history, but on the marble, on the bronze, on the canvass. But let us confess, that the noblest work that ever monarch can attempt on behalf of a people—the salvation of its nationality—could not have been accomplished

[1] Machiavelli, 'The Prince,' c. vii. pp. 207, 208. London, 1680.
[2] Vol. i. p. 300. [3] Du Pape, l. ii. c. 7.

by one of those cold and feeble natures, equally without defects as without virtues.'—*Audin*, vol. i. pp. 350—352.

We confess that this is to us rather provoking. There is always a satisfaction in seeing a man work his post well, whatever that post is: it is pleasant to see a general command his army well, or a captain fight his ship well, or a jockey ride his horse well. And as an Italian prince, we have always felt much admiration for the spirit, and indomitable courage, and magnificent designs of Julius. During his long life, thirty-two years of which he had been Cardinal, he had seen the Papacy go on as a temporal power: he had himself commanded armies, defended garrisons, formed and broken alliances, in the Pope's name and his own. He had seen Rome governed by a weak hand and a strong—interposing, with success and without success, in the broils and fights of the Italian and foreign powers. When he became Pope he resolved to make the throne, and the state which he had gained, as great as he could: and under him the political power of the Roman State was felt with a new and unusual force. '*Vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo*,' wrote the Venetian envoy in his strange idiom. The French at Milan—the Baglioni and Bentivogli at Perugia and Bologna,—were considerable impediments to this—the French besides were '*Barbari*,' he hated them with a good Italian hatred, and Pope Julius was even more than an ordinary Italian hater. And so he did his best to put down 'the tyrants,' and to drive the *barbarians* out of Italy. But when M. Audin talks about 'his patriotism taking its source in religion,'—about his 'making himself a soldier only that he might the better adorn 'his spouse, the Church, with gold and diamonds'[1]—and would persuade us that if his pontificate had not been so turbulent, he 'would have set about the reform of the clergy,'[2] we are reminded that he was able to be a great man, just because, as spiritual Head of Christendom, he left his first duties utterly neglected.

Even his political greatness has many blots. M. Audin is for ever ringing the changes on the 'independence of Italy;' even Alexander VI. deserves credit for having aimed at the independence of Italy—and still greater glory is due to Julius. But before he made so much of Julius's struggle with the intruding strangers, he should have remembered that, as he has told us himself,[3] it was *Cardinal Julian*, who, when the Holy See was in the hands of a personal enemy, fled to the court of France, and there was the first to tempt and allure the *Barbarians* into Italy, and to persuade them to attack the Pope

[1] pp. 364, 365. [2] Vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.
[3] vol. i. pp. 162, 163; also Roscoe, Leo X. vol. i. note 88. (Bohn's edit.)

— that it was *Pope Julius*, too, who leagued with the German, the French, and the Spaniard at Cambray, *to partition Italy with them*, as the price of the destruction of Venice. In those days unfaithfulness to promises and treaties was not much thought of; but Julius was preeminently unscrupulous. The man who could take in Cæsar Borgia,[1] and cow him by superior wiliness and audacity, could be no bad proficient in dissimulation. He forms the league of Cambray with France against Venice, and excommunicates the Republic; when he has secured Romagna he deserts his ally, and forms the *Holy League* with Venice against France.[2] After the defeat of Ravenna he is ready to make peace with Louis; but, while the treaty is waiting his own signature, he tells the ambassadors of Spain and Venice that he only meant 'to gain time and impose upon the king;'[3] and so the event proved. This would be sharp practice in a Bentivoglio or a Sforza, or any of the other crafty princes of Italy; but it is a very serious charge against the spiritual guide of Christendom, even if he be a professedly warrior Pope.

Julius II. was, no doubt, a great man; but instead of being a great Pope, it is far more likely that his pontificate did more even than the personal wickedness of Alexander VI. to injure the Roman See. He plunged it, without remorse, into the very thick of the political game. Even those days were startled at his unrestrained secularity. He left nothing undone to make the Church appear as a mere power of the world. Wielding St. Peter's keys, he forgot to use them against the abandoned men—nobles and churchmen—who haunted the Roman court; he only thought of excommunication as a cheap and ready weapon against a doomed state or a restive ally. It is no wonder that his antagonists thought of a Council as a political instrument against him. A schism was not at that time so strange and dreaded a thing in the churches of the Roman obedience as it has become since the Reformation alarmed them: and abler men might have given Julius trouble. He was unecclesiastical, even in his magnificent use of art at Rome. The regal mausoleum, the gigantic Basilica, and the proud and simple inscription on its foundation stone,[4] speak of the severe and imperial mind of their projector; but speak also of the lofty grandeur of the prince far more than of

[1] Roscoe, Leo X. c. vii. Sismondi, Rep. Ital. xii. 260.
[2] Roscoe, Leo X. c. viii. [3] Roscoe, Leo X. i. 269. From Bembo. Ist. Venet.
[4] ÆDEM PRINCIPIS APOSTOLORUM
IN VATICANO
VETUSTATE ET SITU
SQUALENTEM
A FUNDAMENTIS
RESTITUIT JULIUS LIGUR.
PONT. MAX. AN. MDVI.

Audin, vol. i. p. 385.

the religion of the churchman. When the Cardinals lamented the destruction of the old Basilica—the venerated building of Constantine, hallowed by so many sacred sepulchres, and the scenes of such great events—the Pope ordered its demolition without emotion.[1] He had no sighs or thoughts for the past. 'Julius the Ligurian' was the man of the present—of his own time; it was at once the cause of his faults and of his greatness, that he so thoroughly represented its spirit. There was no veil, no pretence, about his character; he never condescended to disguise his objects; but his very frankness and bold openness show how little it cost a Pope then to be unreservedly secular.

M. Audin's parting reflections read like bitter sarcasm. Speaking of Francis the First's saying, 'that Julius would have been a better General than Pope,' he says—

'It is a judgment that we do not accept. Julius II. was a still greater Pope than he was warrior. If to know how to protect the rights of authority menaced by some schismatical cardinals—to defend in a council the teaching of the apostles—if to call none but men of science and piety to his councils—to give to the world an example of irreproachable chastity of life—if to watch without ceasing over the administration of justice—to keep his plighted faith—to pardon his enemies—to trust in God in adversity—to give alms—to love the poor—to be careful of the public treasure, and never to divert a farthing of it to the benefit of his own friends—and at last, to die as a Christian ought—if all this is to be a good Pope, Julius II. was worthy of the tiara.'—*Audin*, i. 425, 426.

The great and proud old Italian deserves something better than this formal and untrue eulogy of a sentimental Frenchman.

It was the glory of Italy and the vision of a great kingdom which haunted him to the last. 'My dear brother,' he wrote to his nephew, 'you do not understand why I weary myself 'so when my life is spent. I do it to reunite *our common* '*country under a single master, and he ought to be perpetually* '*the Roman Pontiff.* That which harasses me (*cio che mi* '*strazia*), is the thought of not being able to compass so much 'for *the glory of Italy* as my heart conceives of. *Oh, se avessi* '*venti anni di meno!* But I fear that my pains and toils 'have been thrown away.'[2] He died with dignity among his Cardinals, almost in public. His words were calm, and his directions precise. Because, he said, he had been a great sinner, and had not governed the Churches as he ought, he wished less expense to be used at his funeral; but there was no weakness or quailing about the old man—all was spoken with majesty—'*Latino sermone, graviter et pontificaliter, in plurali loquendo.*'[3]

'*Vivant vigeantque juniores,*' cried Cardinal Alfonzo Petrucci,'

[1] Audin, vol. i. p. 384.
Letter in a MS. journal of Paris de Grassis. Audin, vol. i. p. 426.
[2] Paris de Grassis, in Raynald. a. 1513. No. viii.
[3] Raynald, vol. xii. ann. 1513. No. 15.

to the Roman people, when he announced to them the election of Leo X. Three years afterwards, Cardinal Petrucci found that even under Leo, the *juniores* could not have all they wished —money did not flow in fast enough, his retinue was not sufficiently great—and he joined with the oldest of the Cardinals, Riario, the former accomplice of the Pazzi, and three others of the college, in a plot to destroy the Pope by one of the most hideous devices that ever man thought of;—for which he was strangled in St. Angelo. But his hearty *viva* now, expressed without doubt the feeling at Rome. The old age of roughness and war was gone with old Pope Julius, and a new one was to begin under the affable and accomplished young nobleman of Florence—a brilliant age of refinement, of easy and splendid enjoyment, of peace and indulgent mildness. Unspeakable were the triumphs and rejoicings with which the new Pontificate was inaugurated. The Reverend Father, Paris de Grassis, master of the ceremonies, the usual reciter of such events, was too fully occupied to be able to record much; but his place was supplied by a certain Florentine Doctor Giovan Giacomo Penni, a ragged but humorous man,[1] who surveyed the splendid show on foot, and has left us a full description. It is in Mr. Roscoe, and still more fully in M. Audin:—there were crowds of Italian princes on palfreys, and ecclesiastics on mules shod with gold, and still greater crowds of their major-duomos and footmen,—velvet and plumes, jewels and brocade, streamers and banners and white wands, triumphal arches, allegories and statues, heathen and Christian,—the Pope under a silk canopy, riding the white charger he had mounted on the disastrous day of Ravenna,[2]—and last of all, the ragged doctor, and the ragged populace in swarms innumerable, shouting, '*Palle, Palle.*'[3] No doubt a glorious and dazzling spectacle, though a warm one, on an August day in Rome. '*Mars fuit; est Pallas; Cypria semper ero,*' said one of the inscriptions; and when the hasty effusions of the people were over, the poets poured forth their more elaborate and prolonged compliments, and sung the returning age of Astræa:—

> 'Now comes the happier age, so long foretold,
> When the true pastor guards his favoured fold;
> Soon shall the streams with honied sweetness flow,
> And truth and justice fix their seats below:
> Retiring Mars his dreadful anger cease,
> And all the world be hushed in lasting peace.'[4]

[1] 'At the end,' he writes, 'came my Magnificence. I alone cut a sorry figure, in the midst of all these notabilities: I resembled the mule of Zachariah. I had hose on, one of them with holes in it, and the other torn: I was alone, without lacqueys, without blazonries, and on foot.'—*Qu. by Audin*, i. 444.

[2] And on which he is painted in the 'Expulsion of Attila.'

[3] The arms and cry of the Medici.

[4] L. Parmenius Genesius. Transl. by Roscoe, Leo X. i. 337.

M. Audin has a singular propensity, while he shows a very proper distrust of Italian epigrams, to believe in Italian congratulatory inscriptions. The key to his view of Leo X. is in fact one of these felicitations. A merchant of Florence had written up on a triumphal arch,

'*Leoni X. Restitutori Religionis, Pacis, et Artium.*'

On this the author observes with some grandeur:—

'The merchant had understood and divined Leo X. It was 'exactly to these three great works that he was intending to 'devote himself, when he mounted the throne. Protestantism 'has misunderstood this Pontiff: it makes him only a man 'of art, to whom it condescends to grant some praise. But it 'is in this triple life of Pope, of Sovereign, and of lover of 'Art, that we mean to study him. . . . Of the Catholic reader, 'blinded, perhaps, by fatal prejudices, drawn from the writings 'of separatists, we ask but one thing—to yield their belief to 'nothing but facts: facts are the poetry of the historian.' *Audin*, i. 461, 462.

The scene had certainly changed. Leo had none of the old Pope's fierce temper and love of fighting; he was not a man to hang up votive cannon-balls in gratitude for his escape in the batteries, or to ride into a captured town, sword in hand, through the breach: he was like his wise father, a man of peace. The contrast was great between the two Popes:—between the old hard-featured, white-bearded veteran, who had been tossed about the world for the greatest part of a century, since as a boy he pulled his boat between Arbizuola and Genoa[1]—with his burning ambition, and rude, stammering, hesitating tongue—imperious, inflexible, and like a volcano in his rage:—and on the other hand, the sleek, smooth-faced nobleman of thirty-seven, with his double chin, and fair white hand, and somewhat portly person,[2] mirthful and courtly, with his musical voice, and Florentine elegance of address—nursed from his childhood in wealth and ease; whose only exile had been a pleasant 'literary tour' through Europe, and only hardship, to be for a short time an honoured prisoner of war—so varied and easy, and witty in conversation; so indulgent and condescending, so open-handed, so conciliating, so frank and affable, so gentle in temper. '*Pour le Pape*,' says his admiring biographer, who now feels himself beyond the

[1] Audin, i. 362.

[2] M. Audin thus describes Raphael's famous picture—'C'est bien là, cette figure 'de Medicis, au coloris tout Vénitien; ces chairs blanches et mates de tous les 'hommes de sa race: cet œil myope, qui semble échapper de son orbite: ce front 'd'une pureté limpide: cette large tête, reposant sur deux épaules évasées: ces mains, 'un peu trop féminines, aux doigtes ornés de camées antiques; et dans tous les 'traits cet air d'angélique honté, qui charmait tous qui avaient le bonheur de 'l'approcher, avant même qu'il eût pu les séduire par le doux son de voix que les 'tes de l'époque comparaient à de la musique.'—Vol. ii. p. 551.

region of apology, and can expatiate in unqualified panegyric—'*pour le Pape, aimer est un besoin; il dit à tout le monde, je vous aime.*'[1] All is kindness and reconciliation. Machiavelli is let out from prison, and is soon to be consulted about giving a constitution to Florence; the exiled rival of the Medici, Pier Soderini, is benignantly invited to Rome; the kings of Europe, especially the young and clever King of England,[2] are complimented with blended tenderness, dignity, and address: even to the hostile King of France, stubborn and insensible as he is, he sends messages of the most winning persuasion, and moving affection,[3]—the Pope's letters, to whomsoever he writes, breathe 'in every line a fresh perfume of charity.'[4] Even the schismatical Cardinals of the Council of Pisa, whom Julius, in his wrath, would have crushed to the earth, are received with a kindness and a lenity, which surprises themselves, and shocks old men like the Cardinal of Sion, Matthew Schinner, tough, stern men of war, like their late master. The offenders have to make an apology, which is lightened by the 'benignant looks,' and 'gentle raillery,' and 'tender embrace' of the Pope,[5] and then receive back their full honours, with only the light penance of a monthly fast: their secretary also, who was a poet, and had lampooned Pope Julius, 'wept his fault, and besought forgiveness, in prose and verse;' and received from Julius' placable and literary successor at once his pardon and his forfeited Doctorship.[6] If Julius' mission had been one of vengeance, Leo's was to restore and heal.

Such was undoubtedly the course which Leo had traced out for himself, and which gives occasion to such an exuberant flow of eulogy to his biographer. The restless and fiery craving for Italian supremacy had gone out in Rome. But if Leo was a a Medici in his love of peace, he was a Medici also in his love of family. This feeling, which actuated him so strongly both as Cardinal and as Pope, is put by M. Audin with some *naïveté*, and in rather a touching light. Speaking of his life at Rome, when a Cardinal, he says:—

'He did not, however, lose sight of the interests of his family. He had but one thought—the re-establishment of the Medici. Lucretia, his sister, laboured with success at Florence at this entirely filial work. She was a

[1] Vol. i. 467. [2] Audin, i. 465.

[3] Cf. Audin, i. 467, 468, with Roscoe, Leo X. i. 307. (Bohn's ed.)

[4] Vol. i. 467.

[5] Vide Audin, ii. 6.—The sentiment of the scene is entirely due to M. Audin. 'His *doux regards*,' and '*paroles de douceur*,' &c. are not found in *Paris de Grassis*, who gives a very business-like turn to the matter, and tells us of the various shifts of the offenders, to preserve their dignity during their humiliation, which the vigilant master of the ceremonies had some difficulty in disconcerting; '*quæ cum postea intellexisset Papa, risit mirabiliter cum Cardinalibus.*'

[6] Audin, ii. 9.

woman of exemplary character, of a noble courage, whose words were as admirable as her conduct. More than one conversion was owing to her. . . . . It rested with the Cardinal to choose the moment to overthrow the Gonfalonier Soderini. Meanwhile his conduct was skilful: no one could dream that he took any interest in the affairs of Florence. His friends were almost all painters, sculptors, musicians, artists,—people who do not usually excite suspicion. Politics were banished from his saloons: and they discussed only, as at the Court of Urbino, the pre-eminence of painting or sculpture, the nature of the beautiful, the rules of colouring and design. . . . . If he received his partisans with warmth, he had no bitter word even for his avowed adversaries: at the farthest, he only allowed himself in some of those pleasantries in which he was so accomplished a master,—keen as a needle, but which grazed without tearing. When he came to speak of Lorenzo, he was eloquent with all a son's enthusiasm. Then he called up, as in a magnificent picture, all those noble antique minds which his father had introduced to the Italian world, that "pack of manuscript-hunters," whom he maintained at great expense in the East: the little honey-suckle bower, beneath which Politian wrote his *Sylva*, &c. &c. When by chance the conversation turned on his brother Piero, the unhappy exile, tears started in the Cardinal's eyes, and, in a voice broken by sobs, he described the bitterness which the land of banishment has for the patriot soul: then he recited some lines of Dante, while his hearers pressed in emotion around him, and showed by silent signs how they sympathised with his fraternal grief.'—*Audin*, vol. i. 316—320.

This is very amiable, and not at all unnatural in a nobleman. Nor, as things were then, was it at all unnatural that as Pope, and with increased power, he should pursue the same object. It was not unnatural that he should act on his wise father's maxims, which we have quoted above, and remember, as his family enemy Sixtus, and his own patron, Innocent, had done, that a Pope's dignity and power is but a life interest, and that the patronage which it confers is all that he can secure for himself. It was not unnatural, therefore, that his four first cardinals should be his own relations or adherents;[1] it was not unnatural, that after the precedent of Alexander VI. he should have his uncle's natural son declared legitimate, in order to promote him to the purple;[2] it was not unnatural that he should establish one of his nephews in a Roman principality, by expelling—at once by excommunication and cannon—the late Pope's nephew,[3] its previous occupant, who had extended his dominions in much the same way; it was not unnatural that he should ally himself with great houses, and seek among the princesses and dukedoms of France for wives and titles for his

[1] Roscoe, Leo X. i. 325.

[2] Ib. p. 326, and note 229. On evidence, attesting a promise of marriage, 'Leo 'declared Giulio de Medici "legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio inter Julianum 'Medic. et Florettam Antonii natum fuisse et esse: eumque pro legitimo et ex 'legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in omnibus, et per omnia, pleno jure, vere et 'non ficte, haberi et reputari," &c.'

[3] Francesco-Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. Roscoe, ii. 55, *seq.*

brother and nephew ;[1] it was not unnatural that he should use his opportunity to rivet fast the power of his family in Florence, and to found in his father's city a great and permanent dynasty. In all this there was no innovation; if it was in the blood of a Medici to do it, the fashion had gone on for many years before him. But it scarcely falls in with the middle-age notions of a great Pope. And certainly these transactions do not appear in such prominence in M. Audin's narrative; they come in only so far as they display Leo's warmth of heart.

But though Leo had given up the grand and systematic designs of Julius, to avoid war, in the then state of Italy, was not easy. Julius had boldly met and faced it: Leo's expedient for staving it off was certainly more ecclesiastical and more useful to Christendom. For many a long year the popes had been preaching to the kings, to give up their wars and unite against the Turks. It was a wise and a Christian part. The idea and object of the crusade had indeed changed; it was now a defensive war, to repel invasion, and the object was not the sepulchre of our Lord, but the capital of the Turks in Europe. It was suggested rather by fear than by religion. Still, it was for the good and for the union of Christendom. Leo took up the crusade with zeal; and the perseverance and ardour with which he strove to the last to unite the princes of Europe against the Turks, form one of the most prominent and the most creditable features in his policy. Ægidius of Viterbo preached the Holy War at the opening of the Council of Lateran, begun under Julius II., and continued under Leo.

'Ægidius,' says M. Audin, 'weeps, prays, implores the compassion of Christendom, and, like those who have gone before him, prophesies the ruin of man and of humanity, if his voice be not heard. Julius II., as Nicholas V., Callixtus III., Pius II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., promises indulgences—for he has no other treasures to give—to him who will take the Cross against the Turk.'—*Audin*, vol. ii. 430.

M. Audin, as his way is frequently, contrives to make his praise read like very ill-natured irony; but this by the way. With Leo, the Turkish war was undoubtedly a serious object; and we have no reason for doubting that it was so, for its own sake, and for the behoof of the Church; but it was also his favourite expedient, though not a successful one, for keeping the French and Germans out of Italy; and he combined with this, when he found it likely to fail, the less paternal device of setting them on one against another, and joining each successively, as he found the balance required it.

[1] Giuliano, his brother, married the aunt of Francis I., and was called Duke of Nemours; his nephew, Lorenzo, married another relative of the French royal family, Madeleine de la Tour.

The effect is perfectly astounding, when the reader comes fresh from M. Audin's pictures of Leo's 'angelic sweetness' and ecclesiastical majesty, to the spectacle exhibited in the matter-of-fact pages of Roscoe, or even Raynaldus, of keen intrigue, of imperturbable falsehood, and, when necessary, of smiling and finished craft, modelled with the most fearful accuracy on that of Cæsar Borgia. Julius, in the prosecution of his impossible, though brilliant dream, the independence of Italy, broke treaties with the most consummate indifference: but treachery was not his natural weapon. In the game of profligate selfishness and dissimulation, then played so hotly and deep among the potentates of Europe, Leo's diplomacy was pre-eminent for its daring deceitfulness, and with Leo the 'independence of Italy'—the expulsion of the French from Milan—was but another name for pensions, and principalities, and dukedoms for the branches, legitimate or illegitimate, of the house of the Medici.[1] Let any one turn only to Roscoe's account of the intrigues which were going on just before Leo's death; and if he wishes to see them in more shameful detail, he may find them in *Raynaldus*.[2] Through his smooth-tongued, agreeable, elegant envoys in France, the Pope makes a treaty with France, *to seize and partition Naples*; at the same moment, he is concluding a treaty with Charles V. to drive the French out of Milan. The following narrative from Roscoe, Leo's admirer and very lenient judge, recalls the tragedy of Sinigaglia:—

'The city of Perugia was governed by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who, if we may believe contemporary historians, was a monster of iniquity and impiety; but the cruelty with which he exercised his usurped authority, rendered him no less an object of dread, than his other crimes did of horror. Acting on those maxims which he appears to have adopted on other occasions, and which, however fallacious, have found apologists in subsequent times, Leo conceived that against such an offender, every species of treachery was justifiable. Pretending, therefore, that he wished to consult with Baglioni on affairs of importance, he invited him to Rome; but Baglioni, affecting to be indisposed, sent in his stead his son, Gian-Paolo, for the purpose of discovering the intentions of the Pope. Leo received the youth with the greatest kindness, and after detaining him some time, sent him back to his father, whom he again requested to take a journey to Rome, and at the same time transmitted to him a safe-conduct. The violation of such an assurance was a crime, which even the guilty mind of Baglioni could not conceive, and he accordingly hastened to Rome, where he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, and to the honour of kissing his feet. On the following day, however, he was taken into custody by Annibale Rangone, captain of the pontifical guard, and subjected to the torture, where he is said to have disclosed enormities, the perpetration of which could not have been expiated by a thousand deaths. This treacherous and tyrannical act was closed by the decapitation of Baglioni, in the castle of S. Angelo, and by the Pope possessing himself of the states of Perugia.'[3]

[1] *Vide* Roscoe, no unfavourable judge, ii. 359, 380, and *passim*.
[2] Raynald. Ann. 1521. No. 77, *sq.*
[3] Roscoe, vol. "

On this whole side of Leo's character, M. Audin maintains a deep silence. Those last three years of his life, so crowded with thickening and complicated intrigues, M. Audin passes over in a chapter entitled '*Mort de Léon X.*,' most of which is taken up with the ceremonial of the emperor's coronation, or reflections on the benefit to the world of the 'sword of Pope Julius,' or episodes about Matthew Schinner, and 'Don Inigo' Loyola at the siege of Pampeluna. In this reserve he has at least shown himself an artist, and judges rightly of discordant effects: these 'facts' of political history have little 'poetry' in them, and do not suit that reverend and guileless character in which Leo X. appears in his pages;—like a 'pius Æneas,' or a French *Télémaque*,—in all the amiability of insipid blamelessness.

His great object is, as he says, to show the religious side[1] of Leo's character; and he appeals with great triumph to the acts of the Council of Lateran to show how Leo anticipated and remedied beforehand the complaints of the Reformers. 'There 'it is,' he says, 'that Leo shows himself in all his Christian 'grandeur—at the Lateran, when he listens to the groans of 'Catholic hearts, and, under his inspiration, the Council pro-'mulgates those rules of wisdom, which have not yet received 'their full appreciation. . . . We will analyze its acts, and then 'let us hear whether Leo was wanting to his apostolical mission. 'Open the books of those who have written the life of this 'Pope: they pass with their eyes shut before these truly evan-'gelical labours.'[2] And we have three chapters, headed the Lateran Council, but devoted not so much to the analysis of its acts, as to very digressive reflections and anecdotes about Italian society at the time.

The Council of Lateran—whether under the 'supreme inspiration' of the Pope, or of others—passed many excellent and necessary regulations. It is a proof, if any were wanted, that there was a strict party in the Church, whose opinion in a religious assembly must be respected. The '*Reformatio a capite ad pedes*' had been a demand made even at the scandalous election of Innocent VIII.: it was made again now, and the Pope, in the words of the minute Paris de Grassis, '*subridens dixit, se velle aliquantulum cogitare.*'[3] But less could not be done, in order to keep up, as was politically necessary, the character of the Council, than to notice and condemn flagrant scandals. And when this was done, and the rival *conciliabulum* of Pisa humbled, the Pope, in spite of the wish of the majority,[4] dismissed the Council, and took matters into his own hands. And how were

[1] Vol. [illegible] xviii.

[2] Vol. i. p. xvi.

[3] 1513, No. 57.

[4] Raynald. Ann. 1513. No. 16.

the regulations of the Council enforced? The Pope, according to M. Audin, had been very '*exigeant*' towards the Cardinals—very precise and peremptory, in banishing from their tables and houses all luxury and display, in abridging pluralities, and enforcing the performance of duties. Was any Cardinal less wealthy or less profuse for the re-enactment of these unheeded Church laws? Nor can it be said, that the Pope could not enforce what he wished: he could excommunicate the Duke of Urbino for keeping a city; he could threaten to excommunicate the bookseller who should pirate Ariosto's works; could he not excommunicate a scandalous or disobedient Cardinal?

Raynaldi's opinion of the benefits of the Council of Lateran is, we think, worth more than M. Audin's:—'The attendance of so 'small a number of Bishops,' he says, 'out of all the great kingdoms 'which then were obedient to the Roman Church, and in spite 'of the repeated summons of the Apostolical See, is a proof of 'the laxity of those times, in which many Bishops, casting aside 'the care of their Churches, plunged into frivolous engagements, 'ensnared by the love of the world. And so it was that the 'ungodly rage of even one false monk was too much for them 'to master. The decrees of this Council were finally, in great 'measure, without their desired result.'[1]

And yet never was Pope more jealous of his prerogatives than Leo at this time, when the Roman See appeared, not as the representative and leader of the Church against the world, but as an Italian principality, pushing for power. But the manner in which he maintained this is characteristic. For the acknowledgment of his authority in form, he was quite willing to sell all that in former times Popes had fought for. Kings might do what they pleased with the Church, so that they did it as his delegates. All our readers must know of the fierce quarrel in the middle ages between Church and State concerning the appointment to ecclesiastical offices: it had not yet ceased. In France, under the Pragmatic Sanction, founded on the canons of the Council of Basle, the form prevailed of election by Chapters, subject to the king's recommendation and approval. The Popes had for a long time protested and acted against this system, which ignored their authority, and which, as they alleged, produced a very scandalous Clergy. The arrangement of this dispute was one of the first achievements of Leo; and M. Audin considers it 'a work of wisdom on w[illegible]

[1] 'Tam paucos numero præsules, ex tot amplissimis regnis, qu[illegible] ecclesiæ parebant, toties ad concilium apostolico imperio vocatos v[illegible] rum temporum socordiam, quibus plures Episcopi, abjectâ F[illegible] renarumque rerum amore irretiti, inanibus curis se impli[illegible] unius Pseudomonachi impios furores coercuerunt. H[illegible] ato fructu magnâ ex parte demum caruerunt.'—*Rayna*

the Papacy has good right to pride itself.' But the days of contest for an ecclesiastical principle were gone by. The Pope could fight only for cities and provinces; in spiritual claims he displayed his wisdom by bargaining and compromise. The victory of Marignan was followed by the most courteous interchange of compliments between Francis I. and Leo, which M. Audin details with much satisfaction. The French King was full of devotion for the Holy See. 'Nor was this mere 'show,' M. Audin assures us; 'for Francis loved, as much as 'he admired, the character of Leo'—and Leo, on his part, was not wanting in one of those exquisite letters, which his biographer extols so much:—

'The Pope thought proper to thank Francis I. for these expressions of devotion to the Holy See, in a letter, in which he brings out, with infinite felicity of language, those fine qualities which Heaven had bestowed on the young prince. Call it address if you will, but it is address with which one cannot find fault. If he alludes indirectly to the victory of Marignan, it is to ascribe the glory of it to God, and to conjure him to use his triumph for the welfare of Christendom. The letter finishes with most cordial wishes—"*Adieu! aimez-nous.*" *Long had it been since the Kings of France had been accustomed to a language so full of affection: Francis I. was quite the man to appreciate it.*'—*Audin*, ii. 144, 145.

Francis proposed to treat in person; Leo 'consented with 'joy; for Rome had been demanding for more than a century 'the abrogation of that Pragmatic Sanction, which surrendered 'the election of Bishops to capricious and fatal influences.'—'Leo, in his work of reformation, could not leave in force a 'form of election which left the sanctuary a prey to such gross 'disorders.'[1]

The two potentates met at Bologna. That most fidgetty and important of men, the master of the ceremonies, who under different names attends the reigns of all the Popes of this period,—ever minute and vigilant,—has accurately recorded the pomp and courtesy of the occasion. Paris de Grassis—'*une belle âme*,' says M. Audin, 'who did not, like malignant Burchard, listen behind screens,'[2] is more than usually diffuse in his account of what passed; of the triumphal procession at Florence, and the difficult question of etiquette which arose; how the Pope's umbrella was left behind at Rome, and how the Pope solved the difficulty; how the city magistrates would not yield precedence to the Cardinals, and how he, Paris, paid them off, by 'ap-'pointing that the Cardinals should not look up as they passed

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

[2] Though on one occasion he informs us how he peeped through a key-hole, to see what the Pope and the Cardinals were doing.—*Audin*, ii. 205.

'the magistrates' balcony;[1] and how in his thoughtfulness, he had ordered that no guns should be fired during the procession, 'on account of our horses, and the multitude of timid mules:' how he and King Francis, whom he was introducing, were wedged in the dense crowd which filled the Pope's reception-chamber; and how at last, '*Rex et ego ascendimus ad osculum pacis*;' with what care and felicity he marshalled the ceremony, and what trouble and alarm he was in, lest the Pope should forget himself, and take off his cap in the King's presence, as Alexander VI. did in the presence of Charles VIII.:—a mistake, which Paris whispered to the Pope to guard against; 'and 'the Pope,' he adds, 'observed the caution faithfully, at least in my presence.'—*Audin*, ii. 158.

With two such men as Leo and Francis, there could be nothing jarring or disagreeable; Leo was full of grace and benignity; Francis profuse in his homage and devotion. M. Audin can for once give full scope at once to his national and to his religious feelings.

'The Chancellor's harangue is a manifesto in honour of the Holy See, whose claims the orator sets forth to the love, not less than to the gratitude, of the kingdom of France. It is at the same time a profession of faith on the part of the most Christian king in the authority of the Head of the Church. It is noble to hear the conqueror of Marignan exclaim, by means of his accredited spokesman, "Most Holy Father,—the army of the most Christian king is yours—dispose of it at your pleasure—the forces of France are yours—her standards are yours—Leo, behold before you your obedient son—*tuus e religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate.*" French words can but feebly give the force of the Latin phrase. "This devoted child," he adds, "is ready to defend on all occasions your sacred rights, by his word or by his sword." "*L'ombre de Jules II.*" (continues M. Audin,) "*qui sans doute assistait à cette entrevue, dut tressaillir de joie.*"'—*Audin*, ii. 156, 157.

And Leo, on his side, was not behind in this rivalry of amenity and compliment. He granted Francis various spiritual and temporal favours,—the nomination to some, and the suppression of other bishoprics,—the recall of ecclesiastical censures on the French bishops, and a tithe to be levied on the Church property in France,[3] distributed rich jewels to the King, and to the 'beautiful and accomplished' ladies of the Court,[4]—

[1] '*Ego, subridens vanitatem hujusmodi, jussi* ut remanerent in Palatio suo'—then seeing that they did not rise up when the Cardinals went by their gallery, 'statui quod nullus Cardinalis transiens elevaret oculos ad palcum, sive taxillum 'illud, ne contingeret eos videri, aut audire; et *sic Vexillifer et Priores remanserunt in sua vanitate.*'—*Roscoe*, vol. ii. *App.* 11.

[2]—'In nocte bombardis sine fine crepitantibus, quia ego in die sic ordinavi propter 'equos nostros, et multitudinem mularum timidarum, ne propter silicias stratas in viis aliqui caderent.'—*Ib.*

[3] Audin, ii. 168.

[4] Roscoe, ii. 39.

and both parties broke up from the conference with expressions of the warmest esteem.

The results of the negotiations, concerning the Pragmatic Sanction, are thus stated by Roscoe:—

'In agitating this important question, the object of Francis was not only to obtain a formal concession of the jurisdiction exercised by the monarchs of France in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, but to transfer to the crown some of those privileges which had been claimed and exercised by the French clergy, and to vest in the king a right to those presentations to ecclesiastical benefices which had heretofore been claimed by the Roman see. On the other hand, Leo was not less desirous to accomplish an object which had frustrated the efforts of his predecessors, and to abolish a code of laws which had been so long regarded as the opprobrium of the Church; and although the pretensions of the king went beyond the claims of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet, as the destruction of that system would overturn the independence of the French clergy, and as the rights of the sovereign were to be exercised under the express sanction of the holy see, and not in direct opposition to its authority, as had theretofore been done, the pontiff willingly listened to the representations made to him by the king on this head, and the discussion was soon terminated to their mutual satisfaction. It was in consequence agreed that the Pragmatic Sanction should be abolished in express terms, both by the pope and the king, but that its chief provisions and immunities should be revived and extended by a contemporary act, which should invest the king with greater power in the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom, than he had before enjoyed. Hence arose the celebrated *Concordat*, by which the nomination to all ecclesiastical benefices within the French dominions was expressly granted to the king, with a reservation of the *annates* to the Roman see; besides which, the right of deciding all controversies respecting the affairs of the Church, excepting in some particular instances, was conceded to the judicature of the sovereign without appeal.'[1]

There may have been necessity in this; or Francis I. was perhaps a safe person to trust with the appointment of Bishops; but was there any great difference, in point of dignity, or in substantial results, between Leo surrendering to Francis, and Cranmer surrendering to Henry, what used to be called the liberties of the Church?[2]

In all that concerns the real interests of the Church, Leo's pontificate, as far as it depended on himself, was the complete reign of '*laissez-faire*.' For himself, he kept up appearances and was respectable; so say the fairest and most probable accounts; he was frugal in his ordinary table, and attended to the distinction of fasting days; he gave no cause for slander against his life; and he performed religious services with dignity and impressiveness. '*E bona persona*:'—says one of those sharp men whom the Venetian Senate sent to watch [illegible]. '*E ben religioso:—ma vuol vivere.*'[3] He [illegible] him-

[1] Roscoe, Leo X. vol. ii. 41, 42.

[2] The Pope reserved a *veto*; he thus [illegible] without any risk yield them in this [illegible]

[3] Quoted in Ranke, i. 71.

self, and was very good-natured and indulgent to his friends. He had his brilliant court, his artists and musicians, his circle of wit and talent, his grand public works going on; he had his elegant country villa, and his sumptuous town entertainments; he could equally enjoy deep and intellectual conversation, or a contest of banter and raillery; and he could enter with spirit into even lighter diversions.[1] He hunted, hawked, and fished with the zest and keenness of a country gentleman—it was said, for the benefit of his health; in due moderation, he played cards and chess;—and threw off in private, with graceful ease, the reserve and ceremony which he knew so well how to maintain in its proper place. In spite of shocking the correct Paris de Grassis, he did not mind going into the country,[2] without his rochet, and still worse, *cum stivalibus, sive ocreis*—booted like a layman. Never was there a Pope with less stiffness; even the more vulgar kinds of amusement were not without their interest for him. The most temperate of men himself, he rivalled the luxury of the Roman emperors in his banquets, that he might laugh at the gluttony of his guests,[3] who voraciously devoured his '*peacock sausages*;' he had his *improvisatori*, who drank and sang alternately, and were sconced if their verses were bad; he had his jester,—'a mendicant friar, named Father 'Martinus, or Marianus, who had the reputation of being able 'to swallow a young pigeon whole, and despatched four 'hundred eggs, or twenty capons at a sitting.'[4] And on one occasion Rome was astonished by a ponderous jest, which was deemed worthy of a lasting record in the Vatican itself.

'But the most remarkable instance of folly and of absurdity is preserved to us in the account given of Baraballo, abate of Gaeta, one of that unfortunate but numerous class, who, without the talent, possess the inclination for poetry, and who, like the rest of his brethren, was perfectly insensible of his own defects. The commendations ironically bestowed on his absurd productions had, however, raised him to such importance in his own opinion, that he thought himself another Petrarca, and like him aspired to the honour of being crowned in the Capitol. This afforded too favourable an opportunity for amusement to be neglected by the pontiff and his attendants; and the festival of SS. Cosmo and Damiano was fixed upon as the day for gratifying the wishes of the poet. In order to add to the ridicule, it was resolved, that the elephant, which had lately been presented to the pontiff by the king of Portugal, should be brought out and splendidly decorated, and that Baraballo, arrayed in the triumphal habit of a Roman conqueror, should mount it, and be conveyed in triumph to the Capitol. The preparations on this occasion were highly splendid and expensive; but, before they were completed, a deputation arrived from Gaeta, where the relations of Baraballo held a respectable rank, for the purpose of dissuading

[1] Roscoe, ii. 390.

[2] 'Et fuit cum stolâ, sed pejus, sine rochetto, et quod pessimum, cum stivalibus, 'sive ocreis, in pedibus munitus.'—*Roscoe.*

[3] Roscoe, ii. 180, 392.

[4] Roscoe, ii. note 330.

him from rendering himself an object of laughter to the whole city. Baraballo, however, construed their kindness into an illiberal jealousy of his good fortune, in having obtained the favour of the pontiff, and dismissed them with reproaches and anger. Having then recited several of his poems, replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, until his hearers were no longer able to maintain their gravity, he was brought to the area of the Vatican, where he mounted the elephant, and proceeded in great state through the streets, amidst the confused noise of drums and trumpets, and the acclamations of the populace. "I should scarcely have believed," says Jovius, "unless I had myself been present at the sight, that a man not less than sixty years of age, of an honourable family, and venerable by his stature and his grey hairs, should have suffered himself to be decorated with the *toga palmata* and the *latum clavum* of the ancient Romans, and bedecked with gold and purple, to be led in a triumphal procession before the public, with the sound of trumpets." His triumph was not, however, of long continuance. On arriving at the bridge of S. Angelo, the sagacious quadruped refused to contribute any longer to the ungenerous mirth of the crowd, and the hero of the day was glad to descend in safety from his exalted station. The remembrance of this important incident was, by the orders of the pope, perpetuated by a piece of sculpture in wood, which yet remains upon the door of one of the inner chambers in the Vatican.'[1]

Leo's taste for these strange amusements is ascribed by Mr. Roscoe to that 'diversity and range of intellect which distinguished him and many of his family.' No doubt they were the amusements of the noblemen of the day: but the nobleman in this case was a Pope. And Leo carried the good nature and princely freedom, not, perhaps, ungraceful in a nobleman, into the government of the Church. M. Audin, with singular coolness, exhibits his generosity and goodness when still Cardinal, by telling us how when Ariosto begged for a dispensation of the '*tria incompatabilia*,' that is, the power of '*keeping ecclesiastical benefices, without at once taking orders*,' the Cardinal interested himself in the poet's cause, and gained him the favour. M. Audin seems to see nothing but what is natural in this. He has a strong feeling about the efforts of 'beaux vers.' When Julius II. threatened to throw Ariosto into the sea for his impertinence, M. Audin remarks, 'il est fâcheux que l'Arioste n'ait 'pas addressé une supplique à Jules II.: *car le pape aimait les 'beaux vers.*'[2] And so he sees no difficulty in the principle on which Leo went, in distributing the offices and preferments of the

[1] Roscoe, ii. 180, 181.

[2] 'Mieux qu'un autre, le légat connaissait les péchés contre le Saint-Siège, où le poëte était tombé, et pourtant l'Arioste obtint ce qu'il demandait.'—Vol. i. 329.

[3] Audin, i. 361. M. Audin delights to record instances of doing penance in elegies. 'Postumo obtint son pardon au prix d'une élégie. Il est vrai que l'élégie était écrite en beau Latin.' (ii. 331.) The schismatical secretary of the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa no longer languishes when he hears of Leo's election:—'Car il est impossible que le souverain pontife ne pardonne pas au proscrit, quand le proscrit se repent en vers Latins.'—(ii. 329.)

Church. Leo scattered bishoprics and abbeys round him, as if they were purses of ducats, on the poets and literati who flocked to his court. His patronage of literature and the arts means that he filled the benefices of the Church with men, whose recommendation to him was their wit, or their skill, or their classical learning. 'Andrea Marone,' says Roscoe, 'having 'being desired, at a solemn entertainment given by the Pontiff 'to several of the ambassadors of foreign powers, to deliver 'extempore verses on the league which was then forming 'against the Turks; he acquitted himself in such a manner 'as to obtain the applause of the whole assembly, and 'the Pope immediately afterwards presented him with a 'benefice in the diocese of Capua.'[1] 'Colocci,' says M. Audin, 'used to read verses in the Roman Academy, which were of a 'grace quite Catullian. Now the poet had had the honour of 'addressing a copy of verses to his Holiness. The reward was 'not long in coming—4,000 *scudi*, which the author at once 'employed in buying new statues and new marbles. It was 'money well bestowed. But Leo X. did not consider himself 'quit towards Colocci: he gave him the *survivorship of the* '*bishopric of Nocera*.'[2] The Cardinalship itself, the place of highest influence in the Church, was disposed of in the same way,—to satisfy private friendship—relationship—political claims; given to a handsome and courtly young man, '*fou de gaïeté*,' 'who would have been the first comic writer of his day, if Leo X. had not thrown over the poet's shoulders the Cardinal's red robe'[3]—or to a royal child of seven years old;—placed at the disposal of a French captain as the price of a prisoner's life;[4]—promised, if Vasari is to be believed, to a great painter, to liquidate an inconvenient debt.[5]

It was no remedy to the evil, thus produced, and is no answer to the charges against Leo, that he had good sense enough not to confine himself to such promotions—that he picked out good and religious men like Sadolet, Ægidius of Viterbo, and Cajetan, for high offices, or for the honours of the purple. He had good need after the conspiracy of the five Cardinals, three of whom had enjoyed a high reputation for prudence and respectability,[6] to swamp the old conclave—the leaven of the Roveres and Borgias—with a numerous addition of men whom he could trust

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[1] Roscoe, ii. 178.
[2] Audin, ii. 333.
[3] Bibbiena. Audin, i. 272.
[4] Audin, ii. 545.
[5] 'Perche, avendo tanti anni servito la corte, e essendo creditore di Leone di 'buona somma, gli era stato dato indizio che alla fine della sala (di Costantino,)—il Papa gli avrebbe dato un capello rosso.' Vasari, (of Raphael, quoted by Rumohr, ii. 126.)
[6] Audin, ii. 202, 203.

either from friendship, interest, or worth. M. Audin strangely thinks it a high merit in Leo, that in a creation of thirty-one Cardinals in one day, several of them should have been men who entirely deserved the trust committed to them.

But M. Audin is a singular person. With the contemporary historians before him—the writers of Roman Catholic Italy—he persists in telling us that we must believe that Leo lived like 'a primitive Christian—that he prayed, fasted, and was rude to himself' like them; and treats any other belief as a prejudice arising from '*des écrivains dissidents.*' In the same way he dwells with fond admiration and pleasure on Leo's intimates—on his artists and poets—on the high and refined tone of society at Rome. Leo's character, he says, is reflected by his three friends, Sadolet, Bembo, and Bibbiena. '*Tous trois sont des hommes de paix et de charité.*' He praises Sadolet, and justly:—he tells us indeed that Bembo was a 'pagan, in literary feeling,' but he does not tell us that Bembo, at the very time that he was Leo's secretary—writing the beautiful letters which M. Audin dwells upon with such delight, and enjoying the money of benefices[1] without being in orders—was openly living with a beautiful mistress;[2] he does not bring Cardinal Bibbiena before us as the glozing and plausible envoy, hunting for still more preferment at the French Court, and never out of debt.[3] He does not tell us that Sadolet's high character could not prevent even a friend from coupling his name in some bacchanalian verses, as a boon companion, with those of a jester, and of the Aspasia of the day.[4] He tells us how literary Rome was—how it was the haven and haunt of all that was elegant and intellectual. He does not tell us that among these pensioners of Leo's munificence was one Pietro Aretino.[5]

We have only space to set side by side two passages from M. Audin and Mr. Roscoe on this subject.

'Thanks to the daily intercourse of minds, humanity insensibly changes its nature, and ceases to wrangle. Satire disappears from books . . . irony lives indeed, but it is delicate, playful, and no longer merciless, as of old at Florence and Naples. *Berni and his numerous disciples* amuse themselves at the expense of humanity, never at the expense of the man. . . The life of the man of letters—it is a remark which has not escaped Roscoe—is a fair and decent one: his writings are not disgraced by insolence or impurity. If you should ever desire to make acquaintance with the poets whom Leo used to receive at the Vatican, *you would be astonished at the chastity of style which reigns in their writings.* To please their illustrious master, they sing all that he loves with passion—peace in the city, peace at the hearth,

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[1] It is said, to his credit, that till he became Cardinal, under Paul III., he declined benefices with *cure of souls.*

[2] Roscoe, ii 114. Greswell's Memoirs of Bembo, &c. p. 420.

[3] Roscoe, ii. 192. [4] Roscoe, ii. p. 486. [5] Roscoe, ii. 273.

peace in the fields. There is not one of them—and their number is very great—who has not in his collection some beautiful hymn to God or the Virgin. When men take for their subject our Lord at Golgotha, or Mary at Bethlehem, *it is that the age is religious.* It is incontestable that a revolution was brought about in the manners of Roman society after Leo mounted the papal throne.'

No doubt Politian's ferocious style of lampooning had gone out of fashion in the much more civilized days of Leo.[2] But impurity need not be that of the pot-house. And as M. Audin has specified *'Berni and his numerous disciples,'* as favourites of Leo,[3] and men who did honour to his patronage, we will quote, first what he says of them himself, and then Mr. Roscoe's account.

'Berni,' says M. Audin, 'taught the man of letters to put 'himself into a passion, without offending against the catechism, 'or against civility . . . . He formed a school at Rome. Gio. 'della Casa, Angelo Firenzuola, Fr. Molza, Piero Nelli, have 'trodden in his steps, but they have not eclipsed his memory. 'Like all imitators, they have exaggerated the defects of their 'model. The master is very free; the disciple has become libertine. '*Berni himself, gave in later days, in his Capitoli, sad specimens of* '*an unbridled mind: he was old then.*'[4]

We now give Roscoe's account of Berni himself, and Berni's writings:—

'Having now taken the ecclesiastical habit, Berni was occasionally employed by Ghiberti in missions to his more distant benefices, and frequently accompanied the Bishop on his journeys through Italy; but the fatigues of business, and the habits of regularity were irksome to him, and he sought for relief in the society of the Muses, who generally brought both Bacchus and Venus in their train. Being at length preferred to the affluent and easy station of a canon of Florence, he retired to that city, where he was much more distinguished by the eccentricity of his conduct and the pungency of his satire, than by the regularity of his life. Such was his aversion to a state of servitude, if we may credit the humorous passages in which he has professedly drawn his own character, that he no sooner received a command from his patron, than he felt an invincible reluctance to comply with it. He delighted not in music, dancing, gaming, or hunting; his sole pleasure consisting in having nothing to do, and stretching himself at full length in his bed. His chief exercise was to eat a little and then compose himself to sleep, and after sleep to eat again. He observed neither days nor almanacks; and his servants were ordered to bring him no news, whether good or bad. These exaggerations, among many others yet more extravagant, may at least be admitted as a proof that Berni was fond of his ease, and that his writings were rather the amusement of his leisure than a serious occupation. . . . .

'Perhaps the most characteristic idea of the writings of Berni and his associates, may be obtained by considering them to be, in lively and unaffected verse, what the works of Rabelais, of Cervantes, and of Sterne, are

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[1] Audin, ii. p. 333, 334.
[2] o R
[3] Audin, ii. 573.
[4] Au

in prose. It is, however, much to be regretted that a great part of these compositions are remarkable for a degree of indecency and profaneness, which requires all the wit and elegance of the original, and perhaps more sympathy with such subjects than an untainted mind should feel, to prevent their being read without disapprobation or disgust. It can, therefore, occasion no surprise, that these pieces, many of which have been written by men of high ecclesiastical rank, should have brought some degree of disgrace upon the Roman Church."[1]

And in the midst of this whirl of pleasure, and play of wit, and splendour of art, and profusion of riches, and heady excitement of intellectual achievement, and dizzy intrigues of state, the Reformation broke out in the rude and distant north, lands which the brilliant and refined Italians thought of with disgust, as the abode of coarseness and barbarism—

'Quaque non notos populos et urbes
Damnat æternis Helice pruinis'—

and despised the intelligence of their inhabitants, as much as they dreaded their fierceness.

Leo never thoroughly understood and realized the seriousness of the crisis—he had more pressing cares, and he did not live long enough. He had begun by reforming the Church with a Council of Lateran; and he met Luther with diplomacy, and a Bull drawn up in classical Latin—'a picture,' adds M. Audin, 'like one of Michael Angelo's.'

Leo's had been a successful and fortunate life, above that of most men. Born to nobility and wealth, and before he could speak or remember, a dignitary of the Church, his course had been a rapid and a splendid one to the highest place in Christendom: little had ever crossed him; and with a cheerful and even temper, and ample talent to enjoy to the full his prosperous lot, he viewed himself as a chosen child of fortune. 'It seems to have 'been his intention,' says one of his biographers, 'to pass his time 'cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety 'by all the means in his power.'[2] The almost uninterrupted good fortune of his career, throws into melancholy relief its dark and abrupt and mysterious close. At the moment when he thought that his triumph over the French was beginning, without any warning or serious sickness, he suddenly sunk and died. All is strange and unaccountable about his death: nothing was certainly known of his last days of illness; but his attendant, Paris de Grassis, believed that he was poisoned.

And now we take leave of M. Audin's very ambitious, and, we must call it, very impudent book. The Reformation may be very vulnerable—the system which it assailed has no doubt those claims for equitable judgment which all great systems may

[1] Vol. ii. 129, 130.

[2] Qu. by Roscoe.

justly urge: it has further its good side, however such insincerity as M. Audin's may tempt us to forget or doubt it. Luther disbelieved the dormant life of the Roman Church, and events showed that he was wrong. But if every despondency and hostility could justify themselves by word and palpable appearances—if ever was a time for great and leading signs to influence and guide abstract thought—if ever abhorrence of what is specious and hollow, and instinctive presages of its doom, might turn the balance in theological difficulties—if ever an assailant might indignantly override all defence and palliation, as the mere plausibilities of selfishness, by pointing to the significant events of the time—this advantage of position and argument belonged to Luther. If it be enough almost to warrant despair that a system seems to be breaking up under the weight of scandals—that the powers, which alone could restore and reform, are in hands which will not use them—that the whole machine is so entangled and clogged, so inextricably linked to the worldliness and selfishness of great classes of men, that to disengage it is to endanger society,—if to find that attempts at improvement are checked and fail, that energy slackens, and self-devotion relapses, and all strength and hope sink in an apparently final exhaustion,—if to see in the highest and holiest places not merely dull laziness, or easy respectability, but the foulest and most unblushing vice,—if to see Church offices turned into mere prizes of this world, Church interests put aside for the convenience of kings, the dignity of the Church lost in her low-minded and worldly servants,—if to see primitive ideas of strictness forgotten in bustle and refinement and pleasure, the revival of them suspected, perhaps tried unwisely, and miscarrying,—if to see a system so deranged, that a man like Savonarola, who might have been a saint, is driven to be a fanatic and a demagogue,—if all this is enough to excuse alienation of minds from such a system, disbelief in its divinity, indifference to the good that is in it, separation from its communion—this justification for his revolt Luther could certainly claim.

NOTICES.

'The History and Fate of Sacrilege. By Sir Henry Spelman. Edited, in part, from two MSS. Revised and corrected, with a continuation, large additions, and an Introductory Essay. By Two Priests of the Church of England.' (Masters.) The history of sacrilege presents one of those undefined fields of facts which depend so entirely on the character of the mind, before which they are brought, for their rank and solidity as evidence. To a religious mind, the facts are very significant: to an irreligious one, they need mean nothing. There is every facility which the latter could desire for explaining them away. All families undergo more or less misfortune. Noble families become extinct that have committed sacrilege; and noble families become extinct that have not. All families are liable to the infliction of spendthrift sons, who waste their property, and ruin their name and credit. Where such a large proportion of the aristocracy of a country is concerned in Church robbery, as was the case at the period of the Reformation, the fact of great decay having taken place among them, it may be said, is only synonymous with the fact that the aristocracy of a nation is liable in the course of years to fall away. It requires a general presumption to exist in a mind of the likelihood, or not unlikelihood, under a just Providence, of some punishment on sacrilegious persons, to accept and interpret aright the facts connected with the history of sacrilege. There are many fields of facts, scientific and others, which labour under a like indefiniteness. To take an example before our eyes, some people will explain away all the facts connected with mesmerism. One is attributed to fancy; another to collusion; a third comes before us with evident signs of exaggeration. Still every person of fair mind now thinks there is something in mesmerism, and that it is not altogether, from first to last, a delusion.

Now, just as in the case of mesmerism, and other similar ones, the data, amidst the greatest variety, confusion, and indistinctness, exhibit a something at the bottom which appears solid, and creates a consensus of opinion in favour of its truth: in the same way we have in the history of Sacrilege something which we cannot, on common religious principles, get over Persons may explain away the misfortunes of one family or another family. No one fact in itself is difficult to deal with. We have to account, however, not for one or another instance of apparent punishment separately, but for a whole general impression, which appears to have prevailed throughout the religious mind of the nation, and to have always appealed to living evidence, that the sacrileges of the Reformation era had brought temporal punishments on their perpetrators. Bishops allude to it in their sermons as an established fact: preachers at St. Paul's Cross are vehement on the subject. It was a fact which laid hold of the popular mind, and one, the truth of which was supposed, and taken for granted, in such allusions to it. Bishop Andrewes says, 'He wished some man would take pains to collect how many families 'that were raised by the spoils of the Church were now vanished, and the 'place thereof knows them no more.' Jeremy Taylor says, 'We know

'that, when, in Henry the Eighth's and Edward the Sixth's days, so
'great men pulled down churches and built palaces, and robbed religion
'its just encouragements and advantages, the men that did it were sac-
'legious; and we find also that God hath been punishing that great
'ever since, and hath displayed to so many generations of men, to three
'four descents of children, that those men could not be esteemed happy
'their great fortunes against whom God was so angry, that He would show
'his displeasure for a hundred years together.' William Waller, preaching
at St. Paul's Cross in 1628, says, 'There were many such earnest abhorrers
'of idols in the days of Henry VIII.;' and then proceeds to show how
whole families had been ruined by their ill-gotten gains. Archbishop
Whitgift, in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, says, 'Though I shall forbear
'to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a
'part of the Church's right, added to the vast measure left him by his
'father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon
'both. And consider that, after the violation of those laws to which he
'had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him His restraining
'grace, that he fell into greater sin than I am willing to mention.'
Gilpin, Ridley, Latimer, Grindal, Jewel, are all strong on the subject of
these sacrileges. From the writers of the Reformation era itself down
to Jones of Nayland, and our own contemporaries, one line of opinion has
existed on this subject. Jones of Nayland 'was descended from the noto-
'rious Colonel Jones, who married a sister of Oliver Cromwell, and was
'one of the regicides. W. Jones is, even as a lad, reported to have ex-
'pressed his fears that his family would never prosper in the world for the
'iniquity of his forefather.' His sermon 'On the History of Collections for
the Poor,' strongly applies this principle of God visiting the sins of the
fathers on the children to the descendants of the Reformation spoilers.

Sir Henry Spelman's book, written between 1612 and 1640, represented this general feeling, and collected data in a *quasi* legal way. His book was the natural offspring of an age of revived Catholic feeling. The present edition of Spelman has had a similar origin, and has sprung from that ecclesiastical spirit of love and reverence which has been reawakened of late years, and which is no sooner awakened than it naturally begins to mourn for the Church's losses. The book before us, with its introductory Essay, notes, and fresh matter, is such an edition of the History of Sacrilege, that it may be called another Spelman. The introductory Essay is full of information; the above extracts, quoted out of it, are specimens. It goes very deeply and copiously into both the historical and argumentative departments. Its fault, perhaps, is, that it adopts a more accurate and logical standard in its divisions, and mode of laying out of the argument, than is exactly suited to the nature of the subject. The solidity, however, which characterizes the whole, both as to matter and manner, is itself a striking feature, and has a value higher than a literary one. It shows the faith and earnestness which have been at the bottom of the undertaking, the hearty assurance which the Editors have felt in the ground they have taken, and their deep appreciation of those manifestations of God's justice which they have brought forward.

'An Inquiry into the Scriptural View of the Constitution of a Christian Church. Also into the Evidence respecting the alleged Fact of Apostolical Succession. By W. A. Garratt, M.A.' (Seeley.) The following is a specimen of Mr. Garratt's reasoning:—'In the reign of Gordian, Fabianus succeeded Anteros as bishop of Rome; and Eusebius gives the following narrative of his appointment: "They say, that Fabianus having come to Rome with some others from the country, was staying there, and was in the most remarkable manner, by divine and celestial grace, advanced to the office. When all the brethren had assembled in the church, for the purpose of electing him that should succeed in the episcopate, and there being very many eminent and illustrious men in the minds of many, Fabianus being present, no one indeed thought of him. But they relate, further, that a dove suddenly flying down from on high, sat upon his head, exhibiting a scene like that of the Holy Spirit once descending upon our Saviour in the form of a dove. Upon this the whole body exclaimed, with all eagerness, and with one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy; and without delay they took and placed him upon the episcopal throne." If this narrative is true,' pursues Mr. Garratt, 'then we have a bishop, the immediate predecessor of Cyprian's contemporary Cornelius, placed on the episcopal throne of Rome by the sudden acclamation of the whole assembly of Christians, without any episcopal ordination; for he was "without delay" placed on the episcopal throne: and, even if the whole narrative be deemed a fiction—an early Romish legend—it shows the practice of the age; *for the legend-writer would not have failed, had such been the established course, to describe the solemn imposition of episcopal hands before the bishop elect was enthroned. Should it be said, that Fabianus was ordained or consecrated bishop after being enthroned, my reply is, that such an assumption is at once devoid of all evidence, and so improbable that it could not be received without the strongest proof.*' (P. 381.) Will Mr. Garratt think for one moment? Do writers of legends write their legends to communicate the ordinary, or extraordinary, facts of a case? Clearly to communicate the latter. Is it therefore very wonderful if they sometimes omit the former? If the rule of episcopal consecration by laying on of hands was universal, it would not be necessary for the writer of this story specially and particularly to mention that Fabianus was so consecrated. He would naturally suppose that his readers would take it for granted that he was. What is the regular course of things on a particular occasion is supposed to take place on that occasion without any specific mention of it being introduced. It is nowhere *e. g.* mentioned in the statements of Lord Clarendon's appointment to the lord chancellorship, two centuries ago, that he took the oath of supremacy. But would Mr. [illegible] infer thence that lord chancellors do not take the oath of supremacy?

We have received a piece of music, entitled 'St. Agnes,' the [illegible] Tennyson, the music by Sophia D. Collet. (Novello.) Our office [illegible] however, does not extend beyond the province of [illegible] therefore, simply name it.

'Naology: a Treatise on the Origin, Progress [illegible] the Sacred Structures of the most Eminent [illegible]

By John Dudley, Vicar of Humberstone, &c.' (Rivingtons.) The aut of this large volume is, we understand from a contemporary whose pr vince is more invaded than our own, an octogenarian: it had been well his reputation that somebody had whispered to him the prudential maxim— *Solve senescentem mature sanus equum.* We think that we can detect composition of this work: much of the unquestionable learning and curio literature which Mr. Dudley has gathered, is the fruit of his earlier an extensive reading; but the work has been interlarded and interleaved wi the senilities of his declining years. Hence its incongruous texture, an hence the halting and stumbling interpolations which display the *ilia dev* Though, perhaps, all along, Mr. Dudley's studies in the Pantheons of Ro and Hindostan have unfitted him for entering into the severe exclusiveness of the Gospel. His views of the intrinsic, as well as relative, sanctity o all religion betray him into a curious development of the titles, Saint an Martyr. It were but little to propose that 'the names of Saint Cranmer, 'Saint Latimer, and the like, should be given to some of our new churches,' (p. 519,) when Mr. Dudley considers it 'a consequence not to be denied 'that the title of *Saint* may be justly assigned to all who steadily adhere t 'such rules of righteousness or holiness, as, upon the best evidences to them 'available, they conscientiously believed to be just and true.' (P. 517.) From 'the text of the Book of the Revelation, "I saw under the altar the 'souls of them that were slain for the word of God," it would seem that the 'heathen man slain for the testimony which he held, may, or rather must, 'have a portion together with those who were slain for the word of God, 'and may, like them, receive his white robe. The Athenian philosopher, 'Socrates, may possibly be such. Marsyas flayed by the hand of Apollo 'may have been a true martyr. So also may the sons of Niobe, slain by the 'arrows, that is, the sect of Apollo and Diana. Though erroneous, they 'may be presumed to have been sincere, and, if so, entitled to the white robe 'and the advantages of martyrdom.' (Pp. 518—520.) We used to think the Spectator's hint about *Sancte Socrates ora pro nobis* sufficiently liberal. And Otfried Müller, as quoted by Strauss, (Leben Jesu, Introduction, § 14,) does not go farther than teach us that the myth of Apollo and Marsyas arose from the victory of the lyre-playing Dorians over the piping Phrygians, Marsyas itself being but a mountain torrent. But to place this, the symbolical Faun of a grotesque mythology, beneath the tremendous altar of the Apocalypse, and to decorate him with the white robe, and palm of a true martyrdom, has been reserved for a writer who concludes with a tirade against 'the papistical society of the Tractarians in the University of Ox-'ford.' (P. 646.) Saint Marsyas, and Saint Socrates, Martyr and Doctor, together with S. Niobe, Confessor, may be endured, while S. Alban, and S. Cuthbert, and S. Charles Borromeo, and S. Fr. Xavier, are the result of a 'power which the Protestant churches conceive cannot be found in man.' (P. 518.) Mr. Dudley tacitly hankers after S. Buddha and S. Vishnu: 'Let these principles ever prevail when . . . the British Christian seeks the 'conversion of his obedient fellow-subjects of *Hindosthàn*. Many of them 'may be regarded as saints by a just and merciful God. Whether the title may be given let discretion decide.' (P. 321.) After this mass of extrava-

gance and folly, it is but tame work to point out some of Mr. Dudley's incidental errors and blunders. At p. 549, he tells us that the cock, or, as he circuitously phrases it, 'the male bird of the common barn-door fowl,' placed as a vane on churches was originally a heathen emblem of divinity, and that, 'in the English phraseology of some past centuries, the word 'cock signified the Deity;' and quotes Shakspere's 'By cock and pye.' We thought that everybody knew that the cock was a symbol of Christian vigilance, derived from the incidents of St. Peter's fall.[1] The cross, Mr. Dudley traces to the '*linga* of the *Brahmens*.' (P. 571.) Of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he thinks that it is evident that 'she was not intended to be 'the object of high honour,' (p. 594,) nor 'entitled to any extraordinary 'distinction.' (*Ibid.*) Not only is the title, 'Mother of God, borrowed from 'the Arabians,' but 'Mary, the second wife of the carpenter Joseph, gave 'birth to, rather than was the mother of, Jesus.' (P. 596.) 'The tempt-'ing serpent of the first book of holy writ was no more a real serpent than 'was (?) the serpent named in the last book.' (P. 585.) Mr. Dudley favours us with a new interpretation of Sir Jenner Fust's well-known decision; 'it has determined that the term Communion Table is, according to the law of England, the proper designation, &c.,' (p. 533); though we are not informed, either by Fust or Dudley, why this 'legal term, Communion 'Table' is entirely unknown to the Prayer-Book. Also, 'there can be no 'doubt that Adam was, even while in the Garden of Eden, subject to infir-'mities little, if at all, differing from those of his descendants, knowing 'almost nothing of the created world.' (P. 4.) We trust that Mr. Dudley may yet live to read Bp. Bull's sermon on the 'State of man before the Fall.' The flaming sword in Eden is 'perhaps a volcanic issue of fire.' (*Ibid.*) Baptism is 'an act by which the person baptized signifies his assent to the 'covenant of obedience,' (p. 514): the Eucharist, 'an act expressive of gra-'titude to the Redeemer.' (*Ibid.*) With all these most serious drawbacks there is much that is instructive, much that is fair, and much that is incongruously reverential in 'Naology,' so much, indeed, that the very inconsistencies and absurdities of Mr. Dudley lead us willingly to believe, that his faults are rather of the age, and its party spirit, than of the individual.

Mr. Hawker, of Morwenstow, has collected into a pretty little volume, with which we are pleased, various poems, under the title, 'Echoes from Old Cornwall.' (Masters.) With many of them we are familiar, and we do not know any of our recent writers whose short pieces are more manly and sustained than some in this collection; the lines on 'the President,' for example. All poets, we suppose, have peculiarities, which the world will call affectations; some such Mr. Hawker is not without, as when he per

[1] As to the silly oath in Shakspere, it may possibly, Malone suggests, be der from 'God and the Pie,' *i. e.* the service-book. Douce attributes it to the di peacock-pie. While we think that there is little doubt that it merely alludes t cock and magpie, though none of 'the commentators' have stumbled obvious sense. In Dent's 'Pathway to Heaven,' 1601, quoted by N expressly denied that 'By cock and pye' is an oath in any sense connected with the equally trivial phrase, 'By mouse-foot.' As outrageous absurdity, that the word 'cock' was ever used as an E Deity, he might as well have said, that, 'in past centuries,' it si

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faults, the work is readable: yet, whether it were will scarcely, in the case of English readers, serve to of the American Church.

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by reason of, all its faults, the work is readable: yet, whether it were intentional or not, it will scarcely, in the case of English readers, serve to raise our estimate of the American Church.

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There are private reasons connected with the editorship of a reprint of 'Archbishop Abbot's Exposition of Jonah,' (Hamilton and Adams,) which would compel us to give it a good word were it possible: but we cannot do so with any justice. To disinter the tedious Puritanism of Abbot would be only a work of mischief, were not the danger quite neutralized by the utter unreadableness of this deservedly-forgotten production. The sour and ill-tempered Calvinism of this Bishop is rendered doubly distressing in the annals of the Church of England, when we remember that his promotion to Canterbury superseded that of Andrewes. And his general government of Oxford, connected especially with his memorable persecution of Laud, has only received its parallel in our own days—in intent if not in extent. Here, however, we will not refuse the omen. Abbot was the most unpopular man even of his age; and the attempt to pass his grim shadow over the stage of general reading is hardly a happy thought. 'When his mother was pregnant,' so runs the biography, (p. v.) 'she 'dreamed that if she could eat a jack or pike, the child she went with 'would prove a son, and rise to great preferment.' The pike is certainly not unemblematic of the man; and the son may be said to have fulfilled successfully the maternal aspirations.

'The Worship of Genius,' and 'The Essence of Christianity,' by Ullman, Two Essays, (Chapman,) have been translated by a Lady for a volume of the (so-called) Catholic series, on which we lately commented. As far as we can catch a glimpse of meaning through the fearful haze and fog of this ultra-German writer, the Essays are intended to oppose that worship of genius which Strauss proposed in his suggestion to revive 'the private chapel of 'Alexander Severus, where the statue of Orpheus stood beside those of 'Abraham and Christ.' Mr. Ullman, though he liberally bestows much more pains in stating than in refuting his opponent's view, will not admit this: he argues for the personality of Christ. But we fail to trace in Mr. Ullman's own speculations the slightest admission of His divinity. So that whatever distinctions he may draw, it seems to us to come much to the same thing: whether our Lord be only the realization of Messianic ideas, or whether He be the Redeemer of the world, because He has, by His appearance, 'brought 'the idea of perfection, which before slumbered in the human mind, to 'reality and consciousness.' To acknowledge the mere personality of Christ is no great advance towards the Church's faith. There is a body of German thinkers, among whom Mr. Ullman must be reckoned, who are not

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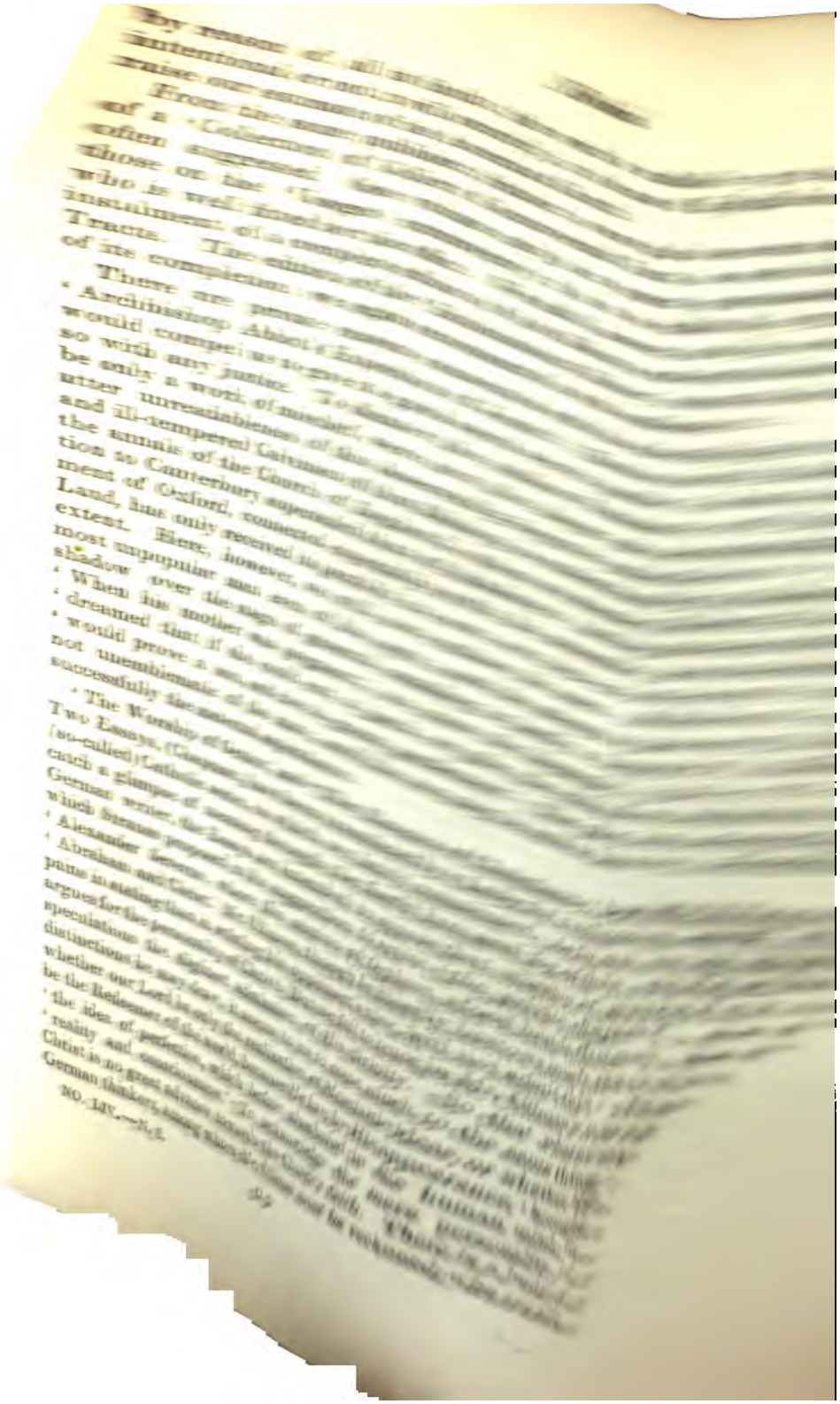

pantheists, but are attempting a new phase of mysticism, which, under colour of a religious tone, and, as we willingly believe, character, is to the full as dangerous, if not more so, than that of the grosser rationalism. Its advances among ourselves must be most narrowly watched. Mr. Ullman proposes distinctly a 'Church of the Future,' (p. 115,) 'of which the 'present age seems only the preparation, and towards the attainment of 'which all the existing communities are to develop each its own peculiar 'advantages.' The religionism of England, under certain of its aspects, and that of Germany, must always be read by a sort of Hamiltonian system we only get to understand the positive mischief of our own fair-looking schemes, and unions, and associations, and societies, by under-lining them with the German anticipations which they embody. And so, *vice versâ*, German speculations, sooner or later, get translated into English facts, whose meaning and ultimate objects may best be read by the more expansive and outspoken theorists. The raw material of a Church of the Future is imported from Heidelberg, and we return it manufactured and ready for use in the definite shape of an Evangelical Alliance.

This reminds us of the most vigorous pamphlet which has appeared on this subject—'Philip and Theodore; a Dialogue on the Evangelical Alliance,' (Longman)—which, with considerable point, shows the ignorant inconsistency of the Evangelical Alliance in attempting such an union, with a salvo in favour of 'denominational distinctions.' But from the heroes of this notorious conclave nothing were less to be expected than a principle of any sort. They do not understand even their own object. As far as we can distinguish these contradictory aspirations after this coming church, and something more than a church, this paulo-post-futurum miracle, the propositions are: Unite, and keep your differences by all means, which is the Exeter-Hall plan; Burn your differences, and then unite, which is 'Theodore's' view; Don't think of uniting till all your differences are full-blown, and, like the Otranto ghost, when you have swollen into a stature so vast and imposing, each in your own pet sectarianism, that you have outgrown and unroofed your meeting-houses and churches respectively, you will fall together by a certain mystic law of spiritual affinity and eclectic attraction, which is the 'Essence of [Evangelical] Christianity,' and upon which I propose ten courses of lectures, says Herr Professor Ullman.

The Archbishop of Dublin has put forth 'Thoughts on the Evangelical 'Alliance,' (Fellowes;) and, which is more to the purpose, has acted as well as thought. In the 'Thoughts,' consisting of twenty-seven pages, his Grace quotes his various publications eleven times. Dr. Whately's works always remind us of the ingenious mode by which children used to study the History of England, by a chart and a teetotum. You spin; and spin down upon the Spanish Armada, in the midst of which you are referred to the Battle of Hastings, and then obligingly walked off to Charles Edward; from whom you receive a hint to consult Bosworth Field, and after all this you plunge into the French Revolution. Just so, we first sit down to study the 'Evangelical Alliance' pamphlet, which entails the 'Kingdom of Christ,' and this, fortunately for the booksellers, involves the 'Archbishop's last Charge,' only, however, to necessitate the 'Bampton Lectures for 1822,'

although the subject is, we are assured, further discussed in the 'Essays, &c.' and some hints also occur in 'my work on the Difficulties of Romanism.' Together with which we are told, that it is our duty to 'see Dr. Hinds's valuable Discourses, &c.'; and, finally, in obedience to his Grace, we find that, 'as fair-minded Protestants, we cannot object to such works as Powell's "Tradition Unveiled,"' which, nevertheless, we decidedly do, even though we forfeit for ever the distinguished honour of being reckoned among 'fair-minded Protestants.'

'Familiar Correspondence in India,' (Blackwood,) is the record of the intercourses of a few persons, who, thirty-five years ago, formed a sort of literary coterie in India. And, for India, the literature was respectable, but hardly of sufficient importance to warrant this publication after such an interval of time.

'The Wisdom of Solomon,' has been printed in a separate form. (Burns.) As we have already said, we cannot approve of this plan of Scripture by instalments.

A second volume of Dr. Hook's 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' (Rivingtons,) has appeared. The quantity and value of the matter compressed into this useful compilation is surprising. There are allusions of a temporary and incidental character, merely affecting subjects of the present day, which, when the work becomes, as it well may become, a standard book of reference, will only perplex.

The vanishing point of controversial story-books has been reached in 'The Abbess of Shaftesbury; or the Days of John of Gaunt.' (Rivingtons.) It is too late in the day to dedicate even a tale to the grand purpose of proving how 'amiable and enlightened' were the doctrines of Wickliffe, and the 'illustrious martyr, John Huss;' and how John of Gaunt was a conscientious defender of evangelical truth; and how the religious houses of England were the homes of cupidity, sensuality, and ambition. The publishers' name should have preserved us from the infliction of this trashy book, which is not more silly in purpose than it is false in character and costume, and weak in execution.

We have seen a very useful pamphlet, displaying accuracy and research, 'Anglican Ordinations Valid; a Reply to Dr. Kenrick, by Mr. J. F. Russell, of Enfield.' (Masters.) Also, 'Romanism, as represented by Mr. J. H. Newman, considered, by Mr. Irvine, of Leicester.' (Rivingtons.) Though the subjects treated are important, they do not, we think, reach the *jugulum causæ*.

'Christian Sects in the 19th Century.' (Pickering.) This is No. 11 of a series, called 'Small Books on Great Subjects; edited by a few Well-Wishers to Knowledge.' It is the first of the set which we have fallen across; and, judging from this specimen, the series must be indeed small, minute to an extreme degree of tenuity,—in matter, we mean, as well as in size. The present little writer balances his tiny scales with the pert dapper self-complacency which is generally noticeable in small smart people. He is a sort of Ambrose Philips—Pope's Ambrose Philips—in controversy, and ought to write in monosyllables, or in dimeter brachycata-

lectic. If he has any tendencies, they seem towards a spruce genteel sort of Socinianism; but even his Socinianism has an exiguous and stunted aspect.

There is a good deal to be admired, or rather sympathized with, in a publication of Lord Lindsay, 'Progression by Antagonism.' (Murray.) The author rightly calls his attempt a Theory. Its range is too wide. Human nature and all its aberrations—History and all its phases—the progress of the Mind in all ages, and under every influence—these are not things to be mapped out by chart and scale, or even to be dotted off in a synopsis of 110 pages. Still there are many good thoughts, and considerable powers of grouping in Lord Lindsay's mind. His fundamental principle is a kind of dualism. Truth he considers the result of mutually opposing tendencies. In this, perhaps, there is nothing new; and the present writer's chief merit is rather in clever illustration than in accurate power of division. Indeed, the theory seems to want either expansion or compression: would not a single pair of opposites, say that of the subject and object, be a sufficiently exhaustive method? Lord Lindsay's divisors do not seem to cut quite clean. There is hardly a page, and when the subject is so universal it seems no wonder, in which we do not find much in which to agree, and much in which to disagree, with the writer. His subject compels axiomatic brevity; and perhaps we have, on that account, no right to complain that very startling paradoxes are announced rather than proved. For example, that 'great revolutions are the accomplishment and end of a period, not its commencement.' In this multiplex parallelism is there not one *συστοιχία* forgotten, Truth and Falsehood—Error and the Faith? The vice of the present system is, that Truth and Progress are made to consist invariably in the neutralizing of opposite deflections. This is but Eclecticism. In other quarters we trace indications of the same spirit. It is getting quite the fashion to dwell on the truth enshrined in every error; and quite right it is to do so. But this process seldom receives its complement, viz. to dwell also on the evil, which is the essence of error; its modicum of truth being accidental.

'Ephesus; or, the Church's Precedent in Doctrine and Discipline, by Mr. P. Pounden,' (Seeley,) is much above the ordinary range of those with whom, as we suppose, the author would be classed. Indeed, when betaking himself to that Church, in which the hierarchical and spiritual element of the Gospel was perhaps first, and certainly most fully, developed, we are not surprised that Mr. Pounden should have risen superior to the mere conventional phrases of a modern school, to which the Epistle to the Ephesians is the most direct antidote. Still, while there are more than traces of much to which we should object in this volume, it is an advance.

There is not much more than vague talk in 'Letters to a Bride, by Emma Pessina,' (Sharpe;) at least this is the best excuse we can make for a female author who has the temerity to say, 'I would avail myself of every 'light which the progress of science, or the course of ages, has revealed 'call in the succour not only of Socrates, Plato, Voltaire, Montesqu 'Rousseau; but of Paley, Fenelon, Pascal, Locke, Milton, Newton 'though not least, of Peter, and of Paul.'—(P. 34.)

To those curious in unpublished pamphlets we recommend to procure one, 'On the Supply of Printed Books to the Reading-room of the British Museum.' It is a very pretty specimen of literary acerbity; but, in justice to one of the disputants, we, as members of the republic of letters, are bound to express an opinion, that Mr. Panizzi's system of tickets, stating the Titles and Press-marks, works well. We have found it also in excellent operation at the well-conducted Library at Brussels. Into the Catalogue dispute we do not enter.

'Bishop Heber and Indian Missions, by Mr. J. Chambers,' (J. W. Parker,) is a very fair abstract of information on the important subject which the title promises, though the title, it is obvious to remark, and therefore the book, wants reversing. Great as were Heber's excellences, the genus and species seem misplaced. Nor are we quite so sanguine in some particulars as Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Dakeyne of Lincoln has published a poem, 'England's Mission, or the Gospel-Voice in the East,' (Burns,) with the same object as the volume of Mr. Chambers.

'Religio Quotidiana; Daily Prayer, the Law of God's Church, by Bishop Mant,' (J. W. Parker,) is one of the most graceful works of this excellent Bishop. It is full of instructive materials and facts, put together in a most characteristic and winning way. But we do not see reference to 'Paterson's Pietas Londinensis;' and where Bp. Mant says, (p. 215,) 'In the life 'of Jones of Nayland, this valuable man, there is no intimation of his hav-'ing been constantly attentive to the Church's "Order for Daily Prayer;"' strictly speaking, this is true. We have, however, seen it upon record that he did begin the public Daily Service, and that he abandoned it because the evil spirit of the age was too strong against him. If we are right, Bp. Mant will sympathise with the desire to vindicate Jones's character. And among other rare testimonies, in a debased generation, we have heard it stated that Bp. Gray attended the Cathedral service, and himself required its observance, at the very moment when Bristol was actually in flames during the Wetherell riots. And in his *primary* Charge, at Chester, the present Bp. of London expressed a wish to revive the daily service, 'agreeably to the practice of the early Church, and of our own in its better ages.'

'Family Expositions on the Epistles of St. John and St. Jude, by Mr. Bickersteth, of Watton.' (Seeley.) These are abridged notes, taken by Mr. Bickersteth's children, of that gentleman's extempore remarks 'given in morning worship.' We were curious to see how Mr. Bickersteth would treat certain passages: *ex. grat.* Jude 19, '*These be they who separate them-'selves.* By multiplied groundless divisions; this seems to bear strongly 'against separation from those Christians of every name who hold the great 'truths of the Gospel, even though there may be many lesser differences.' (p. 239.) Mr. Bickersteth, we think, is impressive about non-natural uses,—is he not?

'bservations on Natural History, by the Rev. Leonard Jenyns.' (Van) We mean very high praise when we say that the author is a suc-

cessful follower, both in spirit and style, of White's 'Selborne.' It is a delightful book. There must be something very soothing and wholesome to the character in these studies of the daily lives and private habits, so to say, of God's lesser creatures; and this not altogether without a tendency to induce somewhat, we fancy, of moral listlessness, which requires watching.

Mr. Gresley's well known pamphlet, 'The real Danger of the Church of England,' has involved a cloud of writing. That the true blot was hit, all this tumult satisfactorily proves. Mr. Close came to the rescue in a very characteristic production, full of sputter—'An Apology for the Evangelical Party,' (Hatchards.) Then,—so we judge by 'Some Reply to Remarks, &c., by a Clergyman,' (Burns,)—must have followed, 'Remarks on Mr. Gresley's Pamphlet;' but this production we have not met with. Mr. Gresley himself, however, has brought out 'A Second Statement of the real Danger, &c.' (Burns.) This is a clear plain-spoken repetition of his former charge, with additional 'proofs and illustrations,' written with that easy practical English honesty for which Mr. Gresley's style is allowed to be almost synonymous with common sense.

Mr. Burgon, now of Oriel, has added to his clever Prize Poem, 'Petra,' some more than pretty poems. (Macpherson.) But this gentleman's 'Remarks on Art, with reference to the studies of the University,' a letter to Mr. Greswell, (Macpherson,) contain some elements of very deep thinking, which we hope will receive, as they deserve, both elaboration and expansion, and, may we add? an occasional touch of the severe knife.

Mr. Henry Drummond is a most amusing person. He is one of those provoking wits whose function seems to be to pose and mystify steady, well-meaning persons. He hovers so lightly on the shifting limits between jest and earnest, that it requires something of his own temperament even to understand him. There is not a greater perplexity to quiet folks than to be doubtful whether they are laughed with, or laughed at. And yet Mr. Drummond has gained such a tenacious grasp of tremendous and absorbing truths, and is so very near the truth on the most important of all questions, that he is, as a fact, anything but a joker. In his 'Letter to 'the Bishop of Winchester on Free Trade,' (Hatchard,) there is not, perhaps, the broad farce in which he announced his peculiar views about Universities to poor bewildered Sir Robert Inglis: but still, to common people, there is something verging at least on serious comedy in this last effusion. The Bishop of Winchester *and* Free Trade! Why the Bishop of Winchester of all Bishops on the Bench? The Winchester bushel might indicate some connexion of this particular See with the Corn Laws, but we can establish no more immediate tie. Why, for example, was the following passage addressed especially to the Bishop of Winchester?

'It might be supposed, from the panegyrics which are passed upon 'preaching, and the superiority which is sometimes assumed for that office 'above any other in the Church, that at least it had been preserved intact 'amidst the ruins of surrounding Christendom; and that although schism 'tears the Church in every direction, Western against Eastern, and each

'again subdivided into many shreds of disputing sects,—although altars, 'and sacraments, and priesthood, and the splendour necessary to worship, 'and without which no acts of adoration can be performed, have been 'trampled under-foot by the pretended reformers of the Church, there had 'still been one favoured corner of the sanctuary that had withstood the 'common destruction, and that the pulpit, though solitary, had survived in 'all its pristine glory. Nay, it is often insinuated that since the death of 'the writers of the New Testament the gospel was never preached till 'within these last three hundred years; that the Fathers were all benighted 'papists, living in dark ages which saw no gospel light.

'When these extravagant assertions are reduced to the level of vulgar 'accuracy,—when they who are old enough to remember the Halls, the 'Simeons, the Hawkers, the Simons, the Scotts, the Jays, and the other 'heroes of worshipping listeners, recollect that whatever were their various 'talents, and to whatever sect they happened to belong, they one and all 'harped upon the same string, sung but one stave, and had but one sub-'ject, whilst they denounced every other part of divine truth as not being 'the gospel; persons, I say, who have made use of their eyes and ears for 'some thirty or forty years, will be slow to believe that this exalted, and 'lauded pulpit has one whit more reason to vaunt of its perfection than 'any other office, service, or rite in the Christian Church.

'They who have the disadvantage of years may have the advantage of 'experience; but if nothing be known of the ministrations from the pulpit 'save what is learned from witnessing them in Great Britain, it is not easy 'to hold the high opinion which I entertain of the importance and power 'of preaching. It must be confessed, however, that in order to the pulpit 'producing those effects upon Christendom in its present condition which 'the ordinance of preaching is calculated to do, it must be carried to far 'greater extent, and comprehend a far greater compass of truth, than it has 'hitherto put forth in this country. Many turn with disgust from its pre-'sent ministrations; so dull and lifeless are they for the most part, even in 'the estimation of the preachers themselves, that unless they envenom 'them with hostile interference in the parishes and duties of other ministers, 'or with personal applications to individuals, or excite their hearers with 'theatric storm, they feel that the attention of the audience cannot be kept 'awake for a single hour, even in this intellectual age, and amongst a dis-'putatious people.'—(Pp. 4—6.)

Mr. Drummond is so especial a favourite with ourselves, that we are tempted to other extracts, cordially agreeing with his doctrine of tithe, and perhaps with some other views, though hesitating to accompany his general estimate of Free-Trade.

'It has, no doubt, been a sin in the clergy to ask from the civil magis-'trate the aid of the power of the sword in order to enforce the payment 'of this rent-charge on the land, commonly called tithes, and a still greater 'sin to permit the magistrate, in consequence, so to interfere in the disci-'pline (to say nothing of doctrine and government) of the Church, as to take 'from the bishops the exclusive power to judge their clergy. The clergy,

'therefore, will be punished ultimately in the very kind in which they have 'offended. They would lean on legal rent-charges, instead of on the tenth 'of the income of every member of their flocks, which God gave them; 'and therefore it is right that such rent-charge should cease and deter-'mine.'—(Pp. 31, 32.)

'Infidelity in God's order is infidelity in Him. People think they are 'not infidels because they believe in an abstract Creator, and perhaps also 'in certain historical facts concerning Jesus Christ. But part, and the most 'important part to us who are alive, of the mystery of the Incarnation, and 'of the giving of the Holy Ghost, is that the Lord now speaks to every man 'in Christendom by His Spirit in men authorized by Him so to do, as truly 'as He did in Person in Judea of old. Yet nowhere out of the Roman 'Catholic Church is this truth contended for and believed. Amongst Pro-'testants, clergy and people, it is now almost universally denied, and the 'tendency of all the religious writers, and the whole body of evangelical 'teachers, has been to destroy God's order and authority, and to deny to 'His ordained priests and consecrated kings any authority or present pre-'sence of Himself in them for the guidance of mankind. It is no answer to 'this statement to say that the truth has been perverted by the Papists, or 'that contradictory doctrines are taught by men having equal authority. 'This condition enhances the practical difficulties, but does not affect the 'truth of the fact. Different fathers treat their children differently, but 'each child must obey its own father. The severest punishment recorded 'in Scripture, and continued to this day, is of him who showed irreverence 'to his father. The evil of a state of schism is not that of its being a mere 'abstract denial of a mathematical unity, but that through contradiction of 'those who should speak one language, the people are as sheep without a 'shepherd, each trying to keep himself from the wolf: and how they would 'succeed, let any sheep-owner on the mountains instruct us.'—(Pp. 37—39.)

'George III. was the last sovereign of England who knew what was due 'to himself, to his nobles, and to his people. The delicate attention which 'both he and Queen Charlotte paid to those around them was undeviating, 'ever watchful to prevent the necessary etiquette of a court from being irk-'some by keeping them standing, or by any other painful restraint. He 'never, like Queen Elizabeth, encouraged expensive ostentation in the 'owners of the country houses which he visited; and even on board his 'yacht, which constantly attended him at Weymouth, he never permitted 'the fact of his presence or his personal ease to be a pretext for diminish-'ing the comforts of the men, or exposing them to annoyances which they 'would not otherwise have endured. He was "every inch a king." George 'IV. lived in private. William IV. degraded the aristocracy by systemati-'cally inviting to his presence, and even to his table on state occasions, 'persons who never ought to have been there admitted. The insult, how-'ever, was not intentional, but arose from undisciplined *bonhommie*, and the 'evil habits of his early life; and these produced the more fatal error of '"selling his crown for a 'hurrah!'"

'Insubordination in the Church is propagated by the clergy interfering 'in the parishes of their neighbours; and the extraordinary exhibition has

'been recently made of an English bishop threatening to go into the dio-
'cese of another bishop, and ordain ministers, and consecrate churches, in
'defiance of him who alone has God's authority to act in that border.
'The bishop whose diocese was menaced should have excommunicated the
'schismatic, and then trusted to God to avenge His own order.'—(Pp. 42, 43.)

The pamphlet deserves, like all this straight-aiming writer's works, a careful reading. They are full of the true seeds of things.

'The Dress-Maker; a Prize Essay.' By Mr. McIlwaine, of Belfast. (Aylott and Jones.) A prize, it seems, was offered by a well-meaning Association for the best Essay on the evils of the Dress-making business: if the present performance was the best, the rejected candidates must have been unspeakably bad. And this we say, reserving of course all sympathy for the object of the Association itself. Nothing, it seems, can be done without an association. We have a Report (Aylott and Jones) of a meeting for the very proper purpose of 'abridging the hours of business in 'all trades,' at which nonsense enough was talked to ruin even a better cause than this.

We have received Reports of Meetings held for the Society for Propagating the Gospel at the Mansion House, in Westminster, and Marylebone. Also the Reports of the London Diocesan Board of Education, of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society, and of the Scripture Readers' Association. The last, on various accounts, is worth reading. And as we are going to press, the Annual Report of the Gospel Propagation Society. This document, always important, seems this year especially valuable, by the testimony that it bears to the unceasing local exertions of the Colonists. The multiplication of Bishops is beginning to tell.

We are loth to pronounce an opinion on the 'Proceeding on the Trial of Bishop Onderdonk of New York.' (Appleton.) Not only is the unspeakably distressing character of the whole affair in itself a reason which may well relieve strangers from the responsibility of forming, perhaps rather of declaring, a judgment, but whichever way the truth of the facts may lie, the consequences are of that nature that we care not to forecast the results to any Church in which its Bishops are either way so seriously compromised. On the one hand, if Bishop Onderdonk is guilty, then what a frightful lie must his whole life have been, and how culpable are those who still, for party purposes, maintain his complete innocence? On the other hand, if the whole business is only a plot against the Bishop of New York because he is a High Churchman, words would fail us to describe the malignant turpitude of the Bishops of the other party who have themselves assisted in getting up this plot. As to the middle ground of 'indiscretion,' &c., on the part of Bishop Onderdonk, we are not competent judges to decide how far this plea may avail. In this country such an apology, *under the circumstances*, would only make matters worse. But it is obvious that the state of American society is, to our notions at least, so anomalous and strange, as the evidence in this very case incidentally, yet most forcibly shows, that we are quite at fault. Judgment in such cases depends so much upon asso-

ciation, local knowledge, the manners and habits of the country, party manœuvre, character, and other minute, yet weighty, elements, that we may well be pardoned if we desire to stand, at least at present, apart. The existing state of things, perhaps unavoidably, reflects but dubiously upon *all* parties.

A good and cheap collection of Maps, 'Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the 'World,' (Gilbert,) has reached Six Parts, which are before us. We find it, for its size, both full and accurate; and it is a publication which deserves success. A good and novel feature is the marginal scale, by which each country may be compared with the familiar dimensions of England or Wales.

We cannot speak so favourably of a new 'Etymological and Pronouncing 'Dictionary of the English Language,' from the same publisher. Cheapness seems its only merit. From all pronouncing dictionaries we plead an aversion, perhaps to a prejudice against them. But the pronunciations given in the present work are often incorrect, the etymologies inaccurate, and the meanings, a fault the present shares with all Dictionaries, offend in the *obscurum per obscurius*, as well as in incompleteness and inadequacy. We must illustrate our objections: 'Bream, *v. n.*, to burn the bottom of a 'ship.' Nothing is hinted of Bream, a fish. 'Blancmanger, blo-monjé, *c.*' 'Blastoderm, *s.*, the granular membrane, situated immediately beneath the 'membrana vitelli of the ovum, &c.' 'Boulevard, [no etymology given,] *s.*, 'a promenade in some French towns, formed on the site of fortifications 'now demolished.' 'Boustrophedon, bow-strof'e-don.' 'Break, *s.*' The common meaning of a carriage used in breaking horses, omitted. We have confined ourselves to three or four consecutive pages.

'A Scriptural Guide to the Duties of Every-day Life, compiled by a Lady,' (Saunders and Otley,) is a classification of Scripture texts,—a sort of Concordance, with the passages transcribed in full,—under certain heads of duty and doctrine. We do not detect an exact method in the arrangement, nor do we see that it much differs, except in being less precise and methodical, from a well-known book of Gastrell's, on a somewhat similar plan. To each series of texts is subjoined a scripture narrative, by way of 'example.' This is not always well chosen: *ex. grat.* to a collection of passages on 'anger' is appended the narrative of the Three Holy Children; and again, 'Love of God' is illustrated by the narrative of the Exodus. We do not see our way with this book.

A large and handsome volume has been published by the Spalding Club, (Lord Fr. Egerton's contribution,) 'Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen,' edited by Mr. John Stuart. It is interesting,—hardly so much so, perhaps, as the Records of the Kirk Session of Perth,—but the reader will have to winnow a good deal of chaff. Historically, it is curious, as showing the compromising and debased character of the 'Episcopal Church,' even when, as in James the First's reign, and again at the Restoration, it got established. Its whole history may be summed up in the words of a Mr. Morer: 'So very 'careful was the Episcopal Church of Scotland not to give offence to the

'Presbyterian, that she became little more than Presbyterian herself, to 'reconcile that party to her.' (P. lxvii.) The Episcopate scarcely ranged above a *differentia;* and it required the persecution of the Dutch sovereign to fix any Church principles in this communion. If ordinary readers think of the Church of Scotland, before the Revolution, as using the 'Scotch Communion Office,' and the Laudian Service-Book, in a regular and orderly way in every parish church, he has wofully misapprehended its history. It had neither liturgy nor altars; it had 'Scripture-Readers' who were not ordained, and preachers who were; and communion was administered to the people sitting at long tables, 'the minister [1674] suggesting briefly to the communicants what is proper to that business.' (P. 301.) The Bishops were moderators, not prelates; and the only wonder is why, for such an Episcopate, people beat each other's brains out. 'Maister Peter Black-'burne, bishop of Aberdene,' the unconsecrated Titular, when Presbyterianism was the established system in 1604, is only 'Peter, bishop of 'Aberdeine, *moderatour*,' in 1615, after he had received consecration in the Spottiswoode succession. We read the tedious records of the lay Sessions and Presbyteries, and the squabbles of the 'Elders,' without the slightest suspicion that there is any difference of 'Church government.' Scotland never got rid of the 'Tulchan,' and there is something very like it there still. There are, of course, amusing little scraps in this collection; such as the patient temerity of one 'George Jackson claiming his wife, who, in his absence, had been married a second time;' the humble honesty of poor Marian Urquhart, who, in 1574, 'wald not submitt her self to the Kyrk, 'allegeand scho had sic ane pyk on her conscience that schow culd nocht be 'fulle of this present religioune now in Scotland;' also how, in 1640, at the complaint 'of some capitains and gentillmen of the regiment of sojours;' 'the portrat of vmquhile Alexander Reid was tein down as smelling some-'quhat of poprie,' though the particular whiff is not described; and how, in 1655, the Kirk's godly discipline was brought into contempt by one 'James 'Riauch, who,' when on the stool of penance, 'was observit to mack ane 'moke of repentance, by putting in of sneishen in his eyes to make 'them tear.'

It were unpatriotic to say that Shakspere is better written upon in Germany than in England, but still it is not far from the truth. The Variorum Shakspere is the standing opprobrium of our literature; and until Mr. Knight's admirable, though not faultless, one, we were literally without a creditable edition. Mr. Payne Collier has done much to the text, but the term editor must be very narrowly interpreted if we admit his claims to it. Against the names of Goëthe, Franz Horn, Schlegel, Tieck, we have only to rank the fragmentary Coleridge, the sentimental Mrs. Jameson, and the unsatisfactory Hazlitt. Indeed, Coleridge's is the only English name upon which, in connexion with Shakspere, we can dwell with any satisfaction. It is, however, something for the present age to have scouted Malone and Stevens; and we hail Mr. Knight, to say the least of his great merits, as the first reverential and purely æsthetic English editor of Shakspere. It was through Mr. Knight's edition that we first became acquainted with Ulrici's name. This writer's admirable 'Shakspere's Dramatic Art'

(Chapman) has been lately translated with considerable skill. Ulrici has all the patient discrimination, the refining and subtilizing criticism, the occasional tediousness, the deep theorizing, of the German school. His faults are those of that school,—an excessive pursuit of theory, and an over anxiety for attributing to his author certain transcendental principles of art. That Shakspere was the profoundest poetical *artist* of any age may be, and is, true; and it is the province of succeeding ages to elaborate and evolve these principles. But we question whether the highest artists ever wrote upon theory and principle as an end in itself. If they did, they would not be the highest. We recommend Ulrici's work as an addition to our higher critical literature, and we should like to recur to it more fully. At present we may just enter one decided and vehement protest against what Dr. Ulrici almost assumes, viz. that Othello was a negro. We have space neither for our reasons nor indignation.

We hope, on some future occasion, to take notice of Archdeacon Hare's 'Mission of the Comforter,' (J. W. Parker,) in connexion with the more general subject.

It is a perilous, and therefore praiseworthy, attempt to publish translations of the Fathers: we cannot, therefore, but approve of the spirit of reprinting Brown's translation of 'Justin Martyr against Trypho, from the edition of 1745.' (Deightons.) And yet, as it has long been promised in the Oxford Collection, we think that a little patience would not in this instance have been misplaced. Patristic studies have advanced since good Mr. Brown's time, and it was hardly worth while to reproduce his quaintnesses and grotesqueness. Thus, it will make English readers stare to find Justin dialogizing after this fashion: 'At these words, dear Sir,' and declaring that he was converted by a 'venerable old gentleman,' who turns out to be an angel. We have not collated the reprint with the original edition, but we see a good many faults either in Mr. Brown or his present editor.

We have been disappointed in our intention to review, in our present Number, Mr. Maskell's very valuable 'Monumenta Ritualia,' and the new edition, a new work, of his 'Ancient Liturgies, &c.' (Pickering.) We propose to do so in January. The series is the most important work of the quarter. In the mean time we can speak of them very highly.

In our last Number, pp. 270—272, we asked particular attention to the fact, that the Members of the Jerusalem Mission were, in direct violation of the pledge given by the Archbishop, manœuvring a scheme for receiving converts from the Orthodox Oriental Church; and a Mr. Veitch's name was mentioned in connexion with this matter. This gentleman, the late Bishop's Chaplain, has just published 'A Sermon preached at Cairo,' (Hatchard,) on the death of Dr. Alexander. To show that our previous observations were an under-statement of the facts, we make the following extract from an Appendix to this Sermon; simply premising, that we consider this by far the most important step which has been taken in this unhappy Mission, and, if only to vindicate their own consistency and avowed objects, one which most seriously compromises those under whose auspices the scheme was undertaken:—

'In the spring of 1844, when the late Bishop of Jerusalem visited Beyroot, he received application from certain *members of the Greek Church, for admission to communion with the Protestant Church of England*, and for clergy to officiate among them. It appeared, however, that some secular views were mixed up with this desire. They had a mistaken idea, that by joining the Protestant Church they should become English subjects, and so escape the rapacity of the Porte, as well as the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction under which they were, and with which they had many reasons to be dissatisfied. Subsequently they fully admitted that such views had been entertained, but that in the course of their negotiations on the subject of their desired change, they had received such light on spiritual subjects, that, cost what it would, they were determined no longer to associate themselves in the *idolatrous and corrupt worship* to which they had been accustomed; that they were willing to submit to their rulers—to pay all government taxes—discharge every duty of good subjects—but that they demanded for themselves a right to consult conscience and God's word in the important affair of religion. The only answer the Bishop could give, was a statement of his inability to comply *immediately* with any of their requests,—accompanied by the judicious advice to return to their homes for the present, and await in quietness and prayer for some happier moment, when what they desired might be attained. Their case was, however, taken up by the American missionaries [Independents] at Beyroot—schools were established—a cemetery and a chapel provided:—ere long, however, persecution was resorted to, and the unfortunate protesters were driven from their homes, and every cruel expedient resorted to, to enforce their return to the Church. By the united assistance of the British ambassador, the consuls general for Syria, of England and Prussia, and the British consul at Damascus, this unmanly proceeding was staid, and the unfortunate refugees, who had been most kindly received at Abieh, (an American missionary station in the mountains, near Beyroot,) were permitted to return in peace to their homes near the sources of the Jordan. But the calm was of no long duration; the Patriarch of Antioch was determined to go all lengths, and persecution was again resorted to; with some, no doubt, it prevailed, the Patriarch *thought* with all, and assured the Bishop of Jerusalem in my presence at Damascus, in the spring of the present year, that *the schism was at an end*, and even those of whom we thought most favourably, restored to the bosom of *the Church*. *How far this was courteous to a Bishop of the Church, with whose branch of the Church Catholic they desired to be in communion*, may easily be decided.' . . . .

'Surely something may be done, safe from the imputation of aggression against the prelates of the Eastern Churches, or of a breach of ecclesiastical decorum. Providence seems here to have provided for us. Members (laymen) of the Church have renounced her communion while she remains as she is. Ecclesiastics of the highest rank have done the same. Surely this might, by a little aid from Protestant England, form the nucleus for a reformed Greek Church, under its own prelates and clergy, in communion with ourselves. Aid will be afforded; if not by us, it will assurely come from America. The question then comes to this—Shall these men be driven *out of the Church* [*sic*] by our withholding support—

'or retained, by our aid and sympathy, in the Church? In the Greek 'branch, as now it is, they will not remain. Aided by English *Church* libe- 'rality, they will form a Reformed branch of that Church, to which the 'whole, with God's help, may in time be united. Neglected by England, 'America will come forward, and these humble seekers after truth will 'become *Independents*.'—(Pp. 24—27.)

Just for clearness' sake—for comment is quite us eless—we subjoin two passages from authoritative documents, which we are willing to believe were meant to have a meaning:—

'He [the Anglican Bishop] will establish and maintain, as far as in him 'lies, relations of Christian charity with other churches regenerated at Jeru- 'salem, and *in particular with the orthodox Greek Church;* taking *special* '*care* to convince them that the Church of England does not wish to *disturb*, 'or *divide*, or *interfere with them*.'—*Statement by Authority*, p. 7.

'In order to prevent any misunderstanding in regard to this our pur- 'pose, we think it right to make known to you, that we have charged the said 'Bishop our brother *not to intermeddle in any way* with the jurisdiction of the 'Prelates, or other Ecclesiastical dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of 'the East.'—*Letter Commendatory of the Archbp. of Canterbury to the Oriental Bishops.*

Mr. Veitch's language is remarkable: the 'right reverend our brothers 'in Christ, the Prelates and Bishops of the ancient and Apostolic Churches,' 'your Holinesses,' as the Archbishop styles them, become, in Mr. Veitch's insulting phraseology, 'the corrupt communions of the East,' 'these fallen churches,' 'the rival communions of theEast;' and in the extract which we have given, our readers will not fail to observe the systematic use of the ominous phrase,—expressly refused and forbidden in England—'THE 'Bishop OF Jerusalem,' and this from Dr. Alexander's own 'domestic chaplain.'

The fourth and concluding part of the 'Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford,' (J. H. Parker,) has appeared. It is a useful work, fully and handsomely illustrated. The Society, under whose care it has been published, has presented a Report of the proceedings of last term.

Mr. Petit has brought out a noble volume of his admirable sketches, under the title, 'Remarks on Architectural Character.' (J. H. Parker.) The remarkable vigour, if we may apply the term to lithograph, of his etchings is here applied to what they are singularly fitted to convey, the 'character,' or mind, of a church. Mr. Petit can draw details well and faithfully, but he is not a professional man, and he does not pretend to make working drawings: but he is possessed of great taste and feeling in churches. This is the point which he seeks to illustrate, viz. that every church must have a leading idea—a character—an essence, which makes it to be what it is. This 'character' he does not seek to define, or to give rules for its acquisition. He says that it must exist for a church to be a true church, *i. e.* to convey a meaning, to present an int[illegible]d, if we may so say, an intelligent aspect. And to illustrate [illegible] of this speaking idea in various styles and degrees, both of [illegible]ecture,

ranging from the cathedral to the smallest village chapel, this handsome collection of sketches, arranged in chronological order, appears. It is prefaced by an Essay, originally read before the Oxford Society; and on all accounts it is a volume deserving great praise.

Partly with the same object has been published, also by Mr. Petit, another lecture, previously read before the Oxford Society, 'Remarks on the Principles of Gothic Architecture as applied to ordinary Parish Churches.' (J. H. Parker.)

'The Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at the Annual Meeting held at Winchester,' (Longman,) makes a very handsome volume, properly illustrated. Its chief feature is Professor Willis's Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral, which may be fairly ranked with the same author's volume on Canterbury. If, from defect of materials, the History of the Metropolitan Church bears the palm, that of Winchester is not marked by that absence of feeling, perhaps of reverence, which we had on a former occasion to regret. There is some curious matter in Mr. Cockerell's paper. Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Petit, and Mr. Freeman, are also contributors, and each in a characteristic, but always useful, way. Mr. Smirke has, in our judgment, satisfactorily disposed of an awkward question about the building at Winchester, generally thought to be a desecrated church, but now used for the County Courts. The present volume certainly displays an advance, which still may be advanced upon, in emerging from a mere antiquarianism, which we once dreaded.

Two mutilated Prayer-Books have lately appeared—'The Layman's Prayer-Book,' (Baisler,) and the 'Book of Common Prayer, revised for Public Worship, by a Presbyter of the Church,' [*i. e.* the notorious Dr. Dillon,] (Starie.) It is curious, and, in its way, instructive, to observe how this scheme of 'revising the Liturgy,' as it is absurdly called, once recommended by the grave authority of the Bishops in Convocation, has sunk into the lowest dregs. Archbishop Tillotson, then Blackburne, and, in our own times, Mr. McNeile, my Lord Ducie,—and now Dr. Dillon. The bathos is complete.

Mr. Harington, of Exeter, is a very useful writer, and a very good controversialist. He clings to his points, and is profuse in reference and extract. His books have the aspect of a cento of authorities. He trusts to weight of metal, rather than to fine writing. His last publication, 'The Succession of Bishops in the Church of England unbroken,' (Rivingtons,) is on a subject peculiarly suited to his accurate and searching mind. For though the 'putid fable' of the Nag's Head now ranges only in the more disreputable *purlieux* of polemics, still it is a question which may be very soon entangled, from the complexity of its details. We could have wished Mr. Harington a pleasanter subject, but his pamphlet is a careful synopsis of Mason, Bramhall, Courayer, and others, who have in succession disposed of the objection.

'... have to regret being disappointed, this time, of a review on the 'Lyra In-...' (J. H. Parker,) and we must confine ourselves to a few sentences ... the volume. We should say, from our own observation in many

instances, that the first vague impression which many had on opening the book, that it did not come up to what they expected from the author of the Christian Year, is already beginning to wear away. Persons, perhaps, expected an impossibility. They expected that the effect which years of quiet and intimate converse with a book, during which they had been slowly and unconsciously imbibing its sentiments, and naturalizing it in their minds, had produced, would be produced now at a first reading. Whereas the mere mechanical difficulties which attend a first reading, and which are perhaps not less in the poetry of the author of the Christian Year than in that of other poets,—the necessary difficulties, we mean, of construction,—considerably interfere with a full imbibing of the poet's meaning and thought. For many reasons poetry cannot be domesticated at once, and an old friend is not created at first. There are, however, we think, very sure signs that the Lyra Innocentium will become an old friend. Mr. Keble, from the natural mould of his mind, writes poetry which persons, after they have read it once, come to again. This is a distinct kind of poetry. There may be much really powerful and vivid imagination in a poem, without any strong wish arising in consequence to read it again. The mind reposes in the fact of having read it, as a complete and final one. On the other hand, there is a kind of poetry in which reading creates reading, by a kind of natural law, one reading leaving a void and sense of imperfectness in the mind, which requires satisfying by another. Poetical thought issues out of Mr. Keble's mind singularly pure: it does not allow imagination to carry it at all out of strict reality and nature. Consequently it will bear dwelling on: it is hard and solid: it does not give way upon closer contact of the reader with it. The airy efflorescent expansion has to go through an undignified process on a second reading, and to confess that it is not solid: the absolute nature of Mr. Keble's poetry produces a steadily increasing impression from the first. His aim is truth. Truth of feeling is primary with him: imagination secondary.

The second volume of 'Sharpe's London Magazine' is just out: in all respects, but more especially in its literary department, it is an improvement even upon its predecessor, of which we have spoken so highly. It is an undertaking which really deserves every exertion in its favour.

We have seen the Prayers and Rules for Conduct, for the use of the Boys at Mr. Monro's school at Harrow Weald, an undertaking which we regard with deep sympathy. Why Mr. Keble's admirable sermon, preached at the opening of this institution, is not published, we are not aware. Its publication is a debt, we had almost said, which the author owes to the Church.

A Tract, which we have already recommended, Mr. Markland's, 'On the Reverence due to Holy Places,' (Murray,) has, in the third edition, expanded into a very pretty little volume. It is now suitably illustrated, and almost forms a manual. Mr. Markland is a high specimen of the English layman.

Burns's 'Fireside Library' is now complete; a useful series in 32 volumes.

We desire to mention with approbation Mr. C. C. Spencer's 'Concise Explanation of the Church Modes,' now completed in three parts. (Novello.)

We cannot doubt that the publication of such Treatises as the above—contemporaneously with the cheap issue which Mr. Burns has undertaken of the kind of music which exemplifies its principles—will, at no distant time, lead to an entire reformation in the character of our Choral Service. On these topics we hope for occasion to speak more fully.

'Songs of the Wilderness, by George J. Mountain, D.D., Lord Bishop of Montreal.' (Rivingtons.) A pleasing little volume, and showing with what poetic feeling a Transatlantic Bishop can go through the labours, toils, and journeyings of his rough and simple diocese.

Mr. Henry Kingscote has published 'A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the present Wants of the Church,' (Seeley,) exhibiting, together with much honesty and good intention, a tone not free from impertinence. He endeavours to lecture the Archbishop on the latter's refusal to give his sanction to the 'Scripture-Readers' Association,' but he wants the gravity of a lecturer, and has adopted the more natural one of a schoolboy instead.

Four new volumes of the 'Anglo-Catholic Library' are just published. Additional energy has been infused into the Committee by the election of fresh members: and we are glad to be satisfied that this important undertaking is now working in a steady and satisfactory way.

The great interest of the subject must make Dr. Charles Maitland's 'Church in the Catacombs,' (Longmans,) an important volume. Besides, it is, as far as we remember, the first English work on the subject. It is well illustrated from Boldetti, Arringhi, and the well-known writers on the subject. Dr. Maitland's object is a loyal one; to vindicate for the Church of England its claim to primitive purity by a comparison of its appeal with the actual vestiges of the earliest Church which the catacombs present. And if, in some particulars, he has conducted his inquiry with success, the subject matter will be a sufficient excuse for his failure in others. Dr. Maitland adopts the modern (and French) view of the remains of the martyrs; he will not admit what were once believed as decisive proofs, such as the vessels of blood and the instruments of torture. Indeed, Dr. Maitland is evidently anxious to diminish both the number of martyrs and, as it seems to us, also the value in itself of martyrdom. Indeed, Dr. Maitland leans to the view, that in many cases Martyrdom was only a perversity. In one passage he seems inclined to transfer the sympathies which Christianity has hitherto extended to the martyrs to that kingdom which the gospel terminated, p. 195. 'Between the numerous exorcists and the relics of so 'many martyrs, demons must have been much straitened in their operations 'upon members of the Church.' Whether this passage implies regret, or satisfaction, or simple unbelief, it would be hard to say. We by no means agree with Dr. Maitland's estimate of the [illegible] Christian art; he complains that Noah is represented as large as the [illegible] and that 'the animals are altogether omitted,'—p. 249. A writer [illegible] this way has not mastered the elements of his subj[illegible] by [illegible] the illustrations in this chapter, (vii.) ar[illegible]aken from [illegible] matter, without

the slightest acknowledgment. Dr. Maitland does quote Arringhi, though without specifying the volume; but as there is but little which assumes to be original in his volume, he ought in all cases to have mentioned the source from which his matter is derived. Arringhi's beautiful plates of the Sarcophagi are sadly misrepresented in Dr. Maitland's cuts; and though we are quite sure that the author did not mean to convey a contrary impression, it is as well to observe that every inscription, or symbol, or sarcophagus in the present volume is copied, not from Dr. Maitland's own sketch-book, but from the great Italian writers on the *Roma Subterranea*.

Of Tracts and practical publications we have to mention:—'The Clergyman's Assistant in Visiting the Sick, by Mr. Plummer,' (Burns):—'Aids to a Holy Life, by Mr. Bund,' (Cleaver):—'Steps to the Altar,' (Burns):—'Good and Bad Habits, by Mr. J. S. Howson,' (Rivingtons):—'Dialogues on Confirmation,' (Burns):—'Counsel to Parents of School-Children, by Mr. E. Wilson,' (Burns):—'Duties of a Sponsor, on a Card,' (Burns.)

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ERATUM.—In our last Number p. 255, *bis*, for *Moses* '
non.

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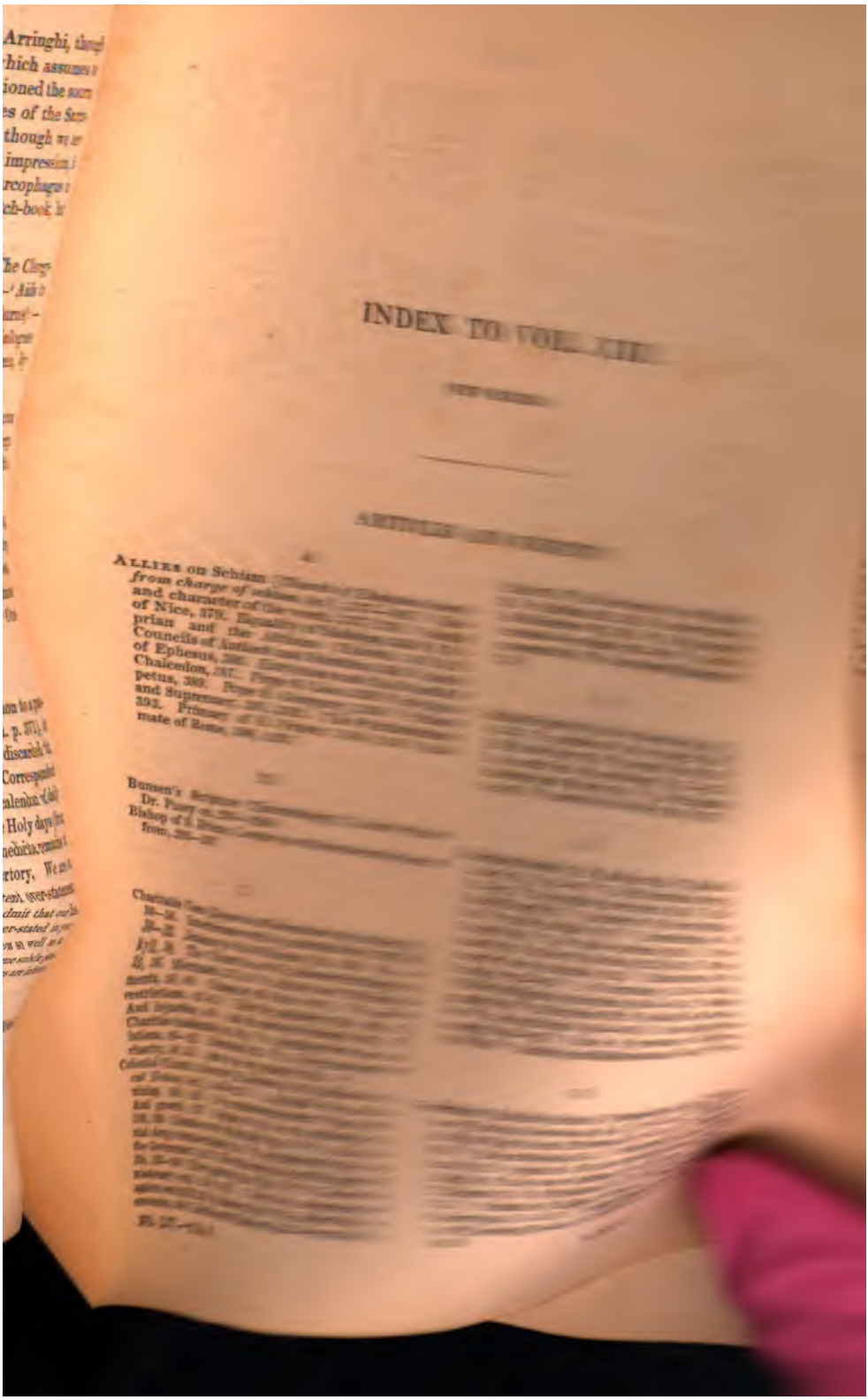

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